

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Walker's Plea for Mooney—The Communist March on Washington—Our 149 Millionaires—Russia's Trade—Spain's Revolution Goes On

THE MOONEY CASE TODAY

SINCE I am leaving on a somewhat extensive speaking trip I am obliged to write this column early. Specifically I am obliged to write it before hearing what sort of an argument Mayor Walker may make before Governor Rolph in favor of Tom Mooney. One thing I do want to say and say emphatically is this: Much of the newspaper criticism of the Mayor is maliciously unfair. There is no huge fund for the defense of Mooney out of which the Mayor or any other lawyer can get rich. The Mayor of New York in his capacity as an American citizen and as a lawyer has every right if he so desires to interest himself in a case as vitally important as the crime of holding Mooney and Billings in prison.



NORMAN THOMAS

What does warrant some doubt about the Mayor's motive is the fact that his interest in Mooney was so belated and was not reflected in the attitude of his police to some early Mooney demonstrations that I can remember. Moreover as a champion of labor the Mayor has much to explain. For instance, his failure to settle the question of paying the prevailing rate of wages which is by law required of contractors who do city work; his failure to take any action for the protection of subway and bus workers who have the seven-day week; his stand on the organization of subway workers which in the long run proved favorable to the companies rather than to the men; and the action of his Police Department and some of the magistrates whom he appoints in labor cases when the workers are not protected by any sort of political pull.

But whatever the Mayor's motives or the Mayor's record, we wish him and his fellow lawyers success in freeing Mooney. It is not primarily the Mayor's fault that labor and other forces for justice in America have proved so weak that in the end we may owe to shrewd politicians and political juggling a terribly belated act of justice, which was long contemptuously denied to the friends of justice who stuck by Mooney and Billings from the beginning.

THE "HUNGER" MARCHERS

THE esteemed Herald-Tribune and Times of New York City have made the astonishing discovery that the Dutch own Holland. In other words, they print as front page news, unearthed by the valiant work of government secret service men, the fact that Communists control the unemployed councils and are directing the hunger march on Washington. They could have learned as much long ago from the Daily Worker. The pity of it is that the Times which has such a good record in giving the news about the conditions of the miners in Kentucky and West Virginia should fall for this sort of thing and thereby make more likely wholly unjustified assaults by police and "patriots" on unemployed workers guilty of no other crime than that of riding in trucks toward Washington according to plans prepared by an organization controlled by Communists. Certainly these unemployed workers have as much right to be heard in Washington as the horde of lobbyists against the "dole"; against proper income tax increase, and for all sorts of special privileges—a horde which already fills Washington with its din.

THE INCOME TAX REPORTS

THERE are far more interesting lessons to be drawn from the preliminary report of the Income Tax Bureau for the year 1930 than I have time to enumerate. It is interesting to know that the number of recipients of incomes in excess of a million dollars fell from 1929 to 1930 from 513 to 149. That's still 149 too many. It is also interesting to know that the decline in incomes of that class, proportion of our citizens whose report incomes was around seven billion dollars. The wage loss of 1930 has been estimated at one billion dollars and it must be remembered that though the total income of individuals and corporations fell seven billion dollar stockholders actually received out of corporation surpluses more in 1930 than in 1929. Evidently there is still plenty of income in the United States to avoid the necessity of our living on bread and water, and the fairest way to share it through proper taxation. It is better, however, to raise five billion dollars by a loan to be repaid on future income taxes than to try to raise this sum all at once. And it is worth while pointing out that capitalism not only fails in distributing what we have but in producing what we might have. No Socialists believe in correcting the injustices and stupidities of capitalism simply by taxation. Indeed one of the uses of proper taxation is as a means of bringing about socialization which alone will make possible planned production and distribution for use and not profit.

THE DECLINE OF RUSSIAN TRADE

WALTER DURANTY reports that the speed of the Russian Five Year Plan is definitely slowing up, that transportation is again in a bad way, and that coal and iron production are below what they were in 1930. They are not, however, below the original figures of the Five Year Plan before it was speeded up. Apparently Russia is retarding its export efforts partly because of the unsatisfactory condition of world markets, partly to feed her own people better, and partly because her heavy industries are not making the progress the more optimistic had hoped. This modification in plan in no way discredits the principle of planning. But the whole situation illustrates the folly of those who try to scare us prematurely about Russian trade. Let Hamilton Fish and Matthew Woll take notice.

What ought to alarm us about Russian trade is that American trade with Russia has declined out of all proportions to the general decline in Russian imports. Great Britain has passed us. Germany is way ahead. In October, 1931, the United States sold less than 20 per cent as much to Russia as in the preceding October. In other words, our stupid policy is costing us trade which we sorely need in times of depression. Day by day it seems to me clearer that we need to deal realistically with the Russian situation. It is entirely possible to get along with Russia. Great things are being done in Russia, but her dictators are scarcely producing the stupendous miracles either for good or evil which the more excited of her friends and enemies hope for. But don't forget that Russia is taking skilled workers from America where skilled workers today in great numbers have nothing to hope for except charity!

SPAIN'S AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

IT LOOKS as if Spain by democratic methods rather than by the establishment of a dictatorship may yet astonish the world by her revolutionary progress in the field both of politics and economics. At any rate, we shall watch with extraordinary interest the progress of the socialist proposal in Spain for breaking up great estates and establishing voluntary collectives among heretofore landless peasants.

In the debate between dictatorship and democracy it is too often forgotten that neither method can work unless somehow or other there is a vital force of new idealism and a new way of looking at life which inspires to active effort that minority from whom all progress comes and wins at least the tacit acceptance of the masses. The weaknesses of our American democracy would only be made worse by dictatorship. Salvation comes from this new philosophy of cooperation which alone can abolish economic class division and end the wastes and cruelty of the present system.

WORKERS' CHILDREN

PIONEER YOUTH and the League for Industrial Democracy are helping, I believe, by other young people's organizations, are collecting toys and games for Christmas parties in the mining camps of West Virginia. Children in these bleak camps whether they live in the tents of the dispossessed miners or the shacks of miners still at work have scarcely a toy to their name. Prematurely they forget how to play. These Christmas parties aren't just an expression of sentimentality. They are or may be a chance for the expression of comradeship.

Send toys prepaid direct to the Christmas Party Committee, care of the West Virginia Miners' Federation, Room 9, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Building, Charleston, West Virginia. Toys that need repairing can be sent to Room 2101, 350 Madison Avenue, New York City. Cash gifts should be sent to Room 1001, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

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Insul-Peabody Interests Behind Harlan Trials; Coal Company Supplying State's Witnesses

Tammany Election Head Is Removed

Complaint Against Harlem Board Upheld—Crane Gets Testimony

ONE Tammany election inspector was barred from service for five years, seven others were censured and the evidence involved was sent to the Grand Jury this week as a result of a decision handed down by the Board of Elections on a complaint made by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. The charges grew out of an attack made on Socialist party workers last election day. At a hearing before the Board of Elections, Louis Waldman, state chairman of the party, revealed that in addition to investigating the attacks, members of the board had violated the election laws on a wholesale scale.

The action was taken by the Board of Elections at its meeting in the Municipal Building, and a letter to Mr. Thomas telling him of the action of the board was made public. The board also adopted Mr. Waldman's suggestion that the testimony taken at the hearings be sent to District Attorney Crane for such action as he sees fit.

The election board involved were those for the twenty-third and twenty-eighth election districts of the Seventeenth Assembly District, which were housed in the same polling place in Harlem. The chairman of the board of the twenty-third district, Otto Anderson of 1815 Seventh avenue, was removed. In addition he was declared ineligible to serve as an inspector again for five years, and his compensation was forfeited. District election board members are paid by the day. They are recruited from workers in the Republican and Democratic clubs of the district.

The seven other members of the two boards who were censured were Max Gershanek, Ethel Edelman, Harry Rice, Ernest Mianda, Joseph Gonzalez, Wallace Berman and Louis Bloch.

The board, although it made no mention of the fact in its letter to Mr. Thomas, is understood to have felt that Anderson's action had influenced the actions of the other members of the two boards.

Mr. Thomas, when informed of the board's action, said it was fairly satisfactory but that he could not understand why the other inspectors on Anderson's board had not been removed.

"We are also still pressing our charges against the police in the twenty-eighth and twenty-third election districts of the Seventeenth Assembly District and we have suggested to the Hofstadter Committee that the entire conduct of elections in New York is a proper matter for their inquiry," Mr. Thomas said.

Rolph Weighs Pleas Made For Mooney

Walker Leads Fickert to Urge Freedom of Labor Leader

SAN FRANCISCO.—(FP)—With the solemn warning from Atty. Aaron Sapiro that this plea would be the last ever made for Tom Mooney, the first public hearing ever given labor's most famous prisoner in his 15 years of imprisonment was brought to an end before Gov. James J. Rolph.

Marked by the appeal of Mayor James J. Walker of New York and by Frank P. Walsh's 2-hour careful analysis of the state's case which caused Mooney to be sentenced to hang in the spring of 1916 and which has so completely been annihilated since, the hearing reached a new climax in the long campaign for Mooney's freedom.

Observers were impressed by the fact that Charles M. Fickert, the prosecutor who, it would seem, must have had a part in it if Mooney were deliberately framed in 1916, sent Walker a letter in which he favored a pardon. That was impressive, not because of any weight Fickert has, for he has fallen from political power in late

(Continued on Page Three)

Charity Drives Aim to Block Unemployment Insurance, Cleveland Community Fund Speakers Handbook Declares

CHICAGO.—The Cleveland Community Fund succeeded in raising its quota of \$5,650,000 while carrying on a fight against federal unemployment insurance. The speaker's handbook includes the following section:

"FUND SUCCESS HELPS TO PREVENT DOLE. American business sentiment is almost unanimously averse to the plan of a federal dole for unemployed. . . . The best hope that Congress may be persuaded against the enactment of the federal dole lies in the present effort of over 500 leading American cities to demonstrate in the weeks before Congress meets that they are still able through a combination of public and private resources to handle the relief problem themselves. . . ."

To help the drive to success the American Steel & Wire Co. hired 4,000 men to fill some outstanding orders before the money raising was started. One

day's pay from each was insisted upon. It is expected that they will be walking the streets again in a few weeks. Other concerns are reported to have resorted to the same tactics. Elevator operators in one of the smaller downtown buildings had recently received a wage cut of \$12 a month. One of them lost his furniture when he couldn't keep up the payments but the manager of the building refused to listen and forced him to make a donation.

The largest part of the money will go to family relief with child care next. The former gets \$2,016,571, or 36 per cent, and the latter \$902,331, or 16 per cent. A little less than half a million goes to cover overhead and clearing house agencies. "Uplift" agencies get \$894,754, or 16 per cent, while other groups get lesser amounts. Many of the so-called volunteer workers are actually social workers who are out to make sure of retaining their places.

Congress Gets Demand to Act For the Jobless

Waldman Urges Federal Cut in Working Hours—Thomas and Dewey Speak

WASHINGTON (FP).—Demanded that Congress, as the one legal body in the United States having power to raise sufficient funds, proceed to appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars to be distributed among the states for immediate use in relieving the hunger and misery of the unemployed and their dependents, was the keynote of speeches at the Conference on the Unemployment Program for Congress, held Nov. 30 and Dec. 1 in Washington. Dr. John Dewey presided at the opening session, when reports on unemployment and the need for federal relief were made from a dozen industrial cities.

Louis Waldman of New York, representing the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, told the Conference that a federal law sharply restricting the number of hours to be worked per day in private industry would be sustainable in the Supreme Court.

Admitting that many lawyers argue that a constitutional amendment will be required to make possible the compulsory reduction of working hours by federal statute, Waldman cited the history of the gradual change of attitude by the Supreme Court, since 1895, on this issue of hours-limitation. He showed how the highest tribunal had upheld limitation of working hours by legal enactment, first on grounds of health, then on grounds of morals, then on grounds of public welfare. In the decision of 1920 on the New York emergency rent-limitation law, the Supreme Court ruled that property rights must give way to dire economic necessity of the community. Here, Waldman argued, was enough basis for enactment of a federal law establishing the 30-hour week in place of the existing 50-hour to 54-hour average in the United States. Dire economic necessity of the people to have work, and dire need of the community to rid itself of charity doles and restore self-respect among the millions now suffering from unemployment, he said, needed no elaborate proof.

Norman Thomas urged federal aid to municipal housing and community projects, as one item in a big federal loan "to be used in a war against poverty."

"War on slums in both city and country," he said, "is the one outstanding field in which there is no talk of overproduction."

He suggested that the federal government re-loan, at the low rate of interest at which it borrows money, to municipal and county authorities in providing housing at cost—as is done in Vienna and other European cities. Congress could meet the present emergency by providing for better housing of the workers, he said with as much justification as it had in building houses for war workers.

(Continued on Page Two)

N. Y. C. Workers Act on Job Crisis Next Wednesday

Many Unions and Socialist Groups Will Be Represented at Gathering Next Week at Stuyvesant High School—Thomas, Hillquit, Waldman to Speak

WITH the prospect that next Wednesday evening, December 9, will see, at the Stuyvesant High School, 1st avenue and 15th street, the best attended conference thus far arranged by the Emergency Unemployment Conference, it is expected that as a result of the wholehearted cooperation of unions, Workmen's Circle and Socialist party branches, attention will be focused as never before on the failure of existing methods to relieve the hardships of workers who are unemployed through the breakdown of the industrial system.

A program around which all Socialist and progressive elements in the city of New York can rally will be presented to this conference. It will include unemployment insurance and five-day week legislation, alum clearance and plans for government housing.

Plans will be laid for the sending of as large delegations as possible to the New York legislative and Congressional hearings to demonstrate the attitude of labor on the unemployment question. A letter sent by the Labor Com-

Socialists Are Beaten at Edison Plant

Thugs Attack White and Others—Sloane Wants Bradford Young Fired

AS they attempted to distribute organization literature Wednesday among workmen employed by the Brooklyn Edison Company, a party of Socialists led by the Rev. Eliot White, formerly of the staff of Grace Episcopal Church, was attacked by several hundred thugs and beaten up until the police intervened.

One of Mr. White's teeth was broken. Miss Anna Lorenz of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was struck on the back of the head and Hubert Klemme, a student at the Union Theological Seminary, suffered a discolored eye during the attack. The attempt at organization of the Edison Company employees had previously brought about similar attacks.

It has become known that Matthew S. Sloan, president of the company, has withdrawn from the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, because of a difference of opinion as to the labor activities of a member of its staff.

The Rev. Dr. J. Howard Melish, pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, refused to comment on Mr. Sloan's withdrawal from the congregation until after Mr. Sloan had had an opportunity to make a statement. It was learned, however, that Mr. Sloan had objected to the activity of the Rev. Bradford Young of the church's staff in the organization work. Young is an active Socialist and was a candidate at the recent election.

In the party which was mobbed Wednesday afternoon were Dr. Walter Peck, formerly Professor of English Literature at Hunter College; Benjamin Howe of the League for Independent Political Action; Doris Webster, a graduate student in philosophy at Columbia University; James Dombrowsky and John Martingale of the Union Seminary, and Benjamin Mandel.

Mr. White was representing the American Civil Liberties Union, which on Tuesday had asked Mr. Sloan and Police Commissioner Mulrooney to take precautions against any attempt at interference with organizers for the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison employees in distributing copies of its organ, The Live Wire. Mr. White said that they had been advised that trouble was likely.

The group had left the subway and was proceeding along Rockland Place in the direction of the Edison pay office at the corner of De Kalb avenue when several hundred roughly dressed men pressed about them in a parking space opposite the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre.

Mr. White was struck on the corner of his jaw as he attempted to turn to the protection of Miss Lorenz. She was hit on the back of the head, but was not seriously harmed. As the mob pressed about the party fifteen uniformed policemen who had been posted in front of the pay office swung into the fray.

Police Repulse Crowd
Forming a flying wedge, the policemen drove back the crowd and escorted the organizers while they distributed their literature. While the members of the group were trying to pass out their leaflets and magazines, however, the policeman escorting Klemme was drawn aside when some one threw a missile in his direction and Klemme was promptly rushed and

(Continued on Page Two)

Mine Head Sits in Parley At Jones Trial

Lurid Testimony Given Against Union Leader Contradicts Itself

By John A. Gahan (Special New Leader Correspondent)

MT. STERLING, Ky.—With E. B. Childers, Superintendent of the Black Mountain Mining Company, an Insul-Peabody concern, at the scene every day in the trial of William E. Jones, Secretary of the Everts local of the United Mine Workers of America, corporate wealth visibly intrudes for the purpose of sending this union miner and a score more to the electric chair for the murder of Jim Daniels, deputy sheriff at Everts on May 5th.

Six trial days have passed into labor and legal history in this terrific battle that, fundamentally, is a war between the coal diggers for the right to organize and the tremendously powerful operators whose relentless purpose is to continue running the mines and the camps as they please, resulting in a condition of greater profits by the virtual enslavement of the plain people who mine coal. With a commonwealth battery of five attorneys, three of them from Harlan and Tennessee, the masters of bread are presenting a mass of witnesses with well learned tales designed to inflame the minds of the jurors against organized labor.

Fantastic Story Told

Beginning with Jim Cawood, one of the sworn witnesses after another has repeated substantially the same crudely fantastic yarn that the defendant told meetings of miners that he would never be satisfied until he had waded in the blood of Jim Daniels and E. B. Childers, and that, having caused a sort of "inner circle" of union plotters to take a "black oath" written in blood, they waited a favorable opportunity to slay the Black Mountain Mining Company gun-thug and did slay him on the road from an ambush a short distance below the village of Everts. Whoever knit together the ends of this narrative to the darksome fabrication that is the prosecution's incredible testimony must have dipped into the horrors of medieval persecution in the desperate struggle to kill labor unionism in Kentucky's coal fields by killing its outstanding and bravest advocates, of which number the defendant, Jones, is a staunch and intelligent organizer, 29 years a U. M. W. of A. member.

Glaring conflicts have developed in the state's own testimony. R. B. Davis, bridge foreman for the state highway department, who was repairing a bridge near where the battle took place, said he did not see Jones there. Mose King, disabled veteran, stated on the contrary that he saw Jones, armed, cross the bridge when Davis was there.

On cross examination defense counsel, headed by Captain Ben B. Golden of the General Defense Committee, ably assisted by former U. S. Senator John M. Robson of Harboursville, Ky., retained by the U. M. W. of A. and W. Bridges White of this city, are forcing into record the fact that Insul-Peabody Harlan County coal mining representatives have "taken care" of the witnesses they have introduced by having given them jobs at Black Mountain, promotions to better jobs there and also that a number of those who were originally indicted for the Daniels murder have not been prosecuted, having agreed to swear away by perjured testimony the lives of Jones and other defendants.

The State's Witnesses

Among these witnesses were the three notorious Lester brothers, a black-hearted trio whose reputation is that of poisoners and a nephew for the purpose of getting insurance, upon which the insurance company to this day refuses to pay. They and Oscar Chambliss swore about the "black oath," about Jones wanting to wade through Daniels' blood and the rest of the dime novel romancing that is more like an account of some dreadful fiend's practicing esoteric rites in the villainous velvety blackness of Stygian night than of simple union coal miners striving lawfully and unafraid for the right to come together in economic association to obtain de-

(Continued on Page Two)

No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer so far as cash than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.—Karl Marx

Hoopes Asks Nation Take Coal Mines

Mrs. Wilson's Bill on Constitutional Amendments Killed by Pinchot Man

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
HARRISBURG, Pa.—Nationalization of the coal industry is asked in a resolution just introduced in the Pennsylvania assembly by Representative Darlington Hoopes, Socialist.

The bill follows a test of public opinion during the regular session, when 20 votes were cast in favor of public operation of the Muscle Shoals plant. The condition of the coal industry is such that action on the Socialist resolution will be watched with unusual interest.

Gov. Gifford Pinchot's proposal of a new commission to study the coal situation has passed the house and is expected to pass the senate.

May Gather Dust

Numerous other commission reports have been gathering dust in the state archives, and it is expected that the new report will share the same fate.

The constitutional amendment introduced by Socialist Representative Lilith Wilson to strike out the decision of the state supreme court that constitutional amendments can only be submitted to voters every five years was nearly smothered in committee by the Pinchot chairman last week.

After the committee had voted to report all the constitutional amendments required by the governor's narrowly prescribed program the Chairman Bell ruled that no other measures should be reported until the Pinchot measures were acted on by the house.

Secure Pinchot Dictatorship

Branded as an attempt to import the governor's dictatorship into the house committee rooms it met the bitter opposition of Hoopes. After a sharp exchange, the ruling was laid aside, and the first of the Socialist measures was reported to the floor of the special session.

The Wilson bill would provide for constitutional referendums at any of the yearly elections.

The State Federation of Labor which last week endorsed the unemployment relief program of Gov. Pinchot, this week submitted their own additional program of an income tax which by a rebate of \$500 and an avoidance of graduated features is constitutional, but may still fall under the ax of the attorney general's ruling that it is outside the limits of the governor's call. State labor forces await the outcome with uncertainty.

969,000 Aro Jobless

Philadelphia members of the assembly asked a joint session of house and senate with social workers and heads of the state departments of health, welfare, instruction and agriculture revealing the extent of unemployment and want in the state.

The department of labor and industry submitted its latest report showing 969,000 unemployed in the state or 26 per cent of the total working population.

Heads of the private charity drives in Philadelphia and Philadelphia made appeals for necessary state aid to the relief funds every one of which so far fell short of its goal and was acknowledged by their chiefs to be inadequate to meet the need.

200 Young Socialists Honor Lee at Banquet Given by N.Y. Yipsels

On Thanksgiving night, over two hundred young Socialists and party members gathered at the Free Youth Banquet to pay their respects to Algernon Lee, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York and president of the Rand School of Social Science.

The toastmaster, Aaron Levinstein, a member of Circle 1 Sr. Bronx, introduced the speakers, among whom were Samuel H. Friedman, Gus Tyler, editor of Free Youth; Morris Berman, Morris Hillquit and Algernon Lee.

The Butcher's Union of New York requested that they be permitted to have one of their representatives say a few words to those attending the banquet. Jean Cornet, speaking for the Butcher's Union, stated that he was instructed to present Free Youth with a donation of \$100 as a token of appreciation for their splendid work in conjunction with their recent strike.

Debs Auditorium was decorated with red flags and bunting. One of the outstanding banners was that of the Charlottenburg Young Socialists of Germany.

Socialists of Reading Gain 300 Members

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
READING, Pa.—While the "Fusion" ticket defeated the Socialists in the last election, the party has come out of the fight stronger than ever before. In the City of Reading the Socialists are the major party, having beaten the Republican party by about 4,000 votes and the Democratic party by 6,000. In the county, the Socialists are the second party and the Republicans third.

Workers are flocking to the Socialist party which has taken in about 300 new members since Nov. 3d. Eighty per cent of them are young men and women. The branch headquarters have become too small to hold the crowds that attend the meetings. Most of the branches are seeking larger headquarters. Rather than having discouraged the members, the election seems to have put new hope and vigor in the movement. The lines are sharply drawn. The "Fusion" is here to stay. Next year the two old parties will fuse on every office, including congressional.

Although only two appointments have been thus far announced by Mayor-elect Herber Ermentrout and his hybrid "Fusion" council, the nature of the appointments fails to indicate any intention of the incoming municipal government to use city jobs for the unemployed. Both men thus far announced as appointees have jobs and will therefore be depriving some jobless person of the opportunity to earn a living if they accept the posts which have been offered them.

The first announcement was that of J. Stanley Giles, a local forist, and reputed to be in possession of considerable money as well as a profitable business. Giles will become a "police commissioner," an office which never has existed in this city, and a title which, it is believed, will be used as an excuse to create a fancy salary for police chief duties.

The announcement of the selection of John M. Seasholtz as city purchasing agent is another case of "piling upon the big heap" so far as the need for a job is concerned. Seasholtz, whose appointment came from fusion headquarters with the questionable announcement that he is a \$10,000 man willing to accept \$2,400 for the good of his city, owns an industry and is one of the town's minor labor exploiters. If he is the \$10,000 man that his backers describe, then his own business more than supplies his need for a steady income.

With more than 5,000 local men looking for work, many of whom formerly filled executive positions, there was no necessity for the appointment of two persons who are already employed. As a consequence the introduction of Giles and Seasholtz is not being acknowledged by the public with rousing cheers, despite the extravagant press-agenting which heralded their appointments. On the contrary, the people are doubting that the good of the city is the object sought and will watch with interest to discover whether these two men give their time to the city or to their own private businesses.

Political Rewards

Both Giles and Seasholtz did enough during the recent fusion campaign to justify a feeling of gratitude from Ermentrout and his colleagues. Giles was among the first persons mentioned as a fusion candidate for mayor, but withdrew when Ermentrout's name was mentioned. During the campaign he championed the Ermentrout outfit as a fusion speaker. Seasholtz went even further to make fusion possible. After he had actually received the nomination on the Democratic ticket for the office of council, he withdrew his name and left the way open for the nomination of William Smith on both old party tickets.

Socialist Legislator Blocks Sabotage of Income Tax

Hoopes Takes Pennsylvania House Unaware - Pinchot Under Fire

By Arthur G. McDowell
HARRISBURG, Pa.—A week ago Socialist opposition in the constitutional amendments committee of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives overthrew the chairman's ruling that income tax and other governmental reforms could not be reported to the floor until all parts of the program of Governor Pinchot had received action by the House. However over the strenuous opposition of the Socialist member of the committee, Rep. Darlington Hoopes, an amendment limiting any income tax to be imposed under it to a maximum of 4 per cent, practically making it of no effect as the amendment is designed to make possible graduated taxes on big fortunes.

In an attempt to muzzle the Socialist spokesman the bill was put in his hands to report to the House. This he accordingly did but by the time the General Assembly reconvened this week Rep. Hoopes was carefully studying the rules. On Tuesday morning with a drowsy House, the Socialist arose and asked for unanimous consent to amend the bill, then on second reading. The Speaker attempted to call attention of members on the floor by repeating the request over but failed and the Socialist amendment striking out the 4 per cent limitation rode through without a hitch. The time having passed for amendments by any committee or from the floor, the attempt of Grundy Pinchot forces to gently sabotage the amendment has been foiled and further attempts must be made in the open or else the dirty job left entirely up to the Senate. A Socialist amendment, that of Rep. Lilith Wilson, to remove the five year period for the submission of amendments will be up for final passage along with the income tax next week.

Nails Governor's Preaching

The Pinchot speech of Governor Hoopes to the League of Women Voters was the occasion for a blistering analysis of the Penna Governor's insincerity and fakery by Socialist Rep. Hoopes the same morning shortly following the radical's coup in defeating forces speaking in the name of the Governor, in their attempt to sabotage an effective state income tax law.

Reading from the verbatim report of the Governor's noteworthy speech the Socialist read paragraph of the Pinchot address into the record of the General Assembly quoting the remarkable series of passages in which the Penna Executive pressed home the wrong distribution of the product of industry or the social income as the cause of unemployment, attacked

Nation's Press On Record for Aged Pensions

77 Per Cent of Dailies for the Reform - Jersey Reports Law Saves Money

The overwhelming majority of newspapers throughout the country is enthusiastically in favor of old age pension legislation, according to a nationwide survey of editorial opinion conducted by the Research Department of the American Association for Old Age Security.

Of 1,345 newspapers taking sides on old age security, 1,033 papers, or 77 per cent, published 2,086 editorials urging the enactment of pension laws. Only 312 newspapers declared against the proposal in 587 editorials. In 43 states and the District of Columbia, heavy press majorities supported the proposal which has already been written on the statute books of 17 states.

"Of recent months, the proportion of newspapers committed to pensions has continually increased," the Research Department reported. "Throughout the country editorial opinion reveals that old age security is rapidly becoming the one solution for the problem of the dependent aged on which a practical unanimity of opinion has been reached by the American people.

"In every state, with the unenviable exception of socially backward Indiana and four other states where only two or three editorials were published, the survey disclosed an impressive majority in favor of pension legislation. Old age security proposals received the hearty support of the largest and most influential newspapers in every important community from coast to coast. Nationally famous dailies are almost invariably aligned with the progressive forces seeking the enactment of measures for the dignified care of the aged poor and the abolition of the poorhouse."

The survey covered editorial expressions over a period of two years. More than 1,600 newspapers and 3,244 editorials were examined, of which only a small proportion were non-committal. Only 20 per cent of the papers, and 18 per cent of the editorials, were found definitely aligned against old age security.

Pension Progress Made

A saving of \$500,000 in municipal relief expenditures for aged persons in need will be effected through the inauguration of the old age security law recently enacted in New Jersey, according to a report of the State Pension Survey Commission, the Old Age Security Herald announces.

California officials were quoted as enthusiastically pleased with the effects of that State's pension law, under which more than 9,000 aged are already being aided. Only law has furnished decent and comfortable living conditions for thousands of needy old people," reported the California Department of Social Welfare, Division of security and peace of mind to the aged cannot be measured," the report of the department states, "and young children are no longer deprived of their rightful health and educational advantages in order to maintain aged relatives. Public sentiment is undoubtedly in favor of old age security and the numerous amendments to the law introduced in the last session of the Legislature were notable for their trend toward further liberalization of the present features."

The monthly reported that pensioners under the New York State law reached 45,000 aged persons; that preparations for speedier administration of the Massachusetts law are being made in Boston and that 1,400 indigent aged are being aided through the inauguration of the recently-enacted Delaware law.

Insul Coal Company Behind Harlan Trials

(Continued from Page One)
cent living conditions. In a community where the routine of union affairs is known and understood, such a narrative would have no chance for credence, but Mt. Sterling is in the center of tobacco farms, a place where any kind of labor organization is regarded as anathema and where the farmers are outspoken enemies of the labor movement, about which they know next to nothing, but are prejudiced to believe anything evil. The General Defense Committee, having kept out the world's worst labor tacticians, that alias of the communist party known as the International Labor Defense, has provided the Harlan miners with an honest and adequate defense. The General Defense Committee is confronted not only with its attorney costs, but with the great burden of transportation and maintenance of witnesses. For many months it has prepared this defense and proved its mettle by scoring a victory in the first of these mine war trials, that of William Burnett, who was acquitted here, his case having been handled entirely by the General Defense Committee.

Funds Are Needed

Mobilization of Labor's financial resources is an immediate necessity to triumph in this battle on the one side of which is life, freedom and the opportunity to organize, while on the other is the death chair and southeastern Kentucky's mining population defeated, helpless and enslaved.

Striving to provoke disorder by which to discredit the defense, Lee Fleener, Harlan deputy sheriff accused of having murdered two miners at a relief station and a commonwealth witness in the Burnett case who swore he had shot Burnett, entered the Ledford Hotel here, where most of the defense witnesses are lodged and said, "There are too many of you red necks here. What you need is powder and lead." Others of his stripe drew a gun upon a Negro defense witness earlier in the day at another place here and threatened to take his life.

James Price, General Defense Committee representative, was tried for contempt of court Friday night, being charged with intimidating commonwealth witnesses. Prosecution failed to put across this frame-up. Price the first part of the week got a commonwealth mannequin to appear as a witness, a mannequin calculated to keep him from the court room where he previously assisted Captain Golden at the defense table.

Investments of U. S. in Japan \$25,596,000

United States Greatest Foreign Investor - Utility Holdings Not Included

NANKING (FP).—The well-known Japanese daily, Nichi Nichi, of Tokyo, has published an article summarizing foreign, especially American, investments in Japan. Foreign capital invested in business in Japan, exclusive of holdings of bonds of companies managed by Japanese, is set at \$51,000,000; and if Korea and other Japanese colonies are added, the total rises to \$58,000,000.

America is the largest investor in such enterprises, with a total of \$25,596,000. Britain follows with \$21,501,500. Germany is third with \$2,024,500. Of the firms, 15 are entirely of foreign capital, these including the Japan Ford Automobile Co., the Japan Columbia Graphophone Co., General Motors Japan, Ltd., and the Dunlop Rubber—all American. In the 13 concerns, American capital amounts to \$6,550,000, British to \$16,160,000, and German capital to \$260,000.

Apart from the 13 firms, there are 10 jointly controlled by foreign and Japanese capital; the foreigners having heavier financial interests, and all 10 under foreign management. The total such investment is \$5,247,500, of which American capital is \$7,573,500, British capital \$655,000, and German capital \$19,000. These concerns include the Japan Victor, Yokohama Rubber, the Nipponophone, and the Goto Gramophone companies.

The bulk of the firms investigated by the Nichi Nichi, however, have Japanese and foreign capital, but are under Japanese management. These total \$19,187,500 of which \$10,797,500 is American, \$4,683,500 British, \$1,745,500 German, and \$1,650,000 Swedish. These firms include the Tokyo Denki, Nippon Denki, Japan Steel, Nichibeiki Plate Glass, Teikoku Seisai and Daido Match. The Swedish investment is in Daido Match alone.

Foreign capital invested in Japan's colonies totals \$7,000,000. Of these, four companies, capitalized at \$3,500,000, are under entire foreign management, two (Nippon Corn Products and Kental Tea Enterprise), with combined investments of \$1,250,000 are under joint Japanese-foreign management, with the foreigners in control. Other foreign investments, such as in Ensoiku Sugar and others, are not included in this figure, but none is under foreign control.

The study does not take up public utilities, but these are known to be very heavy, America especially being heavily involved in these. The investments studied included only investments of business firms.

Pa. Socialists Double Vote In the State

Judicial Candidate Gets 58,576 as Compared With 29,976 in 1930

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The nearly final official returns filed at the Harrisburg state capital, with four counties missing, give the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania a vote of 58,576 in the 1931 state election. The vote was cast for John W. Slayton for State Supreme Court who as nominee for the same office in 1930 led the ticket with a high vote of 29,976. With the missing counties the Party will therefore easily raise their vote over 1930 by 100 per cent. Detailed analysis of the figures, county by county, will be prepared shortly. Center, Northampton, Sullivan and Tioga counties are missing.

Mary Winsor of Haverford was the main speaker at the 30th State Charter Anniversary of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, celebrated by Pittsburgh comrades at the Social Center, Pittsburgh, the evening of November 29. Alluding dryly to the early criticism of the tendency of the McDonald government in Great Britain, voiced officially in a resolution of criticism of the State Convention of the Pennsylvania Party early in 1930, Comrade Winsor urged us to at all times "remember we are Socialists and revolutionaries above all." The splendid response of Reading comrades when their foes united and with a background of unprincipled misrepresentation and appeal to prejudice, made the issue one of Capitalism vs. Socialism was pointed to with pride. State Organizer Arthur G. McDowell reported that the Reading (Berks) organization had actually gained 250 new dues-paying members since they lost control of political office. An analysis of state wide organization showed three fully organized counties, active branches in good standing in twelve boroughs and cities of varying size throughout the state.

An unembellished organization of foreign federation and inactive branches and members-at-large extends into thirty additional communities in twenty counties. Sharp improvements in organization strength and morale were recorded in the strike town areas of the state where the Socialist Party had been helpful and prepared to render aid, Party organizers aiding textile unionists in Philadelphia, party members active individually and collectively in Allentown last spring and the Miners Relief Fund still in high fettle in the Pittsburgh district. Organization Fund collection \$300.

Georgia Banker Makes Churchmen Change Report on Jobless

Atlanta Would Have a Deficit of \$200,000

ATLANTA, Ga.—(FP)—When a big banker, especially Eugene R. Black, president of the Sixth District Federal Reserve Bank, kicks about his church's conservative statement of fact on the country's economic situation, the churchmen crawl before the powerful layman's lash.

Georgia's state Baptist convention's social service committee report, to which Banker Black objected, read in part: "Millions of people are out of work through no fault of their own. In our country 1 per cent of the people own 33 per cent of the wealth; 28,000,000 people have to depend on charity and 811,000 children between the ages of nine and 13 are not attending school, but running wild or working beyond their years to their own detriment.

"While produce is selling at less than cost, the natural resources are in the hands of selfish interests to the injury of the public. Great corporations are laying off their workmen and cutting wages, but are paying larger dividends than in so-called prosperous years."

While the church was urged to aid in stabilizing the economic as well as the spiritual situation, the report added that "society must turn its attention increasingly to the unsoundness of the present distribution of national income."

"There should be a further distribution of profits between capital and labor." Warning was sounded that if business fails to solve the problem the government will, or else "the workers themselves and other dissatisfied elements" will do so. Government unemployment relief was recommended if charity proves inadequate.

Banker Black arose in convention to deny the accuracy of the report and state that certain portions could not be proved. Particularly he resented the unkind cuts at big business. He flatly asserted that "corporations generally had cut dividends to the bone and in most cases wage reductions and the elimination of workers have been held to the barest minimum."

On Friday evening, Dec. 18, Norman Thomas and David B. Berenson will discuss "Is Marxism the Philosophy of Socialism?" Chairman, Charles Solomon. On Monday evening, Dec. 28, the topic is: "Is Democracy Always Essential to Socialism?" Debaters: Paul Blanchard, Algernon Lee. Chairman, Anna Serocovits. There is an admission charge of 25 cents to cover expenses.

Congress Gets Pleds To Act for Jobless

Workers Forced to Donate Three Days' Wages to Community Chest

(Continued from Page One)
a bad name." Workers were forced to donate three days' wages to the Community Chest. Many Alabama teachers are unpaid for the month of May. At the present rate of collapse of county funds, only one county in the state will be able to keep its schools going after January.

Prof. Mercer J. Evans of Emory University, Atlanta, reported that Atlanta would have a deficit of anywhere from \$200,000 to \$1,000,000 in her unemployment relief fund. Most of the wealthy people of Atlanta have moved outside the city limits, where they are free of local taxation. L. M. Wolf of St. Louis said it was estimated that, by February, half of the workers in that city would be jobless. Two or three thousand of the unemployed have lodged in orange-crate shelters along the levee, but the river has risen, driving hundreds from these "homes."

Cope of Pittsburgh described the sharp contrast between the billion-dollar wealth of the Mellons and their \$340,000 contribution to the unemployment relief fund. He showed that corporations in that city having undivided surplus of \$1,000,000,000 gave only \$548,000 to the fund; U. S. Steel gave only \$40,000.

Children of 80 per cent of the wage earners' families have dropped out of Pittsburgh schools, he said, due to poverty.

Louisville Fighting New Power Trust Grab

Louisville Gas and Electric Company, Subsidiary of the Elbeby Company, is Opposed for Renewal of a Franchise for Twenty Years

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The Louisville Gas and Electric Company, a subsidiary of the Elbeby Company, is being opposed for renewal of a franchise for twenty years. The company paid the sum of \$25,000 for the franchise twenty years ago. They have since cleaned up a net profit of over \$5,000,000 per year. They have demanded high rates for gas.

At a public hearing Nov. 23 at the City Hall, a crowded house led by the Taxpayers League and backed by many civic and labor unions, made things so hot for the city officials that the city attorney was told that he was serving the utility company instead of the people who elected him.

The Courier Journal and Louisville Times have refused to publish news of the Taxpayers League, having left unpublished a meeting held Oct. 30 at which J. W. McCarty of Washington, Ind., spoke, and Wood F. Axton, union tobacco manufacturer, presided. The Taxpayers League is after 10,000 members and is enrolling members at the rate of 25 per day.

Socialists Beaten At Edison Plant

Punched Until the Policeman Hurried Back to his Rescue

(Continued from Page One)
punched until the policeman hurried back to his rescue.

After a few minutes the party turned back for the subway. Despite the presence of the police the crowd attempted to rush them. Some members of the throng went so far as to try to follow the organizers into the subway and the police held every one back from entering until the party had had time to depart.

Mr. White said that the policemen on the scene had tried hard to protect them but that he felt an insufficient number had been detailed. No arrests were made and Mr. White said it was doubtful if any members of the attacking crowd could be identified.

The minister based his charge that the onslaught was directed by company officials on information, he said, had been given him by an

At The Group

Prof. Maurice Parmelee, well known sociologist and author of "The Science of Human Behavior," "Oriental and Occidental Culture," etc., will speak under the auspices of The Group, in the auditorium, 150 W. 85th street, Dec. 8 at 8:30 p. m. His subject will be "Nudism in Modern Life."

Labor must think internationally. We can no longer occupy industrially a position of splendid isolation. We have to think of the world as one country.—C. T. Cramp.

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(Just around the corner from the Rand School)

Isadore Phillips Greeted On His 70th Birthday
Isadore Phillips, veteran New York Socialist, who is now at the Claremont Park Sanitarium recuperating from a severe illness, received greetings from scores of comrades on his 70th birthday last week. Socialists from New York and other cities sent messages congratulating Phillips on his work in the movement and expressing hopes for his early recovery. A number of his co-workers in the movement, among them Julius Gerber and Edward F. Cassidy, paid visits to Phillips at the sanitarium, where he received them in a jovial mood.

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Hoffmann Is Ordered to Pa. Prison

Hosiery Union Organizer Loses Appeal to Superior Court in Strike Case

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Alfred Hoffmann, hosiery union organizer, must serve two years in prison on a charge of conspiring to throw stones through windows during a strike in Stroudsburg, Pa., while the four scabs who killed Albert Bachman, girl striker, remain free to continue killing.

N. Y. Jobless Face Inevitable Starvation

City Dole Fails to Meet Needs of City's Unemployed

EDWARD REID, editor of The New York Herald-Tribune, speaking over radio station WABC...

Christmas Parties for Kids Of West Virginia Miners Planned by Labor Groups

Pioneer Youth and L. I. D. Cooperating to Bring Cheer to Dreary Camps

CHILDREN in the coal mines of West Virginia look out today upon a bleak world. They have just been through a strike fought for their sakes by their fathers and mothers.

In an eloquent appeal, Pioneer Youth, which this summer ran a play school in a tent colony, and the League for Industrial Democracy, under whose auspices L. I. D. Labor Chautauqua was conducted during the six weeks of the strike, urges friends and well-wishers of the labor movement to send "bread and roses" to the miners' children.

"In these camps, the children suffer most, as always in industrial conflict and depression. The West Virginia Mine Workers Union, in cooperation with the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, has provided tents for homeless and badly needed clothing. The Society of Friends is feeding the school children one meal a day.

Your Help Is Needed "What you can do: 1. Start at once to collect playthings—dolls, games, mechanical toys, children's books. Show this appeal to and enlist the help of organizations and friends. 2. Mail or express parcels (prepaid please) directly to Christmas Party Committee, care of West Virginia Mine Workers Union, Room 9, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Building, Charleston, West Virginia. 3. Toys needing repairs or which you cannot send direct to Charleston mail or bring to Pioneer Youth Shop, 350 Madison Avenue, Room 2101, New York City. 4. Send a cash contribution to either of the addresses below, to help pay the expense of the parties."

Steel Trust Seeking Cut In Rail Pay

Reductions for Building Tradesmen Sought, Trade Organ Reveals

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—Not satisfied with pulling the earnings of its terrorized workers down to 40 per cent of the 1926 level, the steel industry, opulent and powerful, now wants the wages of railroad and building workers to come tumbling down. Bricklayers and locomotive engineers are getting too much money, in comparison with steel workers, is the blunt assertion of "Steel," organ of the trade.

Helping the farmer is the excuse given for slashing the pay of railroad workers. "I am trying to do what I can to prevent placing further burdens on the farmer," the magazine quotes a steel executive, "first through any increase in freight rates, and second by relieving him of the necessity of continuing to pay railroad workers many times what he himself can earn through equal efforts."

Wants Hours Increased "The 10-hour steel worker, under the reduced wage schedules, receives approximately 40 cents an hour," it adds, "the building trades laborer is paid 80 cents an hour." "Steel" does not point out that the power of organization, which made the U. S. Steel Corp. the wealthiest industrial corporation in the world, also accounts for the building laborer getting double the wage of the unorganized, spy-ridden steel worker.

Butchers' Union Finds Child Labor Growing

In the year between June, 1930, and June, 1931, with the country suffering from one of the severest depressions in its history, with millions of men and women out of work, more than 100,000 children under the age of sixteen left school to compete with older persons for jobs.

The officials of the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union are continuing a drive to place unemployed butcher workmen on jobs. During the first two weeks of this campaign we found that a number of school children were employed in these shops. There are at least 1,000 youngsters employed in these places and their work does not cease with the delivery of orders.

"In a comparatively small industry such as the butcher trade our delegates report 1,000 youngsters in butcher shops," says Joseph Belsky, Secretary of the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union. "Some way must be found to keep children in school longer. There is only one way of attaining this end, raising of the compulsory school attendance at the next session of the Legislature."

In connection with the drive that has been carried on by the union it has been found that the consumers were wholeheartedly in sympathy with the campaign carried on by the Butchers Union. This drive will continue for some time.

Socialists of Hungary Indict Government

Manifesto Brings Legal Action Against Party by Public Prosecutor

LATE in September the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party adopted a fighting manifesto. When it appeared in print the public prosecutor took legal proceedings against the party. The document denounces the ten-year counter-revolution as a "campaign of destruction against the working people; it has deprived the people of universal suffrage and of the secret ballot; it has disregarded the peasant population and has restored the feudal rule of the owners of the large estates, who, together with industrial and finance capital, have exploited the population of the country without restraint."

The manifesto is a fiery appeal to the masses and bares the crimes of the ruling classes and the measureless suffering they have brought to the workers, peasants, professional groups and the lower middle classes. The passing of the regime of Count Stephen Bethlen was succeeded by the Karolyi regime but the latter is a mask. Nothing has changed. Government finances are in a bad way, trade and industry are stagnant, the peasants are probably the most intensely exploited in Europe, and the government's plans of reorganizing the national finances include increased taxation of articles of consumption. Huge incomes are not to be touched and the misery of the masses will be intensified this winter.

"A government supported by bayonets has never been of long duration," declares the manifesto. "Every dictatorship flirts with revolution and with civil war. Spain and Yugoslavia ought to be a lesson. The Social-Democratic Party has never made a secret of its aims and views. Now, too, we draw attention to the danger. We see the approach of the catastrophe and for that reason we speak frankly and sincerely. Our exhortation is intended as a warning to the powers that be and an appeal to the oppressed."

The Socialists demand a guarantee of universal suffrage, electoral freedom, aid for the unemployed, and other measures, and urge the members of the party to carry on extended propaganda and organization throughout Hungary. "Prepare yourselves in any case," reads the appeal. "Defend your life and be ready to fight for the sake of your own and your children's future!"

Rolph Weighs Plans Made for Mooney

(Continued from Page One) years, but because of the fact that he has recently been appointed attorney of the state board of medical examiners by Rolph. If Rolph inclines to pardon Mooney, it will make his task lighter now that Fickert has acted. It seems improbable that Fickert would have acted without an indication of the wishes of his benefactor.

With his letter was another in which William U. MacNevin, foreman of the jury that convicted Mooney, repeated his declaration that he would not "have the jury forever" before he would convict, knowing what he has since learned. All living jurors and the judge who once sentenced Mooney to hang joined in the appeal.

Rolph, with three advisers, has taken the case under advisement. That means it is waiting to get the reaction of the public, it is believed. Little by little the opposition to Mooney's freedom has broken down. If the corporations who hate Mooney can revive the campaign against him as the San Francisco Chronicle is trying to do, then all may be lost. If the reaction continues favorable, Mooney may be free by Christmas. The case of Warren K. Billings is not directly involved but if Mooney is freed his chance for freedom will be greatly enhanced.

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DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM New meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street 8 P. M.—NORMAN HAPGOOD, Distinguished Author and Publicist "What I Saw in Two Years Abroad" 11 A. M.—PROF. WILLIAM LYON PHELPS "The Two Souls" Special Announcement! Thursday, Dec. 10, 8:15 P. M. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES on "Soviet Russia and the Future" Admission Free All Welcome.

LECTURE "THE WORLD TOMORROW" By PROF. VLADIMIR KARAPETOFF of Cornell University B'KLYN FORUM—B'KLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC 30 LAFAYETTE AVENUE, Near FLATBUSH SUNDAY, 9 P. M., DE. G. E. BECK Tickets: 25c, 50c, \$1.00 at Box Office—Read Book Store, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. C. Prof. KARAPETOFF will render a few selections on the piano after the lecture.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE At Cooper Union 8th Street and Astor Place At 8 o'clock Friday Evening, Dec. 4th PROF. WILLIAM P. MONTAGUE "What the Emergent Evolution Means to Us" Sunday Evening, Dec. 6th DR. KIRSOPP LAKE "New Problems in Thought and Conduct" Tuesday Evening, Dec. 8th MR. NATHANIEL PEPPER "The New International Society: Diplomacy Yields to the Machine" At Muhlenberg Library 200 West 23rd Street At 8:30 o'clock Thursday Evening, Dec. 10th PROF. E. G. SPAULDING "Development, Intelligence and Art"

INGERSOLL FORUM Pythian Temple, 125 W. 70th St. Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 25c Dec. 4th—DOUGLASS B. BUNES, Ph.D. Editor, The Thinker "The Trend of Modern Thought" Athlete Tract and Catalog Free American Association for the Advancement of Athlete 307 E. 14th St. New York City

LABOR TEMPLE 14th Street and Second Avenue DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFER, Director SUNDAY, 9 P. M., DE. G. E. BECK "The Necessity of American Business" (Smart Chat) 7:45 P. M., STANLEY A. DAY Organ Concert DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFER "This Concept of Equality" The Bronx Free Fellowship 1901 Boston Rd., near 177th St. Sunday Evening, December 6, 1931 8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Roemer Land on "Why Radicals Need Religion." 9 P. M.—Rev. James J. Conroy "Modern Germany." Music Admission Free

THE GROUP Meets at Auditorium, 150 W. 83rd St. Tuesday Evening, Dec. 8th, at 8:30 P. M. PROF. MAURICE FARMLEE Will Speak on: "NUDISM IN MODERN LIFE"

DEBATE "IS MODERN MORALITY A FAILURE?" Hon. Bertrand Dr. Stephen S. RUSSELL WISE This debate involves the vital issues of the day: BIRTH CONTROL; EASY DIVORCE LAWS; COMPANIONATE MARRIAGE Thursday, December 17th, 8:30 P. M. CARNegie HALL, 9th St. and 7th Ave. Tickets \$1, \$1.50, 25c, 50c and 75c. Carnegie Hall, Columbia U. bookstore (Journalism Bldg., 4th St. and Broadway), Seven Arts Guild, 125 West 45th St. (Room 1007). Mail orders promptly filled. Admiss. Seven Arts Guild. RUSSELL'S Farewell Appearance

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Socialist Sunday Schools To Open in 12 Centers

Socialist schools have already begun in four centers, and registration in eight more will take place this Sunday morning, in accordance with the extensive program of Socialist education for youngsters of 7 to 18 years of age being started by the New York City Socialist party's sub-committee on educational planning for the year. These schools will participate of the recreational advantages of clubs as well as of classes, and will be under the direction of experienced educators and leaders.

The centers where classes have been started and will continue on Sunday are the 6th A. D., Manhattan, headquarters, 96 Avenue G, 8th A. D., Manhattan headquarters, 327 East Ninth street; the Washington Heights branch headquarters, 600 West 181st street, Manhattan, and the Midwood branch headquarters, 1736 East 17th street, Brooklyn. Centers where registration will take place this Sunday follow: 2-4th A. D., Manhattan, headquarters, 204 East 10th street; Yorkville branch headquarters, 241 East 84th street, Manhattan; 5th A. D., headquarters, Bronx, 908 Prospect avenue; 8th A. D., headquarters, 20 East Kingsbridge road; Yiddish branch, 1581 Washington street, Bronx; Brownsville Labor Council, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn; Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 1377 42nd street, Brooklyn. A school under the auspices of the Williamsburg Branch and the Young Peoples Socialist League has already been running for some time at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn. The Socialist schools will be run in cooperation with the Junior League of the Young Peoples Socialist League, and are expected to prove successful in addition, in supplying members for the league and for the organization being formed, the Red Falcons. Already two Red Falcon groups have been formed in the East Side schools. In the Bronx, registration will be in charge of Comrade Mrs. Anna Abramson, assigned to the Bronx County committee to help in organization work, together with Morris Cohen. In Brownsville Max Rosen of the Lyceum will be in charge in Bensonhurst, Midwood and Borough Park, the work is being done by Dr. Sabloff, the Hassell brothers and Sara Rosenberg. In the East Side, the comrades of the branches, aided by Edward and Marian Gottlieb, are all pitching in. In Washington Heights, Dora Delson is director.

Working on the curriculum and on "Talks to Teachers" are Fred Schulman and David P. Berenberg, whose joint book on "Socialist Schools Methods" will be published in the near future. The decision to open these centers for educational and recreation opportunities for the young people came as a result of conferences among some of the foremost Socialist educators in the city, meeting at the home of Dr. Jesse Wallace Hughan. The party's committee on education (Bela Low, chairman), and its committee on youth activities (Dr. William Bohn, chairman), are cooperating with the sub-committee on educational planning for the youth (Samuel H. Friedman, chairman; Etta Meyer, Secretary), as is Executive Secretary.

All have joined in this effort to provide for the workers' children in this city some of the educational and recreational advantages enjoyed by the working class children of the Socialist city of Vienna, where, in addition to classes, there are games and sports, music and pageantry, all combined to give an authentically workers' cultural background for the kids who will be the future mainstays of the city and the party. In the younger classes, the children will engage in directed play under the guidance of skilled teachers. In the older classes, in addition to chorus and dramatic work, classes in history, labor background and Socialism will be run. Later in the season there will be outdoor play and hikes. Classes in dancing and art are also planned. A letter being sent to party members and registered Socialist voters follows: "Dear Comrade and Neighbor: 'Are you a thinking young man or woman? Do you want to become the thinking young man or woman you'd like them to be? The streets, the tabloids, the movies—and often the schools—turn and twist their minds against the ideals in which you believe and for which you fight. Don't you think you ought to give them a desire for a better world—a workers' world? We are opening a number of Socialist schools in various sections of the city, under the direction of experienced educators and leaders, with sessions usually on Sunday morning. These schools will help solve this problem that faces Socialist parents and other social-minded and progressive people. There will be one in your neighborhood for your children and your neighbor's children to go to—to play, to sing, to act, and to learn about something worth while in the world besides how to get ahead of the other fellow. For the younger children, from 7 to 8 up, games and stories, songs and pageants, and general fun-making; for the older boys and girls, cooperative activities, classes in labor background, history and industry, and Socialism; for all, a spirit of fellowship and service in the great cause of making the world a better place to live in. How about talking this over with your children and your friends and neighbors, and coming around to see us about it? From the list attached, pick out the school nearest to you, and drop in—on Sunday morning, at 11 o'clock to 12 o'clock, at 11, Ages 7 to 18."

I hold that truth cannot grow among men who do not learn how to unlearn, and honestly put opinion beneath them.—Isaac Newton Jan.

The Democrats Stride Forward

CHAIRMAN RASKOB of the Democratic National Committee is supervising a poll of the 90,000 contributors who in 1928 gave \$4,000,000 to the task of defeating the poll Al Smith elected President. The get Al on the olden golden politician's issue, the prohibition question, which succeeds in getting even our labor leaders worried about the beer rather than the bread which America doesn't have. But that doesn't matter in this discussion. What counts, of course, is this first semi-official recognition of the fact that students of American politics have known for a century, that it is the campaign contributors who inevitably dictate the program of a political party. In open acceptance of this principle, Raskob is bringing to the fore and fake of American campaigns a new reform which we cannot help approving. Some one has pointed out that many of the major contributors to the Republican fund of 1928 received within a year income tax rebates more than sufficient to reimburse their gifts. Those who gave to the Democrats simply picked the wrong agents, that's all. Now,

if they can find comfort in the privilege of saying their micos on the subject of prohibition, it is at least a merited consolation prize—bought and paid for. If there is any way to get around the adage that "He who pays the piper calls the tune" in politics or any other field, we haven't discovered it in this materialistic world. And that is the larger lesson from Raskob's plan. The solution is that workers and farmers—indeed, all to whom clean government in the common interest is valuable—must organize and finance the kind of a party they want. To give up in despair in the face of the present obscene political arrangements is to be not "realistic," as the professors tell us, but simply criminally negligent. If only one-half of the voters in America would contribute just 50 cents to a national campaign fund, well over \$9,000,000 would be raised—a fund sufficient to do away with the present exploitation of political parties by big business men. And with 18,000,000 rather than 90,000 contributors, American politics would take on a far different color.

THE blunt fact about the latest steel propaganda is that the Wall Street financiers who control U. S. Steel and the other big corporations have decreed that all American workers must descend to the pauper level of the steel worker and the coal miner. They have definitely abandoned, if they really ever seriously entertained, the myth of high wages. Cool realists, they understand that the spotty prosperity of the stock market boom times was maintained only by juggling up credit through the installment payment plan. By the meretricious deflation of the past two years, they have ruined hundreds of thousands of petty business men and middle class investors, and garnered tighter control of the industrial and financial machinery. In those two years they have punctured the credulous hopes of workers that there was a place in the sun for them too, under capitalism in America. The financiers' triumph is not yet complete. The two remaining centers of workers' resistance, the railroad and building unions, must be brought to terms. That battle may be fought out in 1932.

MANHATTAN Sunday, Dec. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Prof. LeRoy Bowman, "The Future of the Machine." The room 10, 600 West 181st street. Auplex, Washington Heights branch, Socialist party. Sunday, Dec. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Aron Lewenstein, topic to be announced, 556 West 123rd street. Auplex, Morning-side Heights branch, Socialist party. Tuesday, Dec. 8, 9 p. m.—Prof. Walter E. Peck, "The Recent British Election." The room 10, 600 West 181st street. Auplex, Upper West Side branch, Socialist party. Thursday, Dec. 10, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. Sterling Spier, "The Ethical Problem of Work." The Coal Miner and His Conditions," 341 East 84th street. Auplex, Yorkville branch, Socialist party. BRONX Friday, Dec. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Julius Umansky, "Disarmament—Progress and Possibilities." Pelpark Palace, 708 Lydig avenue, near White Plains road. Auplex, 6th A. D. branch, Socialist party. Friday, Dec. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Abraham I. Shilp, "The Problem—The Problem Solver." Hollywood Gardens, 836 Prospect avenue. Auplex, 3-5th A. D. branches, Socialist party. Sunday, Dec. 6, 11 a. m.—J. B. Matthews, "The Problem in Manchuria." Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues. Auplex, West Bronx Socialist forum. Dec. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Eliot White, "The Bible and the Freedom of Speech." Hollywood Gardens, 836 Prospect avenue. Auplex, 3-5th A. D. branches, Socialist party. Friday, Dec. 4, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature." Pelpark Palace, 708 Lydig avenue, near White Plains road. Auplex, 6th A. D. branch, Socialist party. BROOKLYN Sunday, Dec. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Prof. William K. Moore, "The World Tomorrow." Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush avenues. Auplex, Brooklyn Forum, Socialist party. Sunday, Dec. 6, 8 p. m.—August Claessens, "The Problem of Unemployment." 76 Throop avenue. Auplex, Williamsburg Progressive Association. Monday, Dec. 7, 8 p. m.—Morris Gismet, "The Promise of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." 55 Snyder avenue. Auplex, 21st A. D. branch, Socialist party. Tuesday, Dec. 8, 9 p. m.—Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Inventions." 3820 Church avenue. Auplex, 18th A. D. branch, Socialist party. Tuesday, Dec. 8, 9 p. m.—Theodore Shapiro, "What's Happening in Europe." 167 East 17th street, near Kings Highway. Auplex, Midwood branch, Socialist party. Tuesday, Dec. 8, 9 p. m.—David Breslow, topic to be announced, 2128 Van Sicken avenue. Auplex, 22nd A. D. branch, Socialist party. Wednesday, Dec. 9, 8:25 p. m.—Prof. Elias L. Tartak, "Dostoyevsky—Philosopher." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auplex, 23rd A. D. branch, Socialist party. QUEENS Tuesday, Dec. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Mark Kibinoy, "The Manchurian Situation." Monroe Court, committee room, 4313 47th street, Sunnyside. Auplex, Socialist party branch. Tuesday, Dec. 8, 8:30 p. m.—J. B. Matthews, topic to be announced, Columbia Club, Far Rockaway. Thursday, Dec. 10, 9 p. m.—August Claessens, "Craft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure." Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard, near 116th street, Sunnyside. Auplex, Socialist party branch. Friday, Dec. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. Leon R. Laid, "Problems for Socialists." Bohemian Hall, Woolsey and Second avenues. Auplex, Socialist party branch.

Karapetoff Speaks Sunday in B'klyn on 'World Tomorrow'

One of the world's greatest scientists, and a Socialist of earnest conviction will be the guest of New York City Socialists next Sunday evening, Dec. 6th, when the Brooklyn Forum will present Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff as its guest speaker. Prof. Karapetoff, appropriately chosen "The World Tomorrow," as the text of the address he will deliver under the auspices of the forum at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue, near Flatbush, next Sunday night. A distinguished scientist, Prof. Karapetoff has thought and writ-

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The Future of American Capitalism

By Louis Stanley

I.—THE DECLINE OF THE HOME MARKET

THE hey-day of American capitalism has passed. The days of rapid expansion are over. Tendencies which were obscured by the war and post-war prosperity have been clarified by the world-wide depression. It is plain now that the underlying trend is for American industry to slow down its pace. This is revealed on both the domestic and foreign front. The home market will not grow as quickly as formerly. At the same time markets abroad will not absorb American surplus products as freely as previously. This impasse of American capitalism will result in the increased exploitation of labor and the intensification of the class struggle in the United States. In this article the future of the home market will be discussed. In the next America's position in the world economy will be analyzed.

Slow Growing Population

The mere rise in the numbers of the American population has made ever-increasing demands upon American industry. In the future the rate of population growth will become smaller and smaller until the number of inhabitants in the United States will remain stationary or even decline. Therefore, the domestic demand for commodities will not increase as rapidly as before. The United States census shows that before the Civil War the population increased by more than a third every ten years. Since then the rate has declined by half, as Table 1 indicates:

Decade	Rate of Increase
1790-1800	35.1
1800-1810	36.4
1810-1820	33.1
1820-1830	33.5
1830-1840	32.7
1840-1850	35.9
1850-1860	35.6
1860-1870	28.6
1870-1880	26.0
1880-1890	25.5
1890-1900	20.7
1900-1910	21.0
1910-1920	15.4
1920-1930	15.7

The decline in the rate of increase of the American population will be hastened in the next few

years by two factors, (1) the rapid lowering of the birth rate and (2) the decrease in the population of persons at the child-bearing age due to the change to the new birth rate. There is no prospect, of course, for large immigration to offset these tendencies. Louis I. Dublin, third vice-president and statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and chairman of the American National Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems, has boldly declared:

"... Our population will reach a top of about 150,000,000 by 1970, and... therefore it will decline—how rapidly will depend upon the number of children the average American family will then choose to bring into the world."

The slowing down of the population growth would not in itself hold back the development of American industry because if the standard of living rose rapidly enough a constant or declining population might demand large enough quantities of goods to compensate for the loss of increase in new customers that comes from a greater number of inhabitants. Little hope can be placed, how-

Economic Trends Point to Sharper Class Lines; The Saturation of Capitalism's Home Market

ever, in the beneficial effects of an improved standard of living.

Technological advances may make possible a better mode of life but the quantity of goods demanded will be determined essentially by the distribution of income. If the working class constituting the bulk of the population receives increasingly high wages it could buy the commodities produced and permit American industry to expand. This will not happen, however. The very restriction of production which requires an ever more equitable distribution of income for its cure will force American capitalists to make the distribution still more inequitable. To maintain or increase their profits in the more limited national economy of the future wages will be kept down. The increased exploitation of the working class will impede the demand for goods. Industry will suffer. Profits will be endangered. Wage cuts will follow again. The demand for goods will not be big enough to counteract the effect of a stationary or diminishing population.

Industrialization Spreads

The United States has been a new country developing rapidly. The westward migration of population and the unskilled exploitation of natural resources created a home market which kept industry in the East busy supplying the needs of the pioneering population.

It was as if American business men had a colonial or foreign market in the interior which kept them prosperous. Now this situation has changed. The superintendent of the census for 1890 declared that the American frontier had disappeared. It was no longer possible in 1890, as in former census years, to distinguish a line of settlement where the average density of the population was two per-

sons to the square mile. The superintendent said:

"Up to and including 1890 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports."

Since 1890 the United States has continued to be filled in and with this has come the spread of industrialization. The old industrialized sections, the New England and Middle Atlantic States, have been advancing at a lesser pace than other parts of the country, as Table 2 shows. New industrial enterprises are springing up in the South, in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast. Factories in all parts of the country are now sending forth their goods in search of buyers. The older manufacturing centers and sections will not be able to dispose of their increased production freely as the home market expands because new portions of the country are becoming industrialized and will enter into competition for the domestic market.

Since home consumption is declining to increase more slowly than capacity to produce, the competition by domestic producers for the home market will be intensified.

Area	Percentage of Increase in Number of Wage Earners	Percentage Added by Structure
United States	25.2	22.4
New England	3.5	15.4
Middle Atlantic	8.4	20.2
East North Central	17.7	23.3
West North Central	23.6	18.6
South Atlantic	32.4	27.6
East South Central	42.0	19.4
West South Central	38.7	23.4
Pacific	24.7	15.4
Mountain	99.6	35.6

Industry Slackens

The war and post-war prosperity diverted attention from the basic tendencies in American industrial activity. The present depression has been a sharp reminder that capitalism is still characterized by alternating periods of good and bad times, that, in short, cyclical changes should not be mistaken for permanent conditions. Underlying the fluctuations of the business cycle are fundamental economic movements or secular trends. The available statistics show that in the main business activity in this country has changed from a rapid to a slow rate of expansion.

The subject has been studied by such economists as Carl Snyder in his "Business Cycles," and Simon S. Kuznets in his "Secular Movements in Production and Prices." They show that secular trends can be most significantly seen in the rate of increase of production. An illustration of this is the production of pig iron which for a long time has been considered a good reflector of general business conditions because of the strategic role which steel plays in important lines of business activity. It will be seen by Table 3 that the trend is featured by early spurts and then a slowing down in the rate of increase. Fifty years ago the increase in the average annual production from half-decade to half-decade was more than 60 per cent. In the last five-year period, noted for its prosperity, gain was less than 25 per cent although 1926-1930 was preceded by a half-decade affected by a slump. Similar tendencies are revealed in many other lines of business activity such as the production of bituminous and anthracite coal, automobiles, Portland cement, copper, locomotives and in railway

freight traffic. In this connection it is well to point out that railroad construction which was an important factor supporting the prosperity of the nineteenth century and automobile manufacture which has been crucial in stimulating booming conditions in the twentieth have both experienced an expansion at a decreasing rate of increase. Any other booming industry in the present or future such as radio will also tend to slow down in its rate of growth as the demand for its goods approaches a hypothetical or actual saturation point. Incidentally, the building and construction industry which has been another cause of industrial expansion will develop less slowly because of the decreasing rate of expansion of the population and the absence of compensating factors.

Yearly Average	Long Tons	Percentage Increase
1871-1875	2,248,000	
1876-1880	2,563,000	9.5
1881-1885	4,361,000	69.0
1886-1890	7,079,000	64.6
1891-1895	8,132,000	14.9
1896-1900	11,492,000	41.3
1901-1905	12,249,000	58.6
1906-1910	24,025,000	31.7
1911-1915	27,518,000	14.5
1916-1920	37,010,000	34.4
1921-1925	30,475,000	17.7
1926-1930	37,892,000	23.7

Rationalization Economizes

A distinction must be drawn between producers' goods and consumers' goods. The distribution of income has a direct effect upon the production of consumers' goods and then these indirectly affect the materials and the means of production. When a population does not grow fast enough and when the workers receive a small and even a diminishing portion of the national income, then it buys less goods and this in turn slows down



Sign of the Time

the demand for equipment and raw material. There is another way, however, in which the demand for producers' goods is reduced and that is through improved technology. In a series of articles on coal last summer the writer pointed out on this page that the curtailed production of coal was in large measure due to economy in the use of fuel. Similar efficiency movements are taking place in other sectors of the industrial field. Analysis of the census of manufactures for various years shows that efficiency is bringing about a decrease in the portion of the value of product which is due to the manufacturing process and an increase in the portion which is due to materials. At first thought this would seem to indicate that a larger use is being made of material. Second consideration shows that it signifies a better and, therefore, a lesser use being made of materials for they are being consumed more economically in preparation of the finished products. Simultaneously machinery is increasing its productivity far beyond the investment that goes into it. As a result of this rationalization industry will be able along with a proportionate amount of producers' goods today. With the expansion of home demand for both consumers' and producers' goods all American business men will look abroad for customers. What will happen then will be the subject of next week's article.

More Light On Kentucky's Anti-Syndicalist Bill

KENTUCKY'S anti-syndicalist law is in the public eye as mine workers face courts in that state for its alleged violation. The New Leader last week published excerpts from a leaflet circulated by the Kentucky Socialists when the bill was passed. This leaflet gave the true character of the bill. Other sections of the leaflet, here reprinted, gave the main features of the measure and compared it with legislation passed under Russian Czarist and German imperial regimes.

Anti-Syndicalism and Sedition Law

Known as Senate Bill No. 182, signed by Governor Morrow on March 26, 1920:

An act to define and prohibit criminal syndicalism and sedition and to prohibit conduct, publications, assemblies and the use of property for the promotion of criminal syndicalism and sedition, prescribing the duties of peace officers and providing penalties.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

§ 1. "Criminal syndicalism" is hereby defined to be the act of committing, aiding or counseling crime, physical violence, arson, destruction of property, intimidation, terrorism, or other unlawful acts or methods, as a means of accomplishing political ends, or as a means of bringing about political revolution.

§ 2. "Sedition" is defined to be the advocacy or suggestion by word, act, deed or writing of public disorder or resistance to the government of the United States or of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, or of the Constitution or laws of either of them, or of the change or modification of the government of the United States or of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, or of the Constitution or laws of either of them, by force or violence or by means other than by the lawful means provided by the Constitution and laws of the United States and the Commonwealth of Kentucky for such purpose.

§ 3. Criminal syndicalism and sedition, as hereby defined, are declared to be unlawful and felonious, and are prohibited, and any person guilty of any or either of said offenses, on conviction shall be confined in the state penitentiary at hard labor for not more than twenty-one (21) years or by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or both such imprisonment and fine.

§ 4. The owner, lessee, agent, superintendent or person in charge or occupation of any place, building, room or rooms, or structure, who knowingly permits therein any assembly or concert of persons prohibited by this act, or who after notification by any peace officer or commonwealth's attorney that the place or premises, or any part thereof, is or are so used, permits such use to continue, is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable upon conviction thereof by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$500 or by both such imprisonment and fine.

§ 5. Any peace officer who shall have notice or knowledge of any such unlawful assembly in viola-

Measure Under Which Miners Are Being Tried Compared With Czarist Legislation

tion of this act shall forthwith disperse the same, using the power of the county and such force as is reasonably necessary for that purpose; and if any such peace officer shall fail or refuse actively to disperse such assembly forthwith, he shall on conviction be fined \$1,000, and be imprisoned in the county jail thirty days, shall forfeit his office and be disqualified from holding any public office for a period of five years.

§ 10. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by speech, writing or otherwise, to arouse, incite or fix or attempt to arouse, incite or fix enmity, discord or strife or ill-feeling between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing public tumult or disorder or overthrow of the government of the United States, or of the government of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, or for the purpose of inciting resistance to the courts, laws, officers or constituted authorities of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and it shall be unlawful, for any such purpose, to display in any parade, meeting, assembly or other place any red flag, revolutionary insignia or any banner, flag, placard, tag, sticker, circular, device or picture, and any person taking part in such parade or meeting or violating this section shall be guilty of a felony and on conviction shall be punished by confinement in the state penitentiary for not more than twenty-one years, or by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by both such imprisonment and fine.

§ 12. Any use of any building or structure or premises by any person or persons in the course of any violation of this act, or for any prohibited meeting or purpose shall constitute a nuisance, and may be summarily abated by any peace officer at any time by ejecting all persons therefrom, seizing any incriminating articles therein, and securely closing the place and excluding all persons therefrom until the owner, lessee, agent, tenant or occupant shall give bond with sufficient surety approved by said peace officer in the penal sum of \$1,000, payable to the Commonwealth of Kentucky, conditioned that said premises shall not thereafter be used for any unlawful purposes or by any persons convicted under this act. Any use of leased premises in violation of this act shall terminate the lease thereof, at the option of the lessor.

Two Criminal Syndicalism Laws—In Old Russia

Here are few sections of the Imperial Russian Penal Code prohibiting seditious utterances. The code was issued in 1903 and was signed by Nicholas II. The eminent success of the then Russian government in attaining the object aimed at is a matter of recent history.

Article 126. Whoever shall have joined an association formed for the manifest object of overthrowing the existing order of society or the commission of crimes, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not exceeding

EIGHT YEARS, or by deportation. Article 125. Whoever shall participate in an association having for its object: (1) the inciting to disobedience or resistance to the law or to an ordinance or to a regulation made pursuant to law; (2) the exciting of hatred between sections or classes of the population, or between employers and workmen; (3) or inciting workmen to organize or to continue a strike, prohibited by Article 367 shall be punished by imprisonment in a house of detention or in a fortress.

Article 107. Whoever shall be convicted of an offense against the memory of the great-grandfather, grandfather, or deceased father, or any other predecessor of the reigning emperor, committed in public, either by printed, written or pictorial matter, distributed or exhibited in public, shall be punished by imprisonment in a fortress for not less than THREE YEARS.

If, however, the said offense shall have been committed through ignorance, lack of understanding, or in a state of drunkenness, the culprit shall be imprisoned for not less than THREE MONTHS.

Article 129. Whoever shall either read in public on any work or shall speak, or shall distribute or exhibit a writing or picture with the intent to incite: (1) the commission of an act of rebellion or of treason; (2) the overthrow of the existing form of government; (3) disobedience or opposition to laws, regulations or decrees made by the authorities pursuant to law; or (4) to commit a crime other than those set forth above—

shall be punished by DEPORTATION, in case of inciting as provided in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this section; and by imprisonment in a house of correction for not exceeding THREE YEARS, in case of inciting to crimes provided against in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this section.

Article 130. Whoever shall be guilty of secret doctrines, or opinions which incite: (1) the commission of an act of treason or rebellion; (2) the overthrow of the existing social system; (3) disobedience to laws, regulations or decrees made by the authorities pursuant to law; (4) the commission of any crime auxiliary to those set forth above—

shall be punished, if the doctrines or criminal opinions have been propagated among the rural population, persons in the military or naval service, laborers, and in general among such persons where any such inciting would menace the public peace, and who are not mentally capable of resisting such doctrines; by DEPORTATION, for the circulation of doctrines forbidden in such Sections 1 and 2 of this article, and by imprisonment, not exceeding THREE YEARS, in case of propagating the doctrines forbidden by Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article.

In Germany

The Imperial German Criminal Code of 1870 was signed by Bismarck and William I. The sedition sections quoted below were enforced against newspapers, labor organizations and Socialists with great severity by Bismarck. The result was unexpected and, in general, so much patriotic loyalty and devotion to the form of government was generated that a revolution overthrew and sent the Kaiser into Holland sawing wood.

Section 81. Any one who under-

"1931—" A Play of the Jobless

By Robert S. Sisk

WITH the opening of "1931—" a new play by Claire and Paul Sifton, at the Mansfield Theatre Thursday evening, Dec. 10th, the Group Theatre will offer New York an opportunity to support a theatre and a play devoted to contemporary problems of vital importance stated in dramatic terms.

"1931—" will be of special interest to workers. It is a modern "Pilgrim's Progress" telling in four "good American worker" from the time he loses his job at the onset of the present panic of capitalism, up to now—and beyond.

To those who, eager for "good labor plays," have been discouraged by attempts which smothered the dramatic interest in earnest speechmaking belonging more properly to the platform, the directors reply that the Group Theatre is producing the play because the piece is "good theatre." Also it may be remembered that "The Belt," by Paul Sifton, produced four years ago, aroused the interest of local labor groups. These groups made it the most successful production of the New Playwrights Theatre season. "1931—" written from the same point of view about a greater phase, has been fashioned with more dramatic skill and deals with a crisis while it is actually a crisis. (See today's headlines, charity drives, wage cuts, newspapers and stock market reports.)

In "1931—" the Siftons return to the field in which they are more interested. New Leader readers will recall occasional contributions to its columns by Mr. Sifton.

In part, the Group Theatre is an offshoot of the Theatre Guild. Its three directors, Harold Clurman, Cheryl Crawford and Leo Strasberg, have worked for the Guild in various capacities, but are now putting into effect their own ideas of play selection, acting and production. The Group Theatre's purpose is to produce good plays of contemporary social importance. It will not produce a play solely because the subject is of social importance; neither will it produce a play solely because it is good theatre. The play must say something worth saying and say it dramatically.

At present the Group Theatre directors are searching for plays which meet this standard. Realizing that such plays in the past have been frowned upon by most producers and that the authors either have turned to other forms of writing or tried to write for the Broadway box office, the directors have approached and enlisted the interest and enthusiastic support of many well-known writers, including Maxwell Anderson, Lynn Riggs, John Howard Lawson, Paul Green, Wald Frank, Padraic Colum and John Dos Passos. The Group Theatre would like to become the outlet for the strongest and most significant dramatic writing, from a social point of view. The demand is calculated to stimulate the supply.

The Group Theatre has recruited members on two revolutionary ideas:

- 1.—The most forceful, exciting and dramatically effective plays are conceived with modern society

and the interaction of the individual and his social economic-political environment.

- 2.—Actors on a team, by thinking, based upon education, observation and self-discipline, actors can give a play's characters more individuality, depth and force than by the conventional Broadway method of treating the actor as a director's dummy on wheels. If actors are allowed to know what the play is about, the Group Theatre's theory is that they can aid in conveying the play's idea to the audience. (In practice, this theory has already proved amazingly successful.)

The members of this new theatre consider themselves committed to a lifetime of work together dedicated to the formation of a permanent theatre and acting company, a tradition for worthwhile plays and an audience which pays them a living wage. In this company there is neither star nor super. Already the actors have learned to work together for the sake of the play.

As with "The House of Connelly" and with "1931—" so with future productions. The Group Theatre has the great advantage of dealing with plays, subjects and conflicts which are alive and which matter to everybody, including the actors themselves. With audience support, so well founded by the first production and reinforced by the timeliness of the second offering, the Group Theatre will continue to speak in terms of the theatre about those subjects which matter most.

For instance, in producing of "1931—" an American theatre dares to say out loud, with a finger pointed at the Hoover ideal of rugged individualism: "The King has lost his past."

takes by force to alter the Constitution of the German Empire or a federal state, or the succession to the crown established therefore, shall be guilty of high treason and be liable to penal internment or military detention for life.

Section 82. Any act directly tending to the carrying out of the intention shall be regarded as an undertaking by which the crime of high treason is completed.

Section 85. Any one who publicly before a crowd, or by declaration or public placarding or public display of writings or other representations, incite to the carrying out of an offense punishable under Section 82, shall be liable to penal internment or military detention not exceeding TEN YEARS.

Chapter II.—Insulting a reigning prince. Section 95. Any one who insults the Kaiser, his reigning prince, or during his residence in the federal state as its reigning prince, shall be liable to confinement of not less than TWO MONTHS or of military detention of from TWO MONTHS TO FIVE YEARS.

Section 97. Any one who insults a member of the reigning prince or the regent prince of his state, shall be liable to confinement or military detention of from ONE MONTH TO THREE YEARS.

Chapter II.—Opposition to public authority. Section 110. Any one who in public and in the presence of a number of persons or by the circulation of statements, the public exhibition of placards or the public distribution of written documents or other representations, incites to disobedience of law or any lawful proclamation of an order made by a competent authority, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 600 marks or to confinement not exceeding TWO YEARS.

Section 111. Any one who incites in the manner aforesaid the commission of a punishable act, or IF A PUNISHABLE ACT OR ATTEMPT RESULTS THEREFROM shall be similarly liable as an instigator. IF THERE IS NO SUCH RESULT, the punishment shall be a fine not exceeding ONE YEAR. In no case, however, shall the punishment exceed that laid down for the act itself.

Law Not a Law?

It is not, says Governor Morrow, when it is not enforceable.

When is a law not a law? When it is not to be enforced, answers Kentucky.

Kentucky has an anti-sedition act that punishes about everything from criminal syndicalism to sniggering on the wrong side of your face.

But the law, as it is written, will not be enforced, take it from Governor E. P. Morrow.

"I am sorry I signed it," said Morrow, on a visit in New York. "But there have been no prosecutions under it, and I do not expect any while I am Governor. I have pledged myself never to let it be used to punish labor men for ordinary expressions of opinion and for taking advantage of the free speech that is theirs under the Constitution of our country."

—Cincinnati Post.

SOCIALIST COMMITTEE.
Covington, Ky.,
Sept. 14, 1930.

Ex-Convict Fights For Freedom

THE preservation of civil liberties is often due to criminals and convicts. That was illustrated in the case brought by Benny Sabatino, an ex-convict, against the Parole Board of the State of New York.

Benny Sabatino was convicted as a second offender in 1918 and sentenced to 16 years imprisonment. He served nine years. After some 20 months conditional freedom on parole he was rearrested and imprisoned for an additional 22 months. While in prison he familiarized himself with the law. He had become an expert on the writ of habeas corpus. Sabatino now won a verdict against the Parole Board for \$7,500. The money verdict and Sabatino were mere incidents in the litigation, according to Judge Jacob Panken, who tried the case for Sabatino.

Judge Panken in arguing the law before the Supreme Court maintained that the suit by Sabatino was in fact a defense of constitutional guarantees to the people of the United States.

An order on a writ of habeas corpus was entered by Judge Angell in May of 1924. That order should have been obeyed and Sabatino discharged. The requirement of the Parole Board to force Sabatino to subject himself to parole was, in effect a continuance of imprisonment. The rearrest of Sabatino upon a warrant of the Parole Board was tantamount to the issuance of a "Letter de Cachet." His imprisonment at Sing Sing was on a par with the confinement in the bastille by the kings of France of their enemies.

Under absolutism, government by a man, the will of the ruler becomes the law. Under the democratic theory the law responds to the needs, attained intelligence and the growing desire for liberty, of man. In the absolute government the individual cannot be protected against the will of the ruler. There is no appeal from his decision. Without trial, without a hearing, by edict, the ruler deprives his subjects of property, liberty or life.

The "Letter de Cachet" which in plain terminology is an order to imprison without hearing or trial, was an instrument which was used by rulers not only against their enemies, but ultimately became an object of barter and sale for a consideration. Favorites obtained these edicts for private individuals against their personal enemies. No one was safe.

In democracies a different system evolved—a right to a trial by one's peers. That often was not sufficient protection. For robber baron or feudal lord, by force, and contrary to usage and law, without trial, incarcerated his enemies or rebellious subjects.

As early as the twelfth century,

a procedure was established by which the production of a writ of habeas corpus was compelled. It was a tribunal and answer made to look abroad for customers in confinement.

That is the genesis of habeas corpus.

When the magna carta forced from King John to the writ in habeas corpus, confirmed, and in the end that followed its efficacy tended.

It had become the mechanism of government by which had become the protection governmental and judicial.

Another question which involved in the case was not an "ex post facto" law but made applicable by the Board to prisoners. When was convicted the law after earning commutation of sentence was reduced by the earned commutation to an absolute discharge.

In 1921 the law was amended so as to make every convict liable to parole. That might, as Judge Panken, be applicable to those who have been imprisoned subsequent to the amendment of the law but it could not be applicable to those convicted to the enactment of the amendment.

He cited the ancient charters of the writ of habeas corpus referred to the numerous provisions of the law making law applicable because of the exact character.

"The executive branch of government cannot violate law. This is not a governmental law. This is supposed to be a law of the land. The very purpose for which the writ of habeas corpus was established is to protect citizens against officials and judges. Under Section 1,269 of the Civil Practice Act judge is liable to imprisonment one year and a fine of \$1,250, falling in or impeding the carrying out of the order on a writ of habeas corpus."

In the Sabatino case the theories of government were involved. That of the will of the ruler and that of government by law. The age-old struggle between the executive department and the judicial department of our government was fought out. The jury's verdict, vindicated the writ of habeas corpus, the right of the citizen to be heard before he is deprived of the right of the lowest and opportunity of defense.

The jury condemned the Parole Board that landed Sabatino in a period of more than beyond that which upon him.

Beyond Bread

I've been having a swell time curled up with a swell book. For despite the gloomy forebodings of my friends and uplifters, I do read once in a while and have been known to have engaged in other innocent occupations such as bowling, going to concerts and playing anagrams.

The book in question is, "The Literary Mind, Its Place in an Age of Science," by Max Eastman, published by Scribner's.

Few contemporary Americans are better equipped for this sort of job than Max Eastman. Here is one of our most alert and appealing intelligences functioning in a field with which it is thoroughly familiar both as participant in creative literary work and critic thereof.

He has chosen a vastly exciting subject, the place of poetry in the modern scheme and has done a man-sized job in showing just where poetry can fit in.

If you are a bit wearied of what Eastman calls, "The Cult of Unintelligibility" in modern verse, if you wonder what in Hell T. S. Eliot and Hart Crane and E. E. Cummings are "talking to themselves" about, you will get a great kick out of the magnificent sword-play wherewith in the first essays in this book Max decapitates the self-conscious obscurantists who try to make poetry a sort of Skull and Bones affair where you have to be tapped and go to your room with one of the insiders before you are on to the secrets.

And then he goes on to indicate just where poetry clicks with science and where it does not and what hopes there are for its continued existence in a world of turbines, Stalins and matter-of-fact folk.

Well, see you, why is this anything to get lathered up about? Here we are in the midst of one of the greatest economic crises in our history and you are lyricizing about a book on poetry and its place in a country torn to tatters by the collapse of an vicious, headless and heartless a system as ever was conceived by mortal man.

And the answer to that is that any system no matter how shrewdly conceived, how revolutionary in its outlook which has no place for poets and their songs, is no system at all, for me at any rate.

My idea of Utopia goes a bit beyond three squares a day for all hands and successive five-year plans. I'll trail with my running-mate across the page, Sam de Witt, in saying that the creation and appreciation of pure poetry is just about the biggest thing in life on this planet. The sheer happiness of communicating even the humblest of emotions (whatever that word may be taken to mean by our latter-day scientists) is something that cannot be put down on paper. Like Eastman, our row with our contemporary poets is that they either can't or won't communicate. They go off in corners and mumble under their breaths like stuffed shirts at a party of regular people. Small wonder they cut such a small figure in the world of 1931. I call Eastman's book as a signpost showing the way to a new integrity for poetry and its makers.

And since we are on the subject, I often wonder why it is that many Socialists affect to despise such cultural things as poetry, painting, the theatre, etc. I suspect a little a man who has subscribed to the most intoxicating dream that ever possessed the soul of man, to wit, Socialism, and then makes snoots at dreamers. I wonder how well he has grasped the Socialist scheme of things and how fitted he is to press forward with those who are bent on making a new world.

There is no particular virtue in being hard-boiled, although our Communist brethren would have us think so. Not if by hard-boiled you mean deliberately foregoing the few chances we have on this earth for getting what we are supposed to be as hard-boiled as any in America. I mean the cool-minded, and I shall never forget one night on an Illinois prairie in a wind-swept frame house when I sat with a bunch of coldiggers listening to the broadcasting of the Philharmonic orchestra from New York. They let themselves go to the magic of that music as no white-collared group in a concert hall ever released themselves. But it wouldn't have been healthy for you to have told them they were stasies for falling for Beethoven.

Wish we could have here and now a genuine ideal of that Socialist culture which once gave us go and color to our movement. If it comes, it must come from the youngsters. Here and there in isolated Socialist drama groups and singing societies and the like there are signs of it. Hasten the day when Socialists realize that by letting go of the things of the spirit, they are emptying all life of its significance.

The first Socialist speech I ever made I called, "Beyond Bread." It was delivered to a group of somewhat bewildered housewives in a New York Y. W. C. A. I got hot under the collar about the theme that next to bread came poetry and that the iron heel of capitalism was crushing out the finer things of life. I don't think I had the first idea of what I was talking about and I know that I was a bit incoherent with excitement. I may have been a raw kid, shooting off my face at an inappropriate time to the wrong crowd. But by all that is eternal, if any, I wish I could recapture that "first, fine careless rapture." Sometimes when I go drooling along about the power trust and concentration in modern industry and so weiter I have the strange sensation of hearing that kid's voice of fifteen years ago ringing in my ears and I wonder if with all my organized statistics and what lore of economics I have learned, I am really saying anything more important than I said that day before the tired housekeepers of the lower West Side.

So, nowadays when other kids come along dreaming out loud, I think it is for us ancients to give them full play. Sure, it is an old story for us and we have gotten gray and a bit cynical in hearing it, but just the same the excitement that comes upon finding the glowing heart of Socialism is the dynamic that will make our movement move, if move at all it will.

McAlister Coleman.

Slaves fight for what were better cast away—The chain that binds them, and a tyrant's away—But they that fight for freedom undertake The noblest cause mankind can have at stake.

Cowper.

We haven't heard anything for some time from those who used to ask Socialists about dividing up Hoover's "rugged individualism" commit to part with all that he had and he rested in the question any more.

France and the World Crisis

Comparative "Prosperity" of Nation Leads Bourgeois Opinion to Seek Isolation From International Problems

By Emil Vandervelde PARIS (AN NOVEMBER)

The elections of members of the General Councils, just held in France, occurred only six months before the general election due next Spring. Therefore they had a certain moral importance rare in a country where the departments have scarcely any autonomy and where personalities cut a big figure in the election of members of department and congressional district councils. This time, however, there was enough political influence in some regions to make the results more or less indicative of what is likely to happen in the coming general election.

For several months the Socialists had been winning many by-elections, almost always at the expense, not of the parties of the Right, but of the Radicals and Socialist Radicals. It was generally expected that this would happen in the General Council elections in October. Our comrades put up an imposing number of Socialist candidates and, on the other hand, M. Tardieu, Acting Minister of the Interior during Premier Laval's trips abroad, fearing a big Socialist victory, had recourse to the rather cheap trick of making public on the eve of the elections statistics giving the number of councillors whose terms were expiring according to parties and crediting the Socialist Party with a larger number than it really had, 157 instead of 127. By

using these figures for comparison the day after the elections it was possible to minimize the actual gains of the Socialists.

In fact, the Socialists gained about forty seats; fewer, it is true, than their previous successes had allowed them to expect. On the other hand, the parties of the Right, those composing the National Bloc, suffered severe losses. Furthermore, the Radicals and Socialist Radicals, who had been losing considerably to the Socialists for some time, cut heavily into the conservatives and staged a come-back worthy of being noted and explained.

There is no doubt that this advance by the Radicals at the cost, not of the Socialists, but of the Moderate Republicans, is largely due to the fact that, under the influence of M. Herriot, recently re-elected head of his party, the Radicals have swung sharply toward the Right in matters of militarism and internationalism.

Last September I had occasion to make quite a long trip through France and to meet the politicians of the "second and third zones," most of them Radicals, who are representative of the average opinion of the French bourgeoisie. This opinion, very badly informed by the unscrupulous yellow press regarding matters abroad, may be summed up

as follows: First of all it is for peace; but the peace of the status quo, peace as dictated by the Treaty of Versailles and its annexes, peace as won by victory, the peace of Upper Silesia and the Polish corridor.

In the second place there is the fear, constantly stirred up by the Nationalist press, of seeing 1914 begin again, of undergoing fresh invasion, of being compelled sooner or later to suffer the return of an enemy superior in numbers. This explains why the French bourgeois almost always stand for demands for billions and billions for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the most powerful military machine in Europe.

Finally, there is the firm intention not to lend a cent to any former enemies, except on security and with political guaranty; to follow a policy of strict economy toward everybody and, furthermore, in financial matters, the policy of glorified egoism. Let the others help themselves as best they can. Don't let us risk our good money to help them!

Of course, these last-mentioned ideas aren't blurted out like that in public speeches, but I venture to say that they constitute the intimate thoughts, born of distrust and anti-foreignism, of perhaps the majority of the middle

and upper ranks of the French bourgeoisie.

With conditions in Europe and the world as they are at present, this desire on the part of bourgeois France to keep by itself, to seek refuge in its gilded shell, to refuse to know anything about the storms outside, to have no wish to lift its little finger to conjure away the catastrophes menacing Germany and Central Europe, for example, constitutes not only a formidable threat to others, but also to France itself.

Less entangled in the crises of world economy than countries with a higher developed capitalism, France is still the bourgeois woman of seventy-five years ago, saving as an ant and hardly more exigent than one. Of course it must be admitted that while in the present state of world uncertainty it doubtless is necessary to show solidarity even with former enemies, it isn't so alluring. The average French bourgeois says to himself:

"We are enjoying a relative prosperity. Don't let us compromise it by running chances of fresh financial adventures for the sake of somebody else."

The trouble is that although at the moment France occupies a rather unique place in the community of nations it, nevertheless, is necessary to ask how long this

condition will endure. "Our prosperity?" said one of M. Laval's chief councillors to me recently in Paris. "Our prosperity? It has feet of clay!"

And, in truth, even though gold continues to flow into the Bank of France, even if Paris and New York are the financial centers of the world just now, the trade balance of France is becoming less favorable. The balance of accounts suffers severely from the falling off in tourist business. The budget of 1932 has been balanced only by expedients, by tricks, harshly criticized even by the bourgeois press. The trade in fine manufactured articles and luxuries is suffering a great deal. And it will be still harder hit if Great Britain adopts the tariff plans of Mr. Runciman and Neville Chamberlain. The number of unemployed workers, while not as high as in Great Britain, Germany or the United States, is almost one million. Agriculture is in desperate straits, despite protective duties. The wine-growers are the worst off of all, as their market is becoming more and more limited, especially since the United States went dry.

Thus the inexorable law of international solidarity asserts itself. This solidarity compels France to adopt a policy of international understanding and mutual aid, depending upon her for its success.

Will those at the helm in France grasp this fact before it is too late?

The Chatterbox

BY THE queerest sort of twists, I learn why psycho-analysis and I never get along very well. You can get a pooh-poo out of me anytime there is serious reference to it and its scientific pretensions.

Good friends speculate these days on my activities in the Socialist movement and out. I say it is a sub-conscious escape motive that helps me to escape from it. Just what I am trying to escape from is not so clear either with them or me. But escape from something dreadfully or distasteful it must be.

Speculation and inner searching brings me to light. Perhaps, it is because I detest business so much. Maybe I am thoroughly unfit for family duties. It might be the best inside is actually the timid, tender thing he always appears to be in the judgment of a blustering world.

Then comes the question, aren't there so many more in the party, and in so many other movements who must be escaping like myself...? A number, personally near, come to mind. Analysis of their known essentials and their characters reveal little more...

One grows impatient after much introspection with so little finding. You feel like gesturing "oh the hell" and going on to the next meeting or the next column.

But that's no way of escaping from escape. There's some sort of a slur that irks, in the business of qualifying with science what you know you are doing out of your full heart and mind.

My wife says that I make speeches because I'm really an actor at bottom, and for such a one there is no happiness except before an audience. That might have some bearing on the subject, except that so many of my speeches are made before such small assemblages. Yet before great crowds, I get the same measure of glow, if there is a sense of having put the message across with good effect.

And granted if her husband happens to be a thespian beneath the skin, might it not be possible that he combine a natural talent with an intellectual religion honesty; and with good office for mankind... This is a mean place to be arguing matters out with one's own spouse... Yet it is really the world and his wife that are meant here. Yes, ever since Socrates and Xantippe.

Busybodies have found time to psycho... slyke, I mean, our noisy, energetic and oftentimes impossible lads and lasses of Union Square. Inferiorly complex-thundering anathema against the gods in order to distract public sight from their obvious failings... or some such divine definition is spattered forth. Some folks imagine that a fine strut of rhetoric settles anything definitely. I'll grant you that a number of the Communist women are dumpy, or scrawny, or homely faced, and unattractive generally... The inference is then that they enter into the fevered world of revolt as an escape from the low esteem in which the better favored classes hold them. And the same goes for the men as well. The same thing was said of us Socialists when we crowded the sidewalks of the East Side long before the war... A number of respectable novelists analyzed us that way for the upper classes.

Whatever modicum of truth there might have been gleaned from this presumption out of a scattershot few among Communists or ourselves could in no way allow for a general judgment.

I have a full conviction that most Communists, handsome or unseemly, preach Communism because they believe in it. And quite so with us Socialists.

Even here, I would not permit any pathological intrusion. The source from which all our failings spring lies in the crazy disorder we are sworn to destroy. Let the analysis quacks, and the psychology Oom-pahs pother with the middle and upper strata. There's more money there, and certainly a more credulous market.

Just let us escape, if we are running away from some kind of an inner bogie-man. Let us play-act if we are so inclined. Let us clown our way through... Call us all the scientific names, stick us up on your specimen boards and label us with any Latin appendices you care to invent. If that be your subtle sense of humor with us, tickle it well. Our message has no meaning for the likes of you. And the world is wide and full of places where we must and will be heard. And life goes on all too rapidly. In short, to be rude, may we just say that we are too damned busy to waste any more time with you and your gentle art. But if you persist:

We may turn your method onto yourselves. And with greater truth... And you might learn how often mediocrity ridicules that which it dare not attempt to do. You might get to understand how dishonest your minds are. You see the truth, you find the struggle for it hard. You give up easily and console yourselves with plausible witticisms... It is much pleasanter to squat on the sidelines and blab expert emptiness about the game you haven't the courage to play.

Just step aside, great Alexanders of the brain empire, you're standing in the light...

Clifton Cuthbert, a young poet who appeared in this column quite a number of times several years ago, and whose work was always maturely fashioned in form and substance came back to all of us again with a splendid first novel, "Joy Street," under the imprint of William Goodwin, Inc.

Both in method and treatment, the work is prophetic of a brilliant future for this young writer. Here is no straining at erudite expression, no catering to accepted custom, no sex-slubbered self-revelation, nor any of the dozen and one other means whereby the up-to-date literary debauchee usually enters the reading world. And I am happy that none other than John Cowper Powys, unless him forth as a genuine "find."

Cuthbert takes the driver of a run running truck and through a week of living, loafing, loving and covering within the shadow of threatening circumstance, this plain, unlearned product of 1931 America strives to think a way out for himself.

The method of writing a whole book in the unadorned, stark language of Frank Ricci, bootlegger's truckman, monosyllabic in the most part, is daring and must have been a strain on the mental muscles of Cuthbert the poet. The love episodes between Frank and Rosie are complete, honest, and so naturally described, that one marvels as to whether it is sheer artistry or mere accident that no distastefulness is encountered.

Philosophy of a new order evolves itself clearly through the ponderings of this common lad. No one has ever attempted to run the thinking of such a fellow through the length of nearly three hundred pages. And while there is nothing particularly interesting, or abnormal, or peculiar about Frank Ricci, one reads through his thoughts, his hopes and his dread of doom with startling avidity... And the sentimental end leaves you hungry for more. Well done, Cuthbert... "Joy Street" is the best first novel in many moons.

S. A. de Witt.

THE NEW LEADER MAL-BAG

TRADE UNIONS

Editor, The New Leader:

A recent New Leader correspondent suggested that the Socialist party ought to regard trade unions as capitalist organizations and treat them accordingly, if not actively, then passively. The idea is intriguing as well as tempting.

The attitude of trade unions, as well as of Socialist unionists, seems to be that the function of the Socialist party is to cooperate with and help the unions, but should have nothing to say on their affairs and particularly is not to expect any cooperation or help from unions.

In the recent conference of Socialist trade unionists in New York, the one of the speakers expressed what to me appeared to be the temper of the conference. He said, "I understand that this conference was called by the unions and not the Socialist party." The passing of empty resolutions and the general expressions of regard for the party were mere lip services. There was no evidence of any understanding that the Socialist party and the unions were partners in common. No, the party was something one belongs to and is proud of as a pleasant pastime, but it had no meaning or power in their lives as trade unionists.

During the past year, in the Bronx, the party did itself and did a tremendous amount of work in assisting a number of unions engaged in strikes. Many comrades were arrested in free speech fights and many were held in meetings. On election day, these unions were approached to have their members, and many but were any furnished? Perish the thought. Everything for the unions, but nothing for the Socialist party. And we never complain.

The Bronx.

SOL PERLIN.

Editor, The New Leader:

In the report of the Counts-Shalen-Thomas-Woll symposium, printed in the issue of November 21, it is stated that Mr. Woll cited me on having said that Bolshevism and Fascism have spoken to this effect at our city convention some eight or ten months ago.

I am informed by some who were present at the symposium that your report of Mr. Woll's citation is correct. Without questioning his good faith, I must say that he has been misinformed as to what I said at that city convention. Whether Comrade Thomas, in replying to Mr. Woll, took occasion to challenge the accuracy of his citation, I do not know. In any event, as it has now put into print, I must repudiate it.

I have never said nor thought that Fascism and Bolshevism are "essentially alike." There are fundamental differences between them. In one matter, however, they are alike. They both depend upon the ruthless use of brute force to attain their ends. I did say, and shall say on all suitable occasions, that the Socialists ought to oppose distinctly whether of the Bolshevist or the Fascist type, or under any other form, as being injurious to the interests of the working class and inconsistent with Socialist principles and purposes.

ALGERNON LEE.

New York, Nov. 21.

THE READING ADMINISTRATION

Editor, The New Leader: Will you please inform me of what the Socialist administration in Reading has done for the unemployed? Also, what have they accomplished in office?

J. SCHULMAN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The New Leader has carried news stories and a few articles regarding the Socialist administration in Reading and any readers interested in obtaining more information should write the local organization in Reading—Editor.

PARTY PROBLEMS

Editor, The New Leader: The coming convention of the Socialist party in April will have to take stock of the reasons why the party has not grown in the last ten years. Not only have we not increased our membership, but our national vote has gone down since 1920. This at a time when Socialism was on the front page. More discussion about our move-

ment, and principles in the national press, could not have been expected by a party ten times as strong, both in votes and membership.

During the early 20's we thought that the people were too prosperous to pay attention to our message. The automobile, radio and movie being within reach of everybody with plenty of work and high wages, the workers could not and would not listen to an appeal for the overthrow of the system. We therefore modified our talk. Left a good deal of our revolutionary phraseology by the wayside. But it did not help. Why even the great LaPolette movement, when our Marxists accepted the leadership of the greatest opportunist in American politics did not do us any good.

And now we are going through a period of depression which is staggering in its scope, and still our party does not get the ear of even the most dissatisfied elements. Our meetings are very moderately attended. Hardly any enthusiasm is felt, rather a detachment would express it better. Why in 1907 there was more activity, life and growth in one month than during these three years of the present industrial depression.

The 1932 national convention will have to think and ask, if we are to survive as a party of the workers about the reasons for the loss of influence in the unions which were regarded as sympathetic to Socialism. Prior to the war we could expect at least an effective group at the A. F. of L. conventions to voice the sentiments and hope of radical actions but now these things are only a vague memory.

And finally, a political movement like ours must take opportunity to advance its cause every time it is offered. We did not. Time and again we missed to come in the right moment. I have nothing against our national executive committee, but a change would probably be timely. At least an increased membership to include the younger elements and ideas in our midst. For it is useless to deny, that there is dissatisfaction with our official position on several very important subjects. Russia and trade union stand being the major ones.

I don't want to make my letter too long, but if any constructive work and an attempt to grow is contemplated a discussion must be started at once. Also criticism should be accepted gratefully, without some older comrades jumping on every dissenter with a shower of brick-bats.

Brooklyn, N. Y. LOUIS SADOFF.

THOMAS AND MOONEY

Editor, The New Leader:

As secretary of the Boston Central branch Young People's Socialist League, I have been requested to advise you that we recommend Comrades Norman Thomas be nominated as candidate for President and Tom Mooney be nominated as candidate for Vice President on the Socialist ticket, at our convention next April.

SAYDE F. MARCUS.

Boston.

THE PARTY NAME

Editor, The New Leader:

I wish to take exceptions to the views of those who believe it advantageous to the Socialist party to change its name. There are many things to be taken into consideration before we should permit ourselves to speak on a subject of such vital importance.

First, let us review and compare the conditions of our country when the Socialist party was founded, with conditions today. I am not a historian, neither a candidate for ridicule, but I wish to call your attention to some facts well worth your consideration. When the Socialist party was founded, and until it became recognized as a working class political factor, it met with but little resistance from the capitalist class due to the fact that there was a bitter competition within the capitalist ranks for supremacy in our home markets. This, however, meant a weeding out and forcing to the wall the small manufacturer. With this we do whenever we drop the banner under which we are fighting and the principles for which it stands are known throughout the civilized world.

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"His Love Song," A Fine Film at the Europa

Soon to Appear on Broadway



Joseph Schildkraut will open at a Broadway playhouse late this month in "Gallery Gods," a play from the German of Richard Duchsinsky, and presented by Reginald Hammerstein.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

EUROPA DOES IT AGAIN
"SEIN LIEBESLIED" ("HIS LOVESONG"). A film opera; music by Robert Stolz. At the Europa.

The little house on 55th street, where "Two Hearts in Waltz Time" was so long and pleasantly displayed, has found a worthy successor in "His Lovesong," with the same attractive star, Willy Forst, and by the same composer. Equipped with English titles, the picture runs smoothly for any beholder; those who know German snare a deal of humor in the dialogue, and in such bursts as the rhodomontade of the speech of welcome to the jazz-singer, and the master of ceremonies' final words to "the dragon," mistress of the cafe.

This story of mistaken identity and unknown father, of sweet schoolgirl and jazz band boy, is above the average level, and rich with little turns of lively humor. Shown with photography that takes advantage of every mood and moment—from the deft dimming of the background of dancers to the neatly avoided close-ups—"His Lovesong" should hold wiser audiences at the Europa.

Also on the program is an amusing—oh!—interpretation of the Hungarian Rhapsody; and our favorite animal short, the fight between a cobra and a mongoose—now equipped with talkie by Dr. Ditmars of the Museum.

FROM RAGS TO RICHES
"A CHURCH MOUSE." Adapted by Frederick and Fanny Hatton from the Hungarian of Ladislav Fedor. At the Playhouse.

Ruth Gordon, who took our heart as one of the excellent players in "Hotel Universe," alone lifts on her sturdy shoulders the flagging moments of "A Church Mouse" and speeds them on. Not that all her wizardry can completely transfer from banality this tale of a stenographer who marries her boss. Bert Lyell makes a fair fellow of the Baron who, taking his first stenographer as his mistress, swans the ugly duckling second into his bride. It's true this play was a hit in Hungary; it's true Ruth Gordon is an actress growing in power, and well worth beholding. But why, oh why, keep turning dear old Cinderella into tawdry theatrical tales!

MEGAPHONY DRAMA
"LOUDER, PLEASE." By Norman Krassa. At the Masque.

There's noisy fun in this hurry-scurry scheme to put across a new star in the movies (female, this time; not as in "Wonder Boy"); and the plan includes a faked motorboat disappearance and all the sort of thing that Aimee MacPerson used to seem to want to go in for. But it is Lee Tracy, as the chief press agent, to whom one may trace enormous proportions of

Popular French Comedienne in Ed Wynn's Musical Hit



Jeanne Aubert is at her best in Ed Wynn's newest musical, "The Laugh Parade" at the Imperial.

The evening's amusement. Mr. Krassa has been able to provide a surface farce that calls for swift direction and speedy playing; George Abbot provides the first, and Tracy heads a cast that scampers, dashes, cavorts and bounds to supply the rest. At least, there is no rest for the wicked, nor for the press agent of a movie star. Anyhow—or somehow—the evening passes before one looks at one's watch; a last smile, and the whole thing is forgotten. Or ask Santa Claus.

Lily Pons Recital at Carnegie Hall Dec. 19; Sponsored by Women's Trade Union League

On Saturday afternoon, December 19th, Lily Pons will be heard in a song-recital at Carnegie Hall. Tickets for this concert, which the Women's Trade Union League will run for the benefit of its educational department can be bought at the box office and at the League's headquarters. Prices are \$1 to \$3.

"It is merry, it is malicious. It is an uproarious evening's entertainment." —ROBT GARLAND, World-Telegram

LOUDER PLEASE
with LEETRACY
Staged by GEORGE ABBOTT
MASQUE 45th Street
W. of E'way. Eves. 8:30, Mat. Wed.-Sat.

IMPERIAL THEATRE, 45th St. W. of E'way. Eves. 8:45
Mat. Wed. and Sat. 2:45
ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!!
ED WYNN
(THE PERFECT FOOL) in
The LAUGH PARADE
with JEANNE AUBERT, LAWRENCE GRAY and others
"By far the best and funniest entertainment in town." —GALLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM.

"Battle of Gallipoli," Adapted From Powerful Novel "Tell England," Has Premiere at Cameo

"The Battle of Gallipoli," a film which British critics compared as equal to "All Quiet on the Western Front," will have its American premiere showing at the RKO-Cameo theatre starting today.

Anthony Asquith, son of former Prime Minister Asquith, directed this picture, which was adapted from Ernest Raymond's novel, "Tell England," a book which is now in its 33rd edition in Great Britain.

The British Admiralty cooperated with Mr. Asquith in the making of the film and Sir Ian Hamilton, who was in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, re-enacts his own part in the landing of the British, Australian and New Zealand troops on the beach at Anzac and the tragedy of the landing of the 29th Division from the River Clyde on V. Beach. This expedition has been called "the war's greatest tragedy." Millions of men lost their lives here and finally the British were forced to abandon this point of attack.

Carl Harbord, Tony Bruce and Fay Compton play the leading roles in the story, which forms a background for this adventure.

Asquith is known here for the direction of his two earlier silent films: "Underground" and "Shooting Stars." This is his first sound effort.

Guthrie McClintic's Second Production, "Distant Drums," to Star Pauline Lord

Guthrie McClintic announces the return to the stage of Pauline Lord in "Distant Drums" by Dan Totheloh, which will go into rehearsal this week. Miss Lord has been absent from the theatre for two seasons. She was last seen in Eugene O'Neill's "Strange Interlude." Arthur Kohl and Beulah Bondi have important roles in support of Miss Lord.

The play will open in New York early in January, to a theatre still to be arranged for.

"Distant Drums" is Mr. McClintic's second production of the season. He re-opened the Belasco Theatre November 9th, presenting Francine Larrimore in "Brief Moment" by S. N. Behrman, which with Robert Douglas, Louis Calhern and Alexander Woolcott in the cast, is said to be mounting toward capacity business, and will play at the Belasco Theatre indefinitely.

FRANCINE LARRIMORE HELPS THE UNEMPLOYED
Francine Larrimore, star of "Brief Moment," now playing at the Belasco Theatre, took charge of a booth at Bergdorf Goodman's from two to four o'clock on Tuesday, November 24, to aid the unemployed.

Leslie Banks in Spring Time for Henry
A Bright New Farce by Benn W. Levy with HELEN CHANDLER, NIGEL BRUCE, FRIEDA INESCORT
BIJOU THEATRE
45th St. West of Broadway
Opening Wed. Eve., Dec. 9

Two of Broadway's Popular Stars in A. L. Jones' Current Attraction at the Cohan Theatre



Lenore Ulric and Sidney Blackmer are the stars of "The Social Register" which has settled down at the George M. Cohan Theatre for what looks like a run.

"Frankenstein," Acted by an Important Cast Which Includes Colin Clive, Mae Clarke, John Boles and Boris Karloff, Has Long Awaited N. Y. Premiere at Mayfair Theatre Today

Reputedly packed to the brim with rousing thrills, and called the most original film ever to reach the screen, Universal's eerie "Frankenstein" will make its debut at the RKO Mayfair Theatre, today, with Colin Clive, Mae Clarke, John Boles and Boris Karloff in the featured roles.

The extraordinary story of a young scientist who brought a human monster to life through weird electrical mechanisms and surgery is based upon the fantastic eighteenth century narrative of the same name written by Mary Shelley, wife of the poet.

Karloff, in his characterization of the man monster, is said to wear makeup weighing forty-eight pounds in itself. Once, of "Journey's End" fame, was brought expressly from Europe to enact the scientist, and Dwight Frye, of "Dracula," plays the important Dwarf of the picture.

James Whale, the famous Englishman, directed "Frankenstein," and John Balderston, Garrett Port and Francis Faragoh prepared the screen adaptation. Arthur Edson, the well known cinematographer of "All Quiet on the Western Front" and "Waterloo Bridge," photographed the picture and

GILBERT MILLER presents HELEN HAYES in MOLNAR'S New Comedy The GOOD FAIRY
"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable, entertainments in town."
—Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American.
HENRY MILLER'S
Thea., 124 W. 43rd St.
Eves. 8:30; Mat. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40

"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"
"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram
A Musical Love Story by JEROME KERN and OTTO HARBACH
GLOBE THEATRE, E'way & 46 St.
Evenings at 8:30
Matinees Wed. & Sat.

"COUNSELLOR AT LAW"
by ELMER RICE
with PAUL MUNI
PLYMOUTH THEATRE, W. 45th St.
Eves. 8:30, Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40
Phone LA 4-9759

George White's 1931 Scandals
with Ethel Merman
Willie & George HOWARD
Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER
GALE QUADRUPLITS
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW GIRLS ON THE STAGE

EARL CARROLL VANITIES
9th Edition—All New—with WILL LILLIAN, WILLIAM NARONEY, ROTH DEMAREST
Fifty Notable Principals and a Company of 200 Featuring
45 of the most beautiful girls in the world
75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Balc. 50c
MATS.: Tues. & Wed.—Entire Orch. \$2; Sat. Mat., \$2.50; Balc. 50c.
SEATS FOR 4 WEEKS AT BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL THEATRE, 7 Av.
Eves. 8:30, Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

ERLANGER'S THEATRE, 2nd 44th St.
PENN. G-7903—Eves. 8:30
CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO.
MILTON ABBORN, Director
—presents—
The FIREFLY
Rudolph Friml's Operetta with ILSE MARVENGA and Superb Cast
PRICES: Eves. 50c-2.50, Wed. Mat. 20c-1.50, Sat. Mat. 50c-2.50

"Surrender" at the Fox B'klyn Stars Warner Baxter; Aby Lyman and Lively Revue on Stage

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre's well balanced program this week includes "Surrender" on the screen; a new and lively Fanchon Marco stage show; Abe Lyman and his band, and Hal Beckett, the organist.

"Surrender," based on Pierre Benoit's novel, is a fascinating love story with the war serving merely as a background. There is a dashing young Frenchman who finds himself a prisoner in a German punishment camp. As an electrical engineer, he is assigned to wire an old castle close by and there meets a beautiful Prussian girl who regards him as an enemy, but following frequent meetings falls in love with him. The resultant conflict furnishes an exciting denouement to this film.

Warner Baxter portrays the leading role. The supporting cast includes Leila Hyams, Alexander Kirkland, Ralph Belamy, William Pawley and Howard Phillips.

Fanchon & Marco, makers of stage and screen stars, here introduce some rising young talent in their "Tomorrow's Stars" idea. They are Bernie, Veronica & Walker, Mary Miles, Wanda Allan, Anderson & Allen, Zelma, Fern Dale, Buddy & Gretel, Harry Stockwell, Chiyo Kadomatsu, Helen Ireland, Dorothy Welch, and Thea Nelson.

"Papaver" Returns Legitimate; French Hit to Open Soon

Charles K. Gordon and Joe Zelli's current long run hit "Papaver" at the Apollo Theatre, Paris, will return the Vanderbilt Theatre to legitimate when its English version will be shown there the early part of January.

The play was dramatized by Mr. Gordon from the popular German novel by George Froeschel and now is being adapted from the French version for Broadway. While in no way based upon the famous Tom Mooney case in California, the plot deals in a humorous fashion with capitalistic oppression of the worker.

Powerful, Tense Drama of Wartime BATTLE OF GALLIPOLI
Thrilling story of the famous and ill-fated offensive of the British and Australian troops
RKO CAMEO 42nd St. and E'way
STARTS TODAY

ROXY 7th Avenue & 50th St.
"THE CUBAN LOVE SONG"
with LAWRENCE TIBBERT, LUFE VELEZ and JIMMY DURANTE
—On the Stage—
"A Rhapsody in Color"
In five big scenes
32 Roxelites and Ballet Corps
"Current Hits"
The Incomparable Roxy Theatre Symphony Orchestra

CAPITOL
Broadway and 11th Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
JOAN CRAWFORD CLARK GABLE
"POSSESSED"
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
—On the Stage—
TRIXIE FRICANZA
in "HIGH HAT REVUE"
Yasha Bunchuk and Grand Orch. Concella

4th Week
"strictly Dishonorable" is super entertainment."
—REGINA CREWE, N. Y. AMERICAN
STRICTLY Dishonorable
with PAUL LUKAS, SIDNEY FOX, LEWIS STONE
A Universal Picture
Presented by Carl Laemmle
CRITERION
BROADWAY AT 44th ST.
Twice Daily 2:45-8:45
3 Times Sun., 3:45-8:45

"1931—"
By CLAUDE and PAUL SIFTON
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE THEATRE GUILD
Mansfield Theatre
41st St., WEST OF BROADWAY
OPENS THURS. EVE., DEC. 10

TWO SECONDS
with Edward Pawley
CAST of 58—21 STIRRING SCENES
RITZ THEATRE, 48th St. W. of E'way.
Eves. 8:30, Sat. 11 to 13
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—Best Seats \$2.00

Champ
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture with WALLACE BERRY JACKIE COOPER
ASTOR 157th St. & E'way.
Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30
3 Times Sun. & Hols. of 2-8:30
Mats. (Exc. Sat.) 50c to \$1, Eves. 50c to \$2
Seats on sale at box office

In First New York Showing at the Mayfair Theatre



A strong cast of well known players brings "Frankenstein" to the Mayfair for an indefinite run.

"Springtime for Henry," a New Farce by Benn W. Levy, Brings Helen Chandler Back to B'way Stage; Leslie Banks and Nigel Bruce Also in Play Presented This Week by MacGowan and Reed

Another Broadway actress who went to Hollywood and thereby increased her New York popularity to nation-wide dimensions, is returning home to her first love—the spoken stage. This time it is Helen Chandler who is retracing her steps to the Broadway theatre. On next Wednesday evening, Dec. 9, she will appear in a featured role in a new farce called "Springtime for Henry," by Benn W. Levy, who is remembered as the author of two of last year's successful plays, "Mrs. Moonlight" and "Art and Mrs. Bottle."

"Springtime for Henry" relates the amusing results of a private secretary's attempt to reform her employer. Miss Chandler plays the part of the serious-minded stenographer who tries to separate Henry Dewlip from some of his bad habits and vices. She partially succeeds because Henry (played by Leslie Banks) falls in love with her. But Benn Levy, the playwright, has a firm conviction that love is a sentimental and upsetting feeling that always involves people in unpleasant consequences. He expressed this belief in "Art and Mrs. Bottle" and

in another play, not yet produced, in which love is denoted by the title—"Mud and Treacle."

Consequently, in "Springtime for Henry," the playwright again makes the point that being in love is a disaster—makes the point with tongue-in-cheek and with a gay manner of surprising nonsense. "Springtime for Henry" is being presented at the Bijou by Kenneth MacGowan

Thelma Todd, who previously has appeared exclusively with Zasu Pitts in a series of comedies for Hal Roach, last week signed a new contract to appear as leading lady for Charley Chase in his forthcoming picture.

The Biggest Folk in the Show World! MARILYN MILLER
in "Her Majesty Love" with LEON ERROLL, W. C. FIELDS, FORD STERLING, BEN LYON, CHESTER CONKLIN, GUS ARNHEIM'S BAND
Winter Garden
Broadway & 50th Street

Wizards of Wisecrack! JAMES CAGNEY AND JOAN BLONDELL in "BLONDE CRAZY"
STRAND
BROADWAY & 4TH STREET
Continuous—Popular Prices

How Much Does a Woman Have to Stand From The Man She Loves? RICARDO CORTEZ MAE (Waterloo Bridge) CLARKE in "RECKLESS LIVING"
WARNER
BROADWAY and 2nd St.
35c to 2 E. M. Mon. to Fri.

At both Beacon B'way & 74th St. Brooklyn Strand Fulton & Rockwell
Joe E. Brown
in "Local Boy Makes Good" on the BEACON stage
Gene Dennis
PSYCHIC WONDER GIRL

5th WEEK
Greatest Foreign Film Value THE MUSICAL FILM ROMANCE
OPERA BALL
Sparkling, Tameful Viennese Comedy WITH ENGLISH TITLES
—Extra Added Feature—
"Kaiserliebchen"
with Walter Janssen of "Two Hearts"
Little Lulu
3:30 to 1 P.M. CARNEGIE 5th St. E. 35c to 1 P.M. CARNEGIE 5th St. E.

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

Little Library of Socialism Is Published

20 Blue Books, All New, Now Available Through Socialist National Office

CHICAGO.—The twenty "little blue books" on Socialism, over which some of the world's most eminent Socialists have been working for the past year, is now ready for distribution.

Each booklet is complete in itself, taking up some one phase of Socialist history, philosophy or program. Each is written by an outstanding authority in the field covered. In four cases, authors outside of the United States were chosen because of their superior grasp of the subjects treated.

Titles and authors of the series are: "Socialism and the Farmers' Problem," Algernon Lee; "Socialism and the Future," Upton Sinclair; "Why I Am a Socialist," Howard Brown; "Socialism and the City," Daniel Hoan; "Will Socialism End the Evil of War?" Evers Allen; "Socialism and Communism," Norman Angell; "Fascism," "Socialism," "McAlister," Coleman; "Socialism Under Socialism," G. D. Cole; "Socialism and the Trade Unions," James O'neil; "Current Objections to Socialism," Harry W. Laidlaw; "Socialism," "The Socialist Goal," Fred Henderson; "The Betrayal of the Workers," McAlister Coleman; "Can Socialism Prevail in America?" James O'neil; "Foreswearing Socialism," Paul Blanchard; "Organizing the World for Socialism," Clarence Taylor; "Socialism and the Individual," Norman Thomas; "Socialism and Men," Marion Phillips; "The Practical Accomplishments of Socialism," Morris Hillquit; "The Practical Program of Socialism," Harry W. Laidlaw; "The Political Philosophy of Socialism," Morris Hillquit.

The set may be purchased for \$1 from national headquarters, Socialist party, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.

Arizona

An organizing trip through the state will shortly be undertaken by J. T. Landis, who has done valuable work for the party in the mining districts of Colorado. Landis is a good speaker. Readers of Socialist papers who want to arrange meetings should get in touch with national headquarters, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago, at once.

Well and Bibbee will shortly have Socialist local, Brownie Potter is using it.

After Wobler of the Yuma local that they intend to start a house to house distribution of literature.

Indiana

A drive for new members in Kokomo is being conducted by the state office, through Effie M. Mueller, secretary, Route 10, Box 337, Indianapolis. Following preliminary arrangements made by correspondence, Edward Henry, state organizer, will visit the community to discuss the work which can be reorganized as the result of the Rev. Hahn's address.

Missouri

Missouri is organizing a circle of the Peoples Socialist League in its preparations for the big annual convention since the war national expansion has been here the latter part of January.

Michigan

BOIT.—One of the most popular activities of Detroit BOIT is the Saturday night forum at headquarters, 69 Erskine street, where speakers of exceptional ability stand and lecture. On these Saturday night meetings, these Saturday night meetings are developing into the liveliest.

and most stimulating forum in the city. The speaker last Saturday was Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, who spoke on "The Worker Under Capitalism." Saturday, Dec. 5, Dr. William Lewis, staff member of one of Detroit's large hospitals, will discuss "Socialized Medicine." On Dec. 12, Dr. Walter Bergman, Detroit Teachers' College, will talk on "The High Cost of Needy Money."

The Detroit Labor College is now located at 69 Erskine street. It offers courses in economics, public speaking, trade union history and other subjects. The class in economics under the able leadership of Harry Risenman has been engaged in original research work of great value. They have just completed the preparation of a budget representing the minimum income necessary to support a family in Detroit and are starting an investigation into the wages of Detroit workers. Their findings will be made available to party speakers and others.

Each public speaking class is very popular and is developing a group of able young speakers to carry the message of Socialism to the people of Michigan. All the members of the public speaking classes are members, are urged to enroll for at least one of the courses offered by the Labor College.

Illinois

CHICAGO.—The Socialist open forum conducted by the Sixth Congressional District branch every second and fourth Wednesday at 8:30 p. m. at 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago, announced its program for December: Dec. 9, William H. Seed, attorney and student of labor movement, on "The Courts and Labor Legislation"; Dec. 13, Borders, secretary, Chicago chapter, League for Industrial Democracy, on "Whither American Intelligence?"; The public, particularly workers, are invited. Discussion and questions. Free admission.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill reports that advice from Boards of Election show that in practically every county where a campaign worthy of the name was made there was a substantial increase of Socialist vote this year. In counties where a campaign was allowed to go by default there were decreased votes.

This was true in every case, except in one county where the party had a popular candidate who was in the field for member of Assembly. In this instance there was an increased vote without any campaign.

Hempstead

CHICAGO.—The Hempstead branch of Local Nassau County will hold its third forum meeting on Dec. 16 at 8:30 p. m. at the Hempstead branch meets in Odd Fellows Hall, Front and Franklin streets, Hempstead, L. I.

L. I. D. Lecture Course

L. I. D. LECTURE COURSE.—In a municipal party headquarters are helping to promote the L. I. D. winter lecture course. This course of eight lectures will begin in January. A list of speakers will include several of the most prominent Socialist lecturers in the country.

Jamestown

JAMESTOWN.—The Rev. Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo, 1928 candidate of the party for Lieutenant Governor, is to speak at a mass meeting in City Hall, Jamestown, next Monday evening, Dec. 7, Mayor Carlson, non-partisan, is to preside, and the money raised at the meeting will go to the fund for insuring the party headquarters.

Nassau County

NASSAU COUNTY.—Cedarhurst and vicinity branch was instrumental in organizing a Yipsel circle on Nov. 24 at the Inwood Socialist headquarters. The charter members, twelve in number, formed a junior circle in accordance with their ages, for the development of their educational, social and athletic desires. The seniors are now soliciting members and hope to have very strong Yipsel groups in Nassau County very shortly, utilizing the beautiful Socialist headquarters and they expect to be of great value to the Socialist movement in general.

On Thursday, Nov. 26

On Thursday, Nov. 26 (Thanksgiving), a mass meeting was officially opened with Dr. Bohn of the Rand School as speaker. A turkey supper was served by the women comrades, and this was a real jolly affair. The enthusiasm for the party which prevailed is the best sign for the year.

21st A. D.—A meeting was held last Saturday evening in the home of Comrades Grosz and Quine, at 114 West 10th street. Quite a number of new people were present. The headquarters committee rendered its report and in a short time an announcement will be made as to the location of the next meeting.

YORKVILLE.—The branch will meet at its headquarters, 241 East 84th street, on Thursday, Dec. 10, at 8:30 p. m. Dr. Sterling Spiro, co-author of "The Black Worker," will talk on conditions in the coal mining districts. On Christmas Eve, the Yorkville branch will hold a party at its headquarters at which both kiddies and grown-ups will be entertained. On New Year's Eve, the branch will hold its annual ball at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street. This is always a gala event. Music will be furnished by Otto Matzner's Flying Dutchmen. Tickets are \$1 per person and may be obtained from Kurt Dietl, 241 East 84th street. Come and start the New Year right.

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WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, Dec. 10, at 600 West 181st street. The Sunday evening forum continues to be successful. This Sunday the guests speaker will be Peter LeRoy Brown. His topic, "The Future of the American Family."

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS BRANCH held a special meeting Dec. 3rd. Comrade E. Michael White, our new speaker, will preside at this meeting. Admission will be free and the public is invited. Carpenters Union, Local No. 9, donated their meeting hall as evidence of their desire to cooperate in this meeting.

YONKERS. Twenty attended the last meeting which reorganized the local. The branch meets on Tuesdays at 57 Riverside avenue, at 8 p. m.

N.Y.C. Branches Urged To Discuss Proposals For Convention Agenda

UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE.—All branches of the Socialist party are urged to elect at least two delegates to the conference on unemployment at Stuyvesant High School, 2nd and 15th street, Wednesday evening, Dec. 9, at 8 p. m. Credentials should be sent to the city office, 7 East 15th street.

AGENDA OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—A sub-committee was elected by the city executive committee to accept proposals to be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming national convention of the party. The agenda is in Greater New York and is urged to consider and discuss proposals to be presented to the national convention and to submit these to the sub-committee as soon as possible.

MANHATTAN

CHELSEA.—Invite your friends to our game and card party this Saturday, Dec. 5, at 122 Waverly place. The game will be open all evening at 25 West 1st street. Plans for a dance will be completed this week. May Harris has organized a beginners' class in Socialism, which meets every Thursday evening, 8 to 9 p. m., at 31 Jan. street. All are welcome. Our next meeting Tuesday, Dec. 15, will discuss suggestions to be submitted to the city and national conventions of the party. Members of the educational committee will lead the discussion.

BRONX

3rd A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Dec. 8, at 8:30 p. m., in the Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. Following the business meeting an interesting discussion will be held on some important current events.

The branch educational committee will shortly announce an interesting program of lectures, symposiums and group work on the program of the party. The program will be held in the parlors of the Educational Center, 2nd and Amsterdam avenue, each Tuesday evening for the purpose of carrying out its program.

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MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—The next meeting will be held on Thursday evening, Dec. 10, instead of Tuesday evening of the same week. This is by far the most important meeting of the year since it will be devoted to the election of officers and the formulation of plans for the new year. On Sunday night forums have been well attended and the speakers we have listened for the future should make it necessary for a resumption in the usual forum to listen to the speaker on Dec. 6 will be Aaron Levenstein, one of the most brilliant speakers among the younger members of the Socialist party. The program of speakers scheduled for December are: David Kaplan, August Classens and Morris Glaser. Under the leadership of Bill Hahn, the branch has taken the lead in the program of the party. The Socialist party and the Yipsels, physically as well as mentally. The branch has secured the use of the grand hall at 180 West 12th and Amsterdam avenue, each Tuesday evening for the purpose of carrying out its program.

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very gratifying. Five applications were received, several more were promised, and a number of comrades will be transferred to other branches. Organizers Classens gave an informal talk to the new people gathered. Following his talk their applications were made out and the branch proceeded with a motion to organize and elected officers.

Comrade Frankie was elected organizer; Evelyn B. Cohen, financial secretary; and Eneborg Lawrence, general secretary. Delegate to the city central committee: David Breslow; delegate to the county committee: Eneborg Lawrence. A committee was elected to arrange for an instant meeting, and the date has been set for Tuesday, Dec. 22. Norman Thomas will be present to greet the membership of this new branch.

18th A. D. BRANCH 2.—A meeting of the branch will be held on Monday evening, Dec. 7, in the headquarters of the Workers' Circle Center, 3820 Church avenue. Immediately following the business meeting the speakers will be Herbert M. Merrill, former Assemblyman and at present state secretary of the Socialist party. His topic is "Socialism and Invention." These educational meetings will be held every Monday evening, Dec. 7, in the home of Max Frankie, 934 Carroll street, at 8:30 p. m.

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NEW LEADER

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James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors:

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



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

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1931

Robbing the Robbed

MOST studies of American politics in recent years have been cynical. The writers regard the modern successful politician as a compound faker, charlatan and ignoramus, with enough scoundrels thrown in to make capitalist politics about the nastiest brew to be found anywhere in the world.

The latest disclosures at Washington correlate with this point of view. In New York City we have the spectacle of Democratic officials administering unemployment funds to serve their sycophants and to strengthen their political power. This is like robbing starving men of bread. At Washington the Republican administration of "farm relief" has revealed a similar situation on a much larger scale.

Press dispatches from Washington tell the story of fat grafters living in regal splendor on farm relief funds while at the same time the starving farmers are handed over to the professional skinners. The Agricultural Marketing Act was ostensibly intended to relieve the farmers of these parasites but the organization set up under this act has been an agency for continued farm misery.

The patience of the laboring millions is a marvel. Ben Hanford used to tell how to rob a man who is broke. These politicians show how to rob men, women and children who are starving. It is fortunate for the grafters that the masses do not know the full significance of all this and have not learned of the potential power they have. Full knowledge of it coupled with an elemental fury may some day sweep capitalist politics and politicians into oblivion and many of the grafters may count themselves fortunate if they do not end their days behind concrete walls and steel bars.

We suggest party slogans for next year. The Democratic banner should carry the inscription, "Rob the Unemployed" and the Republican banner, "Rob the Starving Farmers." Both parties are looking for an issue. Here it is.

Easley's Drug Store

MATTHEW WOLL gets into the headlines again in a noble fight for the holy republic of capital and finance. As the acting president of the National Civic Federation, the national drug business managed by Ralph M. Easley, Mr. Woll reports the result of a questionnaire regarding arms limitation which he sent to presidents of commercial, labor and patriotic organizations. He was careful to enclose with each copy of the questionnaire a copy of an article by Easley who warned that Soviet Russia is building an army of 22,000,000 men to "smash all civilization." We think that Mr. Woll should have sent an Easley pamphlet to the labor organizations in which that gentleman would tell how he cooperated with the steel magnates in breaking the steel strike of 1919. It would make very interesting reading, especially if Mr. Woll would be kind enough to write an appreciative introduction to it.

But never mind. The republic of Mellon, Morgan, Rockefeller, Two-gun Pete and Easley is safe as a result of this questionnaire. The Labor and Socialist movement of the world is gathering millions of signatures to petitions to present to the limitation of armaments conference in Geneva next February and Mr. Woll decided to take this referendum of "patriotic" citizens. It is completed and the republic is safe. The returns show that quite a minority did not make the required satisfactory answers but that can be Easley remedied. The refractory ones can be spotted and some of Easley's powerful drugs can be sent to them to cure them of their seditious tendencies.

Yea, fellow patriots, so long as the Physic Federation has a good stock of opiates on hand we need fear nothing and if you think that Mr. Woll isn't looking out for the interests of the working people of this country make a call at Easley's drug store and get the right dope.

The Round-Up

AL and Frank are in the headlines now and will remain there until the national political auction next year. We mean Roosevelt and Smith. The voting millions are expected to be much concerned about the maneuvers of the two politicians and yet the success of either in the Democratic nominating convention means no more to the working millions of this country than the rivalry of two feudal chiefs in the old days of feudal bondage.

In past years Al has nominated Frank and Frank has nominated Al for office and the affection of one for the other has been pathetic. Now both are wooing the same prize and Al carries a meat axe under his coat and Frank has an automatic up his sleeve. They are "friendly," of course, but it is as Mr. Dooley told Mr. Hennessy—"trust every one, but cut the cards." When Al calls on Frank he is careful to back out of the door when leaving and when Frank calls on Al he is just as careful.

And now we have Frank in a campaign biography, the kind of book that usually finds its way to the second hand shop where it finally sells for five cents a pound. Smith's arrived there before Roosevelt's to accompany Hughes's, Lowden's, McAdoo's and Hoover's. These "biographies" are like the wrappers on your favorite soap; they reveal nothing but conceal more than they reveal, and what is concealed is of more importance than what is advertised.

In short, the drovers are getting ready for the great round-up that comes once every four years. Two herds are to be gathered, one bearing the D brand and the other the R. It is the politics of capitalism which conceives of voters as cattle and if you like it—well, that is what you will get.

Negro Housing

A REPORT by a committee of President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership considers Negro housing in this country and some items indicate what the Negro masses face under the starry banner of freedom. The South is an old story but these items refer to Northern communities where politicians once blathered their affection for the slaves.

In all centres the Negro population endures "overcrowding, dilapidated structures with primitive sanitary arrangements, high rents and unusual difficulties in financing home ownership." In large Northern cities they pay much higher rentals than the white families who precede them. The situation in New York is interesting. The average rental per room for housing of low income groups is \$6.67, but for Negroes it is \$9.58. One paragraph of the report reads:

The level of Negro income points him toward the sections of low-priced dwellings. From the new developments Negroes are almost universally barred. The available houses thus are limited to these run-down areas. Few repairs are made and eventually a point is reached at which it is more profitable to admit Negroes than to lower the rentals further. Few new houses are built in the Negro areas. The standards embodied in building ordinances and sanitary codes thus cannot easily be applied to their dwellings. The chances for improvement are extremely rare.

Socialists often talk of the working class but there are layers within the working class and the Negro masses are at the bottom. The shameful discrimination implied in this report is revolting. A socialist society would destroy it root and branch and the Negro masses would share in the ample incomes, healthful homes, and the cultural advantages to which all workers are entitled. The report appears to be an indictment of this phase of American capitalism.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

The C. P. L. A.

Add the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to the number that have gone "where the woodbine twined." It began in a justified protest against the arbitrary methods of Matthew Woll in trying to estrange Brookwood Labor College. Organized late in May, 1929, it has veered from its declared policies which made it chiefly an educational society to reach conservative workers. Largely under the direction of A. J. Muste, it has steadily moved in the direction of a shame-faced Communism. It has never been able to accept the genuine article but has wooed its discarded lovers.

One by one Socialists have left it, the process beginning within a few months after the founding of the C. P. L. A. It required time for it to assume its present character but some of us knew what was coming more than two years ago. Jim Maurer and Harry W. Laidler are out. If our information is correct most of the New York members are out and now the delegate committee of the party in Chicago wants the N. E. C. to rule that no party member can be a member of the C. P. L. A. Before such a motion could be adopted all party members will be out and Muste will be left with his syndicalists, Communists and near-Communists where we may be sure that he will get a trimming before many moons.

The fact is that the educator needs educating. Muste has no underlying working class philosophy. He is erratic and subject to emotional moods. If he has any underlying views they are a compound of sentiment, syndicalism, Communism, laborism and emotional reactions coupled with a belief that there is a general's baton in his knapsack that will be recognized by a grateful working class some day. We may have more to say of Muste later on.

Proletarian Villages

American capitalism appears to be producing proletarian villages in the heart of the great cities as a result of the depression. Manhattan has one on East Side and a Brooklyn village has recently received publicity. A recent issue of the Pittsburgh Press carries a full page illustrated story of a similar center called Shantytown in Pittsburgh. Out of old boards, tin and odds and ends Hoover's "rugged individuals" are digging themselves in for the winter. As these proletarian villages expand let us hope that an American Gorky will emerge from them to write of the regime of our grand dukes, a ruling class as useless as the parasites who passed into oblivion with the Russian revolution.

Crosses—The Story of War



1. FEAR

2. FABRICATION:

IT IS THE WILL OF GOD THAT WE TAKE UP ARMS TO SAVE CIVILIZATION, ETC., ETC.

3. FIGHTING

4. FINIS

-R.O. BERG-

-Drawn by K. O. Berg.

The Philadelphia Jobless

300,000 Unemployed Men and Women Face the Winter

By A. J. Biemiller

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — The January, 1931, census of unemployed showed that Philadelphia had the dubious honor of having the third highest percentage of unemployed workers of any large industrial city in the country. At that time the number of unemployed was 247,000, or 27.1 per cent of the 890,000 wage earners in the city. There were 138,000 workers on part-time that month. In October of 1931 there were 241,000 unemployed, a percentage of 27.1 per cent, and 156,000 workers on part-time, a percentage of 17.5 per cent. These figures will increase during the winter. The Bureau of Unemployment Relief expects at least 300,000 workers to be totally unemployed in January.

The available figures do not permit analysis of the number of heads of families unemployed. However, a more significant fact is that 56,000 families have all wage earners without any work whatsoever. In other words, one family in eight in the city of Philadelphia has absolutely no income at the present time. 156,000 families have one or more wage earners totally unemployed in October.

The Dole at Work

In raising funds this year, the two regular charity agencies, the

Welfare Federation and the Federation of Jewish Charities, united with the Bureau of Unemployment Relief (familiarly known as the Lloyd Committee), to raise a fund of \$9,000,000. Out of the fund, \$3,600,000 is to go to the Welfare Federation, \$1,400,000 to the Federation of Jewish Charities, and \$4,000,000 to the Bureau of Unemployment Relief.

The bureau estimates that it will need at least \$10,000,000, and hopes to get the other \$6,000,000 through city and state appropriations. The united campaign started on Nov. 9, and was to have ended Nov. 25. On Nov. 25 Mr. Cyrus H. K. Curtis, manager of the drive, announced that the campaign would continue until the \$9,000,000 had been reached, as only \$6,750,000 had been raised.

Altogether last year \$7,400,000 was expended in the city of Philadelphia for relief of the unemployed, exclusive of the regular charity budgets. Four million of this sum came from private subscriptions, and \$3,400,000 from city appropriations. This amount was doled out for the most part in grocery orders. The Bureau of Unemployment Relief allows at a maximum \$5 a week for groceries for a family of five. In some cases allowances are made for milk, coal, gas and shoes, which brings the total to \$9.10. The inadequacy of

this sum can be seen by comparing it with the budgets for a family of five prepared by the Family Welfare Society and the Federation of Jewish Charities, which are respectively \$21.49 and \$21.82 a week. Another slant on the \$5 grocery order is seen in a statement issued by Alexander Fleischer, director of the Child Health Society, that the minimum food allowance for a family of five which will maintain health is \$8.50. He regards the \$5 grocery order as a certain starvation route to the hospital.

Dr. Jacob Billikopf, director of the Federation of Jewish Charities, has estimated the total amount needed for adequate relief of Philadelphia unemployed during the coming year will be from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000. This estimate is based upon absolute minimum requirements. The Bureau of Unemployment Relief expects 750,000 families will be needing aid during this coming winter.

No Help From City

J. Hampton Moore, Mayor-elect of the city, has served notice that the city will give no appropriation for relief in 1932. It is true that the city's finances are in such shape that the city is virtually bankrupt. Beside that fact, Happy Moore himself, the great white hope of so-called independent Republicans, has stated that he is unalterably opposed to any form of governmental appropriation for relief. Hence there is little hope of any funds coming from the city.

The state constitution specifically prohibits appropriations for direct outdoor relief. All of the plans proposed for the emergency session of the Legislature for unemployment relief are nothing but public projects and would not touch the great mass of the unemployed. Proposals to circumvent the constitution are meeting with concerted opposition.

On Nov. 24, Mr. Horatio Gates Lloyd, director of the Bureau of Unemployment Relief, appeared before a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives at Harrisburg and appealed for state aid. After calling the legislators' attention to the 56,000 families in Philadelphia who have absolutely no income, he went on to state, "We have been compelled to cut our cost according to our cloth, and of necessity our relief has been meagre and inadequate. We are able only to provide groceries and milk—those in insufficient quantities—coal, gas and shoes. We have paid no rent." Later he added, "We face 1932 with a larger volume of unemployment and a greater amount of distress, but with less money in sight."

There most certainly will be need in Philadelphia this winter of federal appropriation for relief. Many of those who now have work but will be unemployed by January or February have been victims of wage cuts. The indices of the Federal Reserve Board show that the drop in the index of wage payments from August, 1929, to October, 1931, is 29.4 per cent greater than the drop in employed hours. Furthermore tens of thousands of factory workers have been coerced in one way or another into contributing to the relief fund. If they become unemployed, they may be fortunate enough to draw back the amounts they have contributed. But certainly, with their wage

Neither Song Nor Sermon

AT the risk of being listed among the "talmudists, pundits, and pedants" of the Socialist movement (no doubt I'm also on that list, anyhow) I'm going to put in a warning against what on Thomas Hobbes called "the evil of insignificant speech." Words are indispensable tools of thought. For us Socialists, if we know what we are about, thinking is an important process. We ought not to handle our thought-tools carelessly. Loose usage of words is often the result of superficial or confused thinking; but quite as often inaccurate thinking results from misuse of words.

I have several current instances in mind. Within the last few years we Socialists have been overworking the slang word "racket." In the argot of the underworld this term had a fairly definite meaning. We have picked it up and used so indiscriminately that it has ceased to mean anything in particular.

Whenever we wish to refer disapprovingly to any mode of getting money, on a large or a small scale, lawfully or unlawfully, whether it be a normal part of the workings of the capitalist system or something quite unconnected with it, we save ourselves the trouble of clear statement and explanation by saying "It's a racket"—which is, so far as any good purpose is concerned, just saying nothing at all. We denounce capitalism. In all good faith, someone asks us what capitalism is. "Oh," we lightly answer, "it's a racket," and go on denouncing it.

If saving ourselves trouble of thinking is the object, such expressions are very useful. As Mephistopheles tells the student, "When ideas are lacking, a word can serve instead." But since when has mental laziness been accounted a Socialist virtue?

Or consider the word "dictatorship." Lenin knew what he meant by it. He gave it a concise definition, and used it accordingly. But of late it has come to mean anything and everything. The Bruening government in Germany, the present so-called national government in Great Britain, the regime in Spain under the Constituent Cortes—all three of these have within the last week or two been publicly referred to as dictatorships. Are they all essentially alike? Is there no fundamental difference between them and the Bolshevik government in Russia or the Fascist government in Italy? Oh, don't be a pedant! Let's call them all dictatorships, and let it go at that. And what is a dictatorship, then? Why, everyone knows what a dictatorship is; it's a racket.

I have another example in mind, not quite so flagrant, but perhaps even more mischievous. But it will have to wait.

Meanwhile, let me ask: What would you think of a physician who should not bother to distinguish the specific qualities and effects of morphine, cocaine, heroin, veronal, and half a dozen other drugs, but should content himself with regarding all as "dope"? Would you entrust a patient to his care?

Two weeks ago I commented on the notion that we could ensure cuts, they have been unable to save enough money to tide them over the unemployment emergency. If we accepted the relief committee's estimate of 750,000 families which will be in want, and give those families the admittedly inadequate \$5 a week they are now receiving, Dr. Billikopf's estimate of \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 is about right. Hence for even the starvation minimum now being administered in relief in Philadelphia, the city would need at least \$15,000,000 from the federal government.

At the Labor Temple
"This Concept of Equality" will be the subject of Dr. Edmond R. Chaffee's lecture at the Labor Temple Sunday evening at 8 o'clock. Dr. G. F. Beck will speak on "The Nemesis of American Business" at 5 P. M. Stanley A. Day will give an organ recital at 7:45.

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