

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Chicago's Political Baroque—Respectables and Municipal Misgovernment—New York's Scandals and Its Governor—In Congress—Muscle Shoals and Unemployment

CHICAGO.

I AM just leaving the city which Big Bill Thompson says he built. He is running a circus show there now. Degrading as the Chicago primary campaign is, you can't dismiss it simply with contempt for the Chicago brand of urban democracy. Thompson's principal opponent, Lyle, candidate of the "responsible" Tribune to clean up the city, is from all that one hears in Chicago no better than Thompson, quite as much of a demagogue, less likely to give the Negroes and other national groups "a break," and at least as open to question as to his personal character. So billingsgate and libel suits flourish. Both principal candidates—especially Thompson—stage a good show. They've even got down to campaign meetings for "men only" and "women only" in Chicago!

The people like it? Yes, democracy of the present order has its share of blame. But not far away is Milwaukee where the people like something infinitely better and have it. Cincinnati has a progressive city manager on a plan democratically established and likes him. Detroit had a real election, not a circus, when it chose Mayor Murphy.



Norman Thomas

BUSINESS AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THE biggest trouble in Chicago, as in New York and Philadelphia, is that the rich and powerful and on the whole the "respectables" generally, while they may not like Thompson's circus, or Capone's gang, or New York's vice revelations, would rather have Thompson or Tammany than take a chance on a real program of municipal Socialism which might arouse the masses. If the Thompson gang or Tammany get some quiet, well, don't they earn it by keeping the masses amused and grieved for the benefit of landlords and utility magnates? Haven't the insults got what they wanted from Thompson?

In other words, it will take aggressive Socialism to stir our great metropolitan center against the Democratic and Republican giants. In Chicago the party is slowly gaining ground. There may be a chance of our electing one Alderman. Collins for Mayor heads a ticket a Chicagoan can vote with clear conscience when the election comes around.

THINGS ARE HAPPENING HERE

IT IS a great pleasure to see the activity at the National party office. Things are happening. Clarence Senior and his young helpers are doing a real job!

ROOSEVELT LOOKS TO 1932

I AM a little out of touch with New York affairs, but it looks as if New Yorkers couldn't be very high hat about Chicago. Governor Roosevelt's move for an investigation in the Magistrates' courts in Brooklyn and Queens is good, but belated. I suspect that the Governor knows that if he wants to be president he will have to look a little independent of Tammany and McCooey, which it is fairly safe to say that he is re-elected. When will he think it safe to tackle our banking department and our inadequate banking laws? And what does he think of the adverse report of the Senate Committee on that Niagara treaty with Canada, which he so enthusiastically praised? We Socialists were the first to point out that this treaty or the agreement with the Niagara Power Company under it was not a victory as Roosevelt claimed over the company, but another big gift to it. The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs has been slow. We need a new treaty with Canada to protect the falls. But we don't want it at the price of water diversion to a private company which Roosevelt approved.

THE N. Y. BOSSES STICK TOGETHER

THE fate of the legislative investigation of New York City sheds a bright light on the cynicism and moral rottenness of both old parties. Every Democrat hears his master's voice and votes to defeat an investigation that his party rightly fears. The Republicans can't make a real case for investigation because they fear investigation upstate, where in one small county one of their officials has got away, it is charged, with more than \$80,000. And imagine Sam Koenig as an authority on good government in New York City! Maybe some Republicans aren't as sorry as they pretend to be that Republican Boss Ward, of Westchester, stands by Democratic Bosses Curry, McCooey and Flynn, of New York City. It's bosses need to stick together.

MUSCLE SHOALS UP TO HOOVER

CONGRESS did a good job in passing the Muscle Shoals bill for government operation of the power plant and transmission of power. The compromise which provides for leasing of the fertilizer plant to a private company which will have a bonus of 15 per cent more power than it needs for making nitrate for fertilizer is another matter. It seems by no means sure that Muscle Shoals is or can be equipped for the most economical way of producing nitrate for fertilizer, or that it is a new fertilizer plant is needed at a time when existing plants claim that they can produce about twice the probable annual demand for fertilizer. To be sure, cheap fertilizer for farmers is important, but power rather than fertilizer is the chief useful product of Muscle Shoals. Now it is up to Hoover, who can use the old trick of a pocket veto if he so desires.

CONGRESS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

OVER this Washington's Birthday, as I write, it would seem pretty certain that a Congress which could find money for an immense army and navy budget could do nothing specific for the immediate war against unemployment. It did finally pass the Wagner bill for counting the unemployed and for setting up a reserve fund for future public works. It appropriated no money toward state unemployment insurance, no money for direct relief of the unemployed—unless they happen to be war veterans—who need help now while other plans are being set up, and it made no great appropriation for public works over and above those which could have been begun anyhow. It is a shameful record. But what could we expect when the workers demanded so little and the A. F. of L. did not even ask unemployment insurance?

"TAKE IT FROM THE STARS"

WE call this an age of science and some times an age of unbelief. Yet Evangeline Adams gets big money from the radio and otherwise for telling how the stars in infinite space shape our little destinies. And the Chicago Tribune, "the world's worst—pardon, great—newspaper," gives away \$25,000 weekly in prizes from \$500 down to \$10 for Zodiac readings. All you have to do is to send in your name, address, birthday and "ambition." Doris Blake and the stars do the rest. The winners who have "the most interesting readings" all have noble ambitions, like taking care of homeless children, being a good wife and mother, etc. The readings are so general that they could be made to fit almost anyone. But \$10 is \$10 and \$500 is \$500; these are hard times and so the names pour in. A credulous generation lets the stars do it. No wonder we don't make a better record in the struggle for plenty, peace and freedom!

I DEEPLY regret that my Mother's illness compelled me to cancel certain dates. I hope to make it up to my South Dakota and Iowa friends later on.

Thrift Is Delusion, Prof. Fisher Shows

How the bankers fool the public with talk about thrift is shown by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale in his latest book, "The Money Illusion."

Fisher points out that thrift is a failure. A worker, he says, who put \$100 in the bank in 1896 at 4 per

cent compound interest, would today have about \$300. But that \$300 would only be worth \$80 at 1896 standards. The worker by saving \$100 actually was deprived of the use of twenty per cent of his money. In the meantime the bankers had the use of these 1896 standard dollars, and gained large and immediate profits from them. Their dollars gained enough interest to surpass the rate of inflation.

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Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
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Penn. Blocks Bread Cost Investigation

Socialists Cause Consternation by Putting Old Party Legislature on Record

By Arthur MacDowell

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The two Socialist members of the House of Representatives have pulled a coup that is the reason for much chuckling on the part of political observers on Capitol Hill. The Socialists have, aside from introduction of bills and two resolutions and the careful answering of roll calls, not taken the floor of the Assembly or taken any extensive part in debate. The day following the Governor's address to the Assembly on unemployment, Rep. Hoopes had risen to a point of personal privilege to read a challenge on behalf of the Socialists of the Governor's claim that existing relief measures were sufficient to meet existing unemployment crisis. The Socialist leader on behalf of himself and Rep. Lilith Wilson declared that relief of a genuine and effective character was obtainable only through state-wide, compulsory unemployment insurance such as was proposed in Bills No. 30 and 34 introduced by the Socialists. Clippings from Harrisburg papers of the morning following the Governor's assertion which told of the suicide of an unemployed family head and the confession by local welfare associations that they had spent the major portion of their budgets in the single month of January were also made part of the record.

Record Vote Asked

On Feb. 16th, Rep. Hoopes submitted a resolution calling for an investigation of the high price of bread in Pennsylvania by the State Department of Agriculture. The resolution was laid over for his resolution and in a sharp speech called for its adoption. Rep. Turner of Delaware moved to commit to the Appropriations Committee because of the request for an appropriation contained in it. Hoopes turned the laugh on the Delaware member by interrogating him as to his reason for failing to make a similar motion on his own resolution for an endorsement of the present Senate investigation of utilities. He intimated that the motion to commit was a motion to "pickle."

The vote to commit was apparently passed on a yea-nay vote and the Socialist members at once moved for a roll call vote. The roll call proceeded in a half empty House and it was not until the calling of the roll was more than half completed that political leaders awoke to the significance of being on record hostile to inquiry of the cost of bread. Then the leader of the Pinchot Republican forces, delivered a hearty "no" on the motion to commit; but it was then too late. The majority of both the Philadelphia and Pinchot Republican factions present were already on record. The news spread around the Capitol and was greeted in the Senate by profane amazement, one Senator inquiring as to "Who in H— put the House on record as opposing investigation of the price of bread?"

With few exceptions, newspapermen held the story awaiting expected retreat. It came. Numbers of members recorded as in favor of "pickling" crowded around Hoopes to explain that it was all a mistake as they voted against the resolution simply because it was moved by a Socialist. D. Glenn Moore, leader of the Pinchot forces, who control the

Pellagra, Flu, Hunger Ravage Strikers' Homes

WASHINGTON, (FP)—Reports submitted to Washington headquarters of the National Women's Trade Union League by Miss Matilda Lindsay, its organizer at Danville, Va., show that pellagra, flu and hunger are ravaging the homes of the 4,000 textile workers who went on strike in the Danville mills last September, and who called off the contest on Jan. 29. Local Red Cross assistance to the ex-strikers has thus far consisted in giving help to 365 families in one week and 300 families in the past week. There are 1,500 cases of flu, and a rapidly growing number of cases of the hunger-disease, pellagra, among the children. Only about 150 of the former strikers have actually been taken back at regular jobs in the mills.

Girl Striker Is Killed In Stroudsburg

Hosiery Worker Shot by
Strikebreakers—Phila.
Strikers Updaunted by
Arrests

STROUDSBURG, Pa. (FP)—Alberta Bachman, young girl hosiery worker, was shot to death and three companions, all on strike against the Mammoth Hosiery Co., were injured when fired upon by three scabs at Stroudsburg, Tuesday, Feb. 24.

A heavy rifle, a .32 calibre revolver, and a shotgun were the weapons used. Although the shooting took place shortly after midnight, no arrests had been made up to the time the scabs went to work the following morning, and the sheriff had not planned to make any. He was forced to act by pressure from a citizens' committee. Those arrested are John Dago, Clark Miller and Robert Arnold. They are held without charges pending the inquest.

The funeral on Saturday, Feb. 28, was attended by numerous members of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. One hundred and fifty workers are still on strike. Their demands include no discrimination against strikers and revocation of a 20 per cent wage cut, which would bring the scale back up to within 10 per cent of the union rate.

MANY ARRESTS IN PHILA.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA.—A militant union waging a militant strike. That's the story of Philadelphia's hosiery strike.

When 2,800 operators walked out Monday morning from 30 open shop mills in the Kensington district of the city at the call of the full-fledged workers' union, the courage of their action was repeated in the stirring developments that followed.

The strikers immediately found that in addition to fighting wage cuts and long hours, they had to fight the police force of Philadelphia.

Strangely enough, their old foe, the injunction, was not among the means used by the manufacturers in their attempts to break the strike.

One mill, the Quaker, owned by the notorious union-busting Bromley interests, sought to evade the strike test by not opening Monday morning. Wednesday it called one-third of its force, about 300 workers, back to the machines only to have them walk out in a body the same day.

The union's success at the second largest mill involved in the strike, scared the owners of the

Party Drive Brings Spurt In Activity

Contributions Increase
Markedly—Sinclair
Sends Senior 11,000
Names

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The Socialism Forward Drive mail has been swelled during the past week by a huge increase in the answers to requests for contributions or pledges. Not only has the number of answers jumped up, but the average amount paid or pledged by each individual has risen.

"If the results from the Drive continue to show the gains they have up to the present, we will make our goal of \$50,000 by May Day in spite of unemployment and the actual physical distress of some of our members," Norman Thomas, who was in Chicago on a speaking tour, said.

"New friends are being gained by the Drive, and localities where there has been no Socialist organization for years are now beginning to organize. If those who can afford any sum at all will only contribute their share as willingly as some comrades who have made real sacrifices for the sake of Socialism, the success of the Drive and a real 'come-back' for the party are assured."

50 New Locals Possible

"Already over one dozen former party members or sympathizers have written the Drive headquarters in response to letters, expressing joy over the advances the party has made lately, and asking for information and assistance in forming a local." According to Clarence, Senior Drive Director: "We are using many lists of persons who had no contact with the party for many years and who now want to get back into the fight for a better world at a time when fight looks more hopeful than it has in the past decade," he said. He urged all persons possessing lists of persons who might be inclined to contribute or to help in any other way to send them to Drive headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois, immediately.

"If everyone will help, we will not only raise our year's budget of \$50,000, but we can also have FIFTY NEW LOCALS ON OUR BOOKS!"

Among those who have sent in lists during the past week are Upton Sinclair, who sent 11,000 names; Elizabeth Gilman, member of the Drive Committee and Socialist candidate for Governor in Maryland in the fall election; Fred General, Brookwood graduate who is now Pennsylvania state organizer; Joseph Hamburger, Jimmie Higgins contestant; John E. Sala, state secretary of Minnesota; C. A. Bushnell, member of the Colorado S.E.C.; Bruno Wagner, American agent for the International Federation of Trade Unions; and N. Chanin, president of the Workers' Circle.

Duplication Unavoidable
Although all lists that can possibly be checked against each other are checked, some duplication is inevitable unless a great deal of time and money is spent comparing the large number of names to be circularized. All lists are checked against the names of those who have already contributed, Senior said, but if some person happens to receive more than one letter he should remember that several of his friends may have suggested him, or he may belong to several friendly organizations. Therefore, if he saves the Drive money if everyone will answer the requests for pledges or contributions as quickly as possible.

New York State has pitched in to the Socialism Forward Drive

Standard Oil Trust Takes Shape Again; U. S. Court Gives Aid

Socialist Branches Urged to Propose Agenda
Items for National Conference June 19 to 21

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party having definitely set the date for the National Conference as June 19-20-21, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a call has been issued by Morris Hillquit, national chairman, asking all locals and branches to notify National Headquarters within the next month of the items they wish placed upon the agenda of the conference. A preliminary agenda containing resolutions adopted by the branches and locals will be prepared and submitted to all subdivisions of the party for further amendment and revision. All suggestions should be sent to National Headquarters, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. The Washington meeting of the N.E.C. will determine the basis of representation from the states.

Labor Conference Sunday Will Plan WEVD Defence

Funds Are Needed to
Carry on Fight for
Free Speech Station

STRONG protests are pouring in from all over the country on the Federal Radio Commission at Washington, D. C. against the second attempt to revoke the license of the Debs Radio Station, known as WEVD. A hearing will take place before the commission on March 8, in Washington.

Among the organizations who have sent in protests, are not only those that have always stood by all Socialist and progressive movements, but many of the more conservative bodies. They all feel that WEVD is serving the general interests of all workers' movements in the best spirit of the man in whose memory the station was founded, Eugene Victor Debs.

Organizations signing resolutions demanding that the station be permitted to operate, include the United Textile Workers of America, the resolution being signed by the president, Thomas F. MacMahon, and the general secretary, James Starr. Many machinists' locals as well as building trades unions, have done likewise.

The station, according to a statement issued by Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and G. August Gerber, the active officers of the radio station, is in very serious danger of being forced to close down by the governmental authority. Only a strong protest will save it.

Every organization is urged to participate in the protest conference called for Sunday, March 1st, at 2 p. m. at the Broadway Central Hotel, 63 Broadway. Organizations, including all unions, branches of fraternal bodies should be represented by three delegates. Where organizations do not meet in time the officers of every group are urged to attend. Prominent speakers as well as one of the country's most famous radio engineers will address the delegates.

Socialist Party branches have also been invited to attend the conference and it is hoped that they will have a good delegation on hand.

In the meantime, the station stands in urgent need of financial assistance. The decision of the radio commission has involved the station in a costly contest. Devoted to giving the minority groups in the United States an opportunity to express its views, WEVD has had to rely on men and women in Socialist, labor and liberal ranks for its main support. Contributions are needed now more than ever and should be sent to Station WEVD, Debs Memorial Radio fund, 45 West 45th street, New York City. They will be acknowledged promptly.

Family Relief in Cities Grows Rapidly

WASHINGTON.—Eighty-four American cities having 50,000 or more population spent a total of \$3,641,925 for family relief in November, 1930, as compared with only \$1,648,354 in November of 1929, according to an unpublished report which was submitted on Jan. 22, to the President's Emergency Committee for Employment.

N. Y. Standard and Vacuum, Separated 20 Years Ago, Merge Again

NAT'L MONOPOLY NEAR POSSIBILITY

Congress Aiding Rockefeller Interests Fight Off Shell Union Competition

By Louis Stanley

THE revival of the Standard Oil Trust supposedly dissolved by court decree in 1911, seems assured. The inability of government to prevent the trustification of industry is again demonstrated and the contention of Socialists that nationalization is the only solution for the evils that arise under capitalism is once more upheld.

Two of the Standard Oil companies that were among those separated by the dissolution order twenty years ago have reunited. They are the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company. On February 7, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis gave these two permission to unite as the General Petroleum Corporation. The merger had been announced a year ago, on February 21, in defiance of the court order of two decades ago. The United States Government brought suit on the ground that the dissolution decree had been violated. Meanwhile, the two companies have proceeded in carrying out their plans and the stock of the General Petroleum Corporation was admitted to dealing, when, as and if issued, on the New York Curb Exchange February 24, 1930.

Standard Oil—First Trust
Standard Oil is responsible for the name "trust," and perhaps more than other corporate interests for the anti-trust laws on our statute books. John D. Rockefeller entered the oil business only three years after the first successful oil well had been drilled at Titusville, Pa., in 1859. He and his partners expanded their business rapidly until in 1870 they had the Standard Oil Company of Ohio incorporated with a capital stock of one million dollars. At that time the Standard Oil already the largest oil company in the country, controlling ten per cent of the oil refined in the United States. It made deals with the railroad which enabled it to ship its oil so cheaply to market that the independents were forced out of business. By 1879 the Standard Oil controlled more than ninety per cent of the country's oil refining. It was in this year that the Standard Oil gentlemen invented the "trust." This was a scheme whereby some two score companies turned over their shares of stock to a board of trustees and received in turn trust certificates. The trustees managed the affairs of the companies thus placed under their control in order to secure the maximum profit possible under such monopolistic conditions and in order to drive the remaining independents out of business. So successful was the Standard Oil trust that it was initiated by trusts in such other industries as cotton, oil, linseed oil, lead, whiskey, cordage, and sugar. The outcry against these "Big Business" methods became so persistent that court actions and hostile legislation were instituted. In 1892 the Standard Oil Trust was declared illegal in Ohio, but it continued a secret existence until the Ohio courts began to attack it again. It was then that the Rockefeller and allied interests decided to change their giant into a new form. Presto! The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was incorporated under the lenient New Jersey laws with a capital stock of ten million dollars. It was a holding company owning the stocks formerly held in trust by the trustees, who now became the directors of the new corporation. The company in addition went into the oil business on its own account.

The fear expressed by middle

An Announcement

of vital importance to all readers
of THE NEW LEADER will be
made in THE NEW LEADER
next week.

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New Leader Publishing Association.

\$10,000,000 Asked of U.S. To Aid Aged

**Detroit Representative
Attacks Henry Ford at
Hearing in Washing-
ton**

WASHINGTON (AP)—First Senate hearings on the Dill bill (S. 3257) providing \$10,000,000 annually to "encourage and assist the States in providing for pensions to the aged," conducted Feb. 24 before the Senate subcommittee of the Committee on pensions, appeared deeply to impress the Senators as to the immediate need for federal action. Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, in charge of the argument for the bill, presented witnesses who spoke for the organized labor movement, the organized social activities of the churches, and municipal authorities. In opposition there appeared spokesmen for the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Metal Trades Employers' Association.

Edward F. McGrady, for the American Federation of Labor, filed a vigorous argument for the bill.

Harry Riseman, Detroit attorney, speaking for Mayor Murphy's committee on unemployment relief and for the Michigan Unemployment Council, testified to the need for old age pensions as a relief measure affecting the unemployed. He described "Henry Ford's Silent Partner"—the city of Detroit, which is paying out \$800,000 each month to maintain ex-employees of the Ford Motor Co. who are out of work. In 1929, when the Ford profits were \$39,000,000, Henry Ford contributed nothing, and Edsel Ford only \$130,000, to the \$3,000,000 Community Chest for local philanthropy, while last year the head of the firm again failed to donate. Since Ford's properties are outside the city, he pays no taxes. He employs 4,000 men to maintain his physical plant when it is closed for repairs and reconstruction, but the city, his silent partner, has to devote 36 percent of all its charity to supporting the human half of the Ford plant when the management does not find it profitable to pay them wages.

Kennedy Hits Private Schemes

Rabbi Edward L. Israel of Baltimore, speaking for the commission on social justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, pleaded for old age pensions as a civilized advance from the barbaric, fifth and cruelty of the almshouses. He remarked that it was significant of the ethical importance of the old age pension movement in this country that the three great divisions of the religious community—the Federal Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference and his own organization of the Jewish congregations, stood absolutely united in favor of this measure of belated justice to aged workers. These pensions, he declared, were only a deferred payment by the community to persons whose lives had been devoted to toil which built up the industry prosperity. As for private pension systems, they usually turned out to be a disguised enslavement of the workers. On the Western Maryland Railroad, for example, he found the lockout of the engineers followed by a stoppage of pensions to all retired engineers who refused to scab. Only the threat of exposure by church spokesmen forced the company to restore these payments.

Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, stated that his organization had found, in the Arkansas field for one instance, that private pension schemes faded away when the industry slumped, the union opposed private pension stipends, because they carried the threat of an order to scab. In Pennsylvania, he said, an old age pension law enacted by the legislature was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court, whose own members were awaiting pensions from the state under an existing law which required no contribution from their salaries. He argued that enactment of this federal law would remove the argument against state pension laws for the aged. The Mothers' Pension law in Pennsylvania had, fortunately, not had to run the gauntlet of the courts. Opposition to old age pensions, he believed, was based on the employers' desire to escape just taxation.

Opposition from the manufacturers was to the effect that an old age pension would weaken the character and lower the pride of the worker.

OLD AGE INCOMES

These are provided by the Brotherhood of the Commonwealth through an inheritance feature on payments of \$5.00 per year on which annual dividends are paid. For further information write to GUSTAVE BASSLER 301-11th St. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boston Unions and Socialists Organize Employment Conference

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—The Socialist Party of Boston called an unemployment conference in the American House on Sunday, Feb. 22nd, and had delegates from a number of unions including the Boston Central Labor Union present, as well as delegates from a few of the Workmen's Circles and the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Societies.

A member of the State Committee of the State Federation of Labor reported to the conference that the State Federation of Labor had endorsed the principle of unemployment insurance although they had not endorsed the Socialist bill. Michael Flaherty, a Socialist Party member active in the Boston Central Labor Union, presided.

Penn. Blocks Bread Costs Investigation

(Continued from Page One)

House, announced that the resolution would be reported out of committee next week. The matter was at an end except for the laughs at the near-panic of certain members. However, it is safe to expect after this rap on the knuckles that house members will not take any "sight unseen" chances on Socialist-sponsored measures.

8 Hour Day Sought

The eight-hour day, cardinal demand of the organized labor movement, is now before the General Assembly in a bill introduced by Rep. Hoopes.

The eight hour measure introduced by Rep. Hoopes provides for a universal eight-hour maximum for daily employment, allowing a very few exceptions. Exceptions would be penalized by a requirement for a time and a half rate of pay. Following the cue of the Oregon 10 hour day act for women, the Hoopes measure would have the Commonwealth assert that the regular practice of hours longer than the legal limit was injurious to the health, general welfare, and ability of the citizen to function effectively in civic matters. The case for the Oregon Act was successfully fought before the United States Supreme Court by the present Justice Brandeis, then a private attorney, who set up a new current in American legal history by submitting a brief made up entirely of medical and technical authority opinion. The Socialist measure now before the Pennsylvania law makers also bases the eight hour provision firmly upon an expression of State responsibility in the matter of unemployment.

"Involuntary unemployment," reads the bill, "is hereby recognized as one of the most serious evils of our present industrial system, and it is the public policy of this Commonwealth to limit the hours which employed persons shall be permitted to work, in order that the available work may be distributed among a greater number of persons, and the evils of unemployment thereby abated."

Bronx Socialists to Hold Annual Dance March 7

The annual affair of the Bronx Socialist Party will be held in Hunts Point Palace, Saturday evening, March 7. All signs point to the possibility of achieving a larger success at this year's affair.

An excellent program has been arranged, featuring Irma Duncan and her six popularly known, as Isadora Duncan Dancers. Their program will consist of a number of their best selections. Another great attraction will be Eli Spivak and his group known as "Around the Samovar," famous Columbia Broadcasting troupe; the well-known Soprano Raquel Shanek, and David Medoff, popular Jewish tenor and his company will complete the program. Immediately before and following the concert, dance music will be played by Schiller's Dance orchestra.

Tickets are now on sale at every Socialist Party branch and headquarters, and also at the main headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, Bronx. Price of admission is \$1.00 in advance; tickets at the door \$1.25.

Finally, a handsome Journal will be printed and distributed at the affair containing many excellent articles and a great number of complimentary ads from members and friends of the Party who contributed their share towards the success of this concert and ball.

Proceeds will be devoted to Socialist propaganda and organization work in Bronx County.

Find Illinois Child Labor Laws Unenforced

CHICAGO.—Illinois' present laws on child labor and school attendance are being enforced with laxness, which is especially deplorable in these times of unemployment, according to a report submitted to the legislature by the Chicago civic committee of 200, headed by Henry P. Chandler.

EINSTEIN SAYS

The way to abolish war is to declare in peace time your refusal to give service in war time. If you agree with him, enroll with WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE 121 West 12th St., New York City

Socialist N.E.C. To Aid Berger Memorial Drive

**Dinner Sunday Night
Will Launch Work of
the Foundation**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in Washington, D. C., for their first quarterly meeting of the year, will conclude a two-day session at a dinner to be given in their honor at the National Press Club on Sunday evening, March 1.

Coming on the seventy-first anniversary of the birth of the late Victor L. Berger, one of the founders of the American Socialist movement, the committee will assist in launching at the dinner the Victor L. Berger National Foundation, organized to honor Berger's memory by creating a permanent fund for the advancement of his ideals and the perpetuation of his service to minority movements.

Mrs. Meta Berger, widow of the Socialist leader, and herself a member of the national executive committee, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, Morris Hillquit, who succeeded Berger as national chairman of the Socialist Party, James H. Maurer, Socialist vice-presidential candidate in 1928, Howard Y. Williams, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, and the Rev. Elliot White, a member of the Foundation's national council, will be among the speakers at the dinner.

Clarence Darrow, noted liberal leader, and president of the Foundation, has promised to make an effort to attend the dinner.

Costello to Attend

Delegations from various eastern cities, including New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore will occupy tables reserved for them at the dinner. Friends of Berger's residing in Milwaukee will make a trip east for the occasion, headed by E. J. Costello, editor of the Milwaukee Leader, the paper which Berger founded.

The dinner will start off the nation-wide campaign that is planned for the creation of the memorial. Various cities will be visited by Mrs. Berger, Mayor Hoan, Darrow and others to secure the support of all those in sympathy with the plan, which is to help build up the working class press throughout the nation, defend civil liberties, and assist in advancing the ideals of world peace.

Among those who have agreed, in addition to Darrow, to sponsor the Foundation and assist in its program of activities are: Jane Adams, Professor John Dewey, Upton Sinclair, Elisabeth Gilman, and James H. Maurer, who have accepted invitations to become vice-presidents; B. C. Viadeck, who will be chairman of the Board of Trustees, among whom there will be Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Hillquit, Mayor Hoan, Norman Thomas, Williams, William T. Evjue, J. Berger, Costello, and Senator Thomas Duncan, of Wisconsin.

On the National Council there will be, among others:

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland; Professor Emily G. Balch; Rev. Dr. John A. Lapp, of Marquette University; Rev. Peter Ainslie; Oscar Ameringer, Lewis Browne, Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Morris Berman, Professor Paul H. Douglas, W. E. B. Du Bois, Henry S. Churchill, Frederick V. Field, William Floyd, Zona Gale, Dr. Otto R. Hauser, Adolph Held, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Bishop Paul Jones, Paul U. Kellogg, Leo Krzycki, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Dr. Henry R. Linville, Owen R. Lovejoy, Robert Morris Lovett, John T. McRoy, Alexander Meiklejohn, Dr. Henry Neumann, Reinhold Niebuhr, Joseph A. Padway, Judge Jacob Fanken, Amos Pinchot, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, George Soule, Seymour Stedman, Morris Stern, Rev. Elliot White, S. N. Ziebelman, Prof. Jerome Davis, Vladimir Karapetoff, and Prof. Paul Brissenden.

Reservations for the dinner will be received until Saturday night. Charles Edward Russell is chairman of the District of Columbia Arrangements Committee. Reservations may be made by wiring or writing Mr. Russell, Marx Lewis, executive director of the Foundation, Room 303, Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.

Rand School Fellowship

This Saturday evening the members of the Rand School Fellowship are coming together to enjoy an entertainment and dance in the Delia Auditorium of the Rand School. This year has been a banner one, the student enrollment being larger, the largest in the School's history. Henry Margolles, president of the Fellowship and other officers promise that the students and their friends will enjoy a colorful evening. Among the features will be a program of Negro spirituals by Mr. Williams of the "Green Pastures" company.

Outrages Against Socialists And Ukrainian Villages Continue Pilsudski in Power

**Pre-Election Terrorism
Comes to Light —
League of Nations May
Get Race Issue**

By Edward Levinson

THE blatant trumpeting of post-war dictatorships have drowned out the weak protests of political and racial minorities against revolting acts of wholesale and isolated terrorism. The iron heels of Fascism, of the Soviets and of Horthy have developed routine steps that have lulled one-time critics into indifference. Atrocities stories have become commonplace. It is not to be wondered at then that Marshal Pilsudski has within recent months perpetrated a series of outrages on rebellious political opponents and restive racial minorities in Poland without causing more than a ripple of protest. Yet one group of investigators has compared the outrages committed upon the inhabitants of 800 Ukrainian villages to the Finnish bestialities of the Bash-bazouks in the old Turkish territories. While the Ukrainians now under Polish dominion were being given refined lessons on the foolishness of doubting the beneficence of Pilsudski rule, the Polish Socialists and Democrats were being taught the cost of political opposition. As the elections of Nov. 16 approached, some 80 members of the old Sejm were seized on various pretexts. Among them were the president and vice president of the Socialist Party, a former prime minister and a leading Christian Democrat. For two months they were incarcerated at the military prison at Brest Litovsk, where they were beaten, flogged, kicked, made to clean latrines, served poisonous food and offered the alternative of death when they protested.

Former Deputies Rounded Up
The facts have come to light in a series of exposures. Deputy Czapinski in the Sejm on Dec. 16, on behalf of the deputies of the bloc of the Socialist, Peasant, National Labor and Christian Democrat parties, presented an exhaustive interpellation on the subject. Joseph Saxe, for the Brussels People, has written a series of damning articles. Forty-six professors of the University of Cracow have made a brave protest. Locquin, the president of the Polish-Franco Committee, in Poland at the time of the elections, has added his evidence. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has sent two trustworthy investigators to the Ukrainian villages within the Polish borders. From all these reports, the conclusion is inevitable that Poland is in the grip of a madman with sadistic inclinations. There is no lack of evidence that the atrocities were carried out at the personal direction of Pilsudski.

During the night of Sept. 10, state and military police seized 19 leaders of the opposition. All were former members of the Sejm. Norbert Barlicki was chairman of the central executive committee of the Socialist Party and had served Poland as a member of the Council for the Defense of the State; Alexander Debaki was a well-known National Democratic politician, Dr. Vladislav Keirnak had been a Minister of the Interior, Dr. Hermann Liebermann, vice president of the Socialists, Vincent Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, had twice been Prime Minister. More prisoners were added later. Marshal Pilsudski revealed in an interview on Sept. 14, that the decision to make the arrests had been decided upon by the government. No formal charges were made, no court orders were written. An instruction from Skladkowski, Minister of the Interior, set the wheels in motion.

The prisoners were herded into closed cars. The journey to a destination unknown by the prisoners was broken up by insults and threats passed out by the guards. Dr. Liebermann was taken from the train and beaten. His clothes were torn from him. "You dare to raise your voice against the Marshal!" one of the police shouted in the midst of the attack. Unconscious, the Socialist leader was carried back to the train. The prisoners found military prison accommodations awaiting them at Brest-Litovsk, with Colonel Kosciel-Biernacki in charge. All were civilians. Their activities and crimes, if any, were political. The manner of the arrest was illegal and the military imprisonment was in keeping. The "examination," which took place on Sept. 11, carried forward this insolent disregard for the prisoners' legal rights. They were held incommunicado, refused permission to talk with their families or legal counselors.

Brutal Beatings Administered

The most severe prison regulations were aggravated by the officers and gendarmes. Witos, the former Premier, and Dr. Liebermann were set to work cleaning latrines practically with their bare hands. No prisoners were allowed to bathe. For a time a starvation diet was imposed. Dark cells, beds without mattresses, long fast periods were administered to those who uttered slightest protest. "Inspections" were held at night, when the prisoners were stripped naked and obliged to stand in the cold corridors while the guards vented their contempt.

The guards intersperse these physical torments, with refined mental tortures. The prisoners were made constantly to fear death. Colonel Biernacki observed to Dr. Pragier, "I could have you shot down against this wall and no one could say a word to me." To Deputy Barlicki, the Colonel said: "You have so insulted Marshal Pilsudski that you have nothing to expect from the courts." Another feller told Dr. Liebermann; "If Marshal Pilsudski gives orders to kill you, you shall be killed." To reinforce these threats the finishing touch of sham executions were added. Dr. Liebermann and Popiel were made to go through the preparations for execution.

Assimilating the Ukrainians

Pilsudski's pacification of the 5,000,000 Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia coincided with the approach of the election. Investigation of the terror reign was made difficult by government ordinances punishing persons who give information calculated to injure the standing of the Polish State. Many persons are now in jail for mere possession of information. The population knows so well the brutal character of the Pilsudski's regime that few could be induced to talk.

The government followed a general pattern in its pre-election "pacification." In some cases the attack on the villages were made by cavalry, in others police squads served. The villages surrounded and machine guns set up, appointed soldiers would make the rounds of houses and levy fines of stock, grain and occasionally cash. Co-operatives and reading rooms were destroyed by villagers acting under the duress of the police or military. Rounded up, they were driven into a herd, beaten, restored to consciousness by showers of cold water, and then beaten again. "In the cases of the man we saw the wounds were still unhealed and raw after two months," the women investigators report. Bones were broken and some deaths followed. A young man was forced to "confess," falsely, that he had arms. The beating then ceased. When the police could find no arms in his home, he was beaten to death. One man was dragged in the wake of an officer's automobile. Old men and children did not escape.



Remains of a cooperative store and a reading room in a Ukrainian village wrecked by agents of the Pilsudski regime.

Medical treatment was refused. Doctors were forbidden to answer calls for aid. The Polish hospitals closed their doors. Some doctors who disobeyed were jailed. "In many cases the wounds have gangrened and either death or life-long injury has resulted." A priest, tortured, was given up for dead. He lives on, unfortunately. Lawyers were forbidden to accept cases which sought redress. Five lawyers who merely listened to complaints were jailed. The priests were particular objects for severe treatment, as leaders of the people's fight for civil rights.

The report of the investigators for the Women's International League concludes:

"This so-called pacification has been carried out with a ferocity which can only be compared to the previous atrocities carried out in the early 19th century by the Bash-bazouks in the old Turkish territories, and secondly these atrocities were not punishments inflicted for crime but were inflicted without trial and wholesale on an entire population. Thirdly, that they were done by command of the Government and were carried out strictly according to plan and were not merely the excesses of subordinates. Fourthly, that the victims were denied all medical assistance. Fifthly, that every effort has been made to prevent the drawing up of any reports or statistics showing the extent of the repression. The number of villages thus treated was between 50 and 800. It cannot be stated with exactitude how many peasants and workmen were flogged, but it certainly runs into hundreds and perhaps several thousands. Imprisonments have also been carried out on a great scale, and when the prisons were full, the barracks and other buildings were requisitioned."

League May Hear of It

The ruthlessness accomplished its purpose. Government tactics on election day were of a piece with its preparation. The Government party took 249 seats where previously it had 132. In twelve constituencies the election lists of the Socialist and Democratic opposition had been annulled. Here the government gain was 49 seats. In the Eastern areas where the most vile of the government's terrorist acts were perpetrated, Pilsudski "won" 84 seats. He may thus feel satisfied he has accomplished his objects. They sought to create the impression that Poland is satisfied with its present regime, that a stable parliament and government has been created that foreign money-lenders need have no fears. In addition he sought to give "proof" that Poland is a "national state" with the Ukrainians, White Russians, and Germans in the Western provinces happily mixed in the Polish melting-pot.

The issue may be drawn at the next meeting of the council of the League of Nations. The problem of the Polish minorities is on the agenda. With a view to influencing the proceedings, the Polish delegation in Geneva, the day after the election, issued a sardonic communique:

"The Polish delegation to the League of Nations is empowered to deny most definitely the rumors from foreign sources with regard to alleged limitations of electoral freedom and unrest in Poland on the day of the election. In contrast to these reports the elections passed off in complete quietness and were a spontaneous and voluntary demonstration of the Polish population and that of

10,000 Attend Ball Of Forward in N. Y. C.

The Forward Ball on Saturday, Feb. 21, at the 71st Regiment Armory, was a huge success, fully 10,000 persons attended. Beautiful masks and costumes were worn. The first prize was awarded to San Randolph, portraying victims of the crisis. Several other valuable prizes were awarded.

Credit for the success of the Ball is due to the large number of comrades who served on the various committees, all doing hard work to keep everything going smoothly, and to satisfy the large crowd. Special credit, though, is due to Comrade Abe Zucker as Chairman of the Ball Committee, Comrade Corryell as Chairman of the Gate Committee, Comrade Donald Henderson in charge of the accounting, Comrade Nathan Riesel as Chairman of Floor Committee. A good sum will be realized for Socialist propaganda as a result of the success of the Ball.

Girl Striker Killed In Stroudsburg, Pa.

(Continued from Page One)

Apex mill, employing 2,000 workers, into following for "protection." The Apex management visited Major Schofield, director of Public Safety, swore up and down there was no strike at their mill and demanded that picketing be halted because of the "danger to public peace."

The police chief fell for their line and displaying the egotism of a Mussolini, immediately notified the Union that all picketing in the Northeast was forbidden.

Not content with that, Schofield, great labor economist that he is, told the union officials they were crazy to call a strike when so many people were out of work. Warned by lawyers for the Union and the Civil Liberties Union that he had no right to break the strike, Schofield declared: "I know I have no right, but I have the power and I'm going to use it."

In the three days that followed, 332 pickets were arrested on the arrogant Director's orders although the very police that made the arrests admitted there had been no disorder or breach of the peace.

The Union met Schofield's strike-busting tactics with a courage that equalled his lawlessness.

Within 24 hours, Governor Pinchot and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, had issued scathing denunciations of the Director's anti-strike activity.

To such good extent did the Union arouse public opinion that Mayor Mackey interrupted a protest meeting of the Central Labor Union Sunday afternoon to summon a delegation of strike leaders and union officials to a conference.

While the entire Northeast was calling for Schofield's resignation and even the reactionary Public Ledger was criticizing the Director in its editorial columns, the Mayor promised William Smith, secretary-treasurer of the hosiery federation and John Phillips, president of the State Federation of Labor, that a halt would be called to Schofield's anti-strike activity.

In the meanwhile, the union has not been idle. Magistrate Costello had freed the 392 pickets, arrested under the picket ban, two hosiery mills had signed union agreements, twelve others had agreed to negotiate a settlement, the ranks of the strikers had swelled to 3,800 and an unbroken picket line maintained around every struck mill.

The French had a phrase for it—"Toujours l'audace"; "the little boy in the street has a word for it—"guts."

sudski and his political program.

The hope of the Polish Socialists, Democrats and racial minorities at the session of the council of the League will lie with Arthur Henderson, Socialist minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain. He will preside over the discussions. Should he raise the question of the Pilsudski atrocities he will have the warm support of the European Socialists and all friends of freedom.

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Jim Maurer Returns Fire Of The Times

**Newspaper Critic of Socialist Administration
Denounced as Hypocritical**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Reading, Pa.—Speaking to an audience of a thousand at the Orpheum Theatre here, James H. Maurer, Socialist Councilman and head of the City Finance Department, paid his respects to the Reading Times which has, time after time, misrepresented the work of the Socialist administration. The speech was also broadcast over Station WRAW and reached many other thousands of voters.

Maurer spoke for nearly two hours. In his opening remarks he declared: "Tonight we are going to find out whether the hypocrites are located at city hall or in the editorial room of the 'Times' at Sixth and Walnut streets. We are also going to compare the achievements of the Socialists of Reading in three short years to the accomplishments of Democrats and Republicans over almost a century of uninterrupted municipal control."

The speaker then reviewed the work of the Socialist administration in detail, reviewing the attacks made by the Times and answering each criticism by facts and figures. Summing the discussion, Maurer said:

"In conclusion I wish to say something more about the unemployed problem. Some people believe that if the 18th Amendment were repealed and beer came back, then we would be prosperous again. These people forget that we have had industrial depressions before this one. True, starting the breweries would put a few thousand people to work, but it is equally true that if the rest of the million of unemployed could not afford to buy the beer, then even the breweries would have to shut down again."

"Others believe that if married women would be denied the right to hold down jobs, that would help relieve the situation. So it would, if such married women's husbands earned enough to support their wives and children. But taking all married women out of industry would not be a remedy for industrial depressions. The abolition of child labor would prove a far greater factor in furnishing jobs for men than the abolishment of married women labor."

"Hard times and hard knocks do not automatically educate men. These hard times give us an opportunity to teach that Socialism is the only answer to unemployment. (Neither technological unemployment due to machines nor cyclical unemployment due to hard times can be cured so long as profit is king.) We must have planned distribution and production for use and not for profit. This is Socialism."

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F. I. Fight for Mooney Will Go On

Green Denies Charges
of "Betrayal," Cites
Record of Federation

WASHINGTON (AP)—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declares that the Federation will "continue to work for a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney in spite of the misrepresentation of labor's attitude toward his case," as published by him in his recent pamphlet.

Green said that hundreds of thousands of dollars had been devoted by the organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., to the Mooney defense and to the effort to secure his release from prison in California.

The Federation president branded as false the argument made by Mooney that the chief labor officials in California had consistently sought to keep Mooney in prison, and cited their success in inducing former Gov. Young to offer him a parole. It was Green's view that if Mooney had accepted this parole he would have put himself in the best possible position to secure ultimate vindication.

Green's statement was delivered in a tone of regret that the famous class prisoner had ventured to criticize Paul Scharenberg, John McLaughlin and other conservative labor officials in California who have held high appointive offices under governors who have kept Mooney in San Quentin.

It was Green's opinion that in view of the heavy contributions which labor unions had made to the Mooney committee's work, during the past 14 years, and in view of the regular action of Federation conventions on the resolutions submitted by friends of the prisoner, the Federation spokesmen deserved credit as helpers of Mooney. Green's statement is, in effect, that in spite of provocation the Federation chiefs will seek a pardon from Gov. Rolph.

Mooney's pamphlet, telling the story of the hostility of conservative trade union officials toward his release, as he understands it, is having wide circulation throughout the country. Echoes are coming to Federation headquarters in the form of inquiries and resolutions.

New Attack on Housing Standards

(Continued from Page One)

practically every basement in old-law tenements which open on to shafts which are about 6 1/2 feet square, and which are utterly inadequate to give the necessary air, light and ventilation. (c) The bill gives the Tenement House Commissioner discretion to permit occupancy until April 1, 1932, of cellars and basements which do not conform to the present law.

Would O. K. Cellar Rooms
The bill (introduced by Assemblyman Falk, Assb. No. 1,000 under sec. 216) which would permit landlords to occupy basements in old-law tenements, upon obtaining a permit from the Tenement House Department even though the basements do not conform to the present requirements of the law. This would permit the use of windowless rooms for living purposes and would in all probability render the present provisions of the law inapplicable to more than half the basements to which it now applies. The bill is badly drawn and is so worded that others could occupy such apartments with the janitor.

There are at the present time more vacant apartments in old-law tenements in New York City than ever before. This is the ideal time to have the transition from cellar and basement occupancy take place. As a matter of fact, the transition has in many instances already taken place without objection from the tenants of cellars and basements and the cry that the present law will create hardship is in most cases without foundation.

(4) The bill (Downing-Steuart, Sen. No. 320, Assb. No. 488) amending the Multiple Dwelling Law generally. This bill is sponsored by both Commissioner Deegan and the Multiple Dwelling Law Committee. One section of this bill contains a vicious and dangerous provision. The present law (Sec. 240, subd. 2) requires that the ceilings of cellars in old-law tenements (where many fires start) be fire-retarded. Section 31 of this bill would amend the law so that ceilings which are merely plastered or which are covered with exposed matched boards, and which are hereafter covered with metal of not less than 28-gauge shall be deemed sufficiently fire-retarded for the purposes of this section of the law. This is an unnecessary and unreasonable reduction of fire protection standards.

The forces which unsuccessfully opposed the fight to prohibit the use of cellar rooms and rooms without windows in basements for living purposes are the same forces which are attempting to repeal the results of that hard-won fight. In the impression that these

Doles for Big Business



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bills are unobjectionable has unfortunately spread far and wide. The forces supporting the objectionable measures are so strong that prompt and efficient cooperation is necessary to present the enactment of legislation which will constitute a permanent lowering of standards. Every individual and organization interested in the maintenance of the present standards and in better housing should oppose the last four bills described in this statement and support the two bills which would require a toilet for every family and would prohibit the use of windowless rooms.

Standard Oil Trust Taking Shape Again

(Continued from Page One)

class elements as they were being throttled by Big Business led both the Republican and Democratic parties to agree to governmental opposition, to the squashing of competition. In 1903 under Roosevelt the Bureau of Corporations was established to investigate corporations engaged in interstate commerce. One of its first inquiries went into the affairs of the Standard Oil Company. Upon the publication of the Bureau's report on the company's activities in 1906, the Department of Justice proceeded against the Standard Oil Company in the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis for violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. The litigation continued for three years. In November, 1909, the court declared that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and thirty-seven other corporations were a combination in restraint of commerce and, therefore, illegal under the terms of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The court ordered the combination to be dissolved thru a distribution to the owners of shares in the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey of proportionate shares in the companies whose stock had been owned by the Standard of New Jersey. At the same time the companies which had made up the combination in restraint of trade were:

"...enjoined and prohibited from continuing or carrying on or carrying into further effect the combination adjudged illegal hereby, and from entering or performing any like combination or conspiracy the effect of which is, or will be, to restrain commerce in petroleum or its products among the States or with foreign nations, or to prolong the unlawful monopoly of such commerce, either

"(1) By conveyance of the property and business of any of the parties to a potentially competitive party to this combination, or

"(2) By making any express or implied agreement or arrangement, like that adjudged illegal hereby, relative to control or management of any said corporations, or the price or rates of transportation of petroleum or its products, which will have a like effect in restraint of commerce to that of the combination hereby enjoined."

The United States Supreme Court upheld the decision of the last court in May, 1911.

Now two of the companies in the combination at that time were the Standard Oil Company of New

York and the Vacuum Oil Company. One would suppose, therefore, that an attempt of these two to unite would be contrary to the prohibitions laid down in the above citation from the decree. The District Court has held, however, that the present merger has nothing to do with the original combination. It is "an entirely new undertaking." Conditions in the oil industry are different now from what they were twenty years ago. Now we have "integrated companies having an ownership of crude, refining capacity, producing gasoline, lubricants and other petroleum products, selling to each retailer or to the consumer as near a complete line of products as the consumer uses. The unquestionable tendency is, as to a very important class of owners of automobiles, to sell direct to the consumer and to sell both gasoline and oil at the same time and place." After having made this profound observation of economic conditions, the court went on to state that Standard Oil of New York specialized in gasoline and Vacuum in lubricant oil. Therefore, "the intent and purpose of the merger is solely to meet the normal and natural business necessities of the two companies, brought about by the development of and the changed competition and business conditions in the industry." Hence, "it is clear that there are sound business reasons for this merger, which are entirely sufficient and are wholly unconnected with any desire to create a monopoly."

The Basis of the Merger

It is true that it is more economical under present conditions to have oil and gasoline sold by the same interests but the court looked upon the merger in its very superficial aspects when it did not go beyond this consideration. The real reason for the union of the two companies, still dominated, as are all the Standard oil companies, by the Rockefeller interests, is to control sales. Marketing occupies the strategic position in the oil industry. The Standard Oil Company of New York sells only in New York and New England, while thru the Magnolia Petroleum Company and the General Pacific Coast. It also does a thriving business in the Far and Near East and in South Africa. The Vacuum Oil Company sells thruout the United States and the rest of the world its well known brands of "Gargoyles" and "Mobiliol." It either owns or has arrangements with service stations everywhere in the United States. It is the only company in the Standard Oil group that has this advantage of nationwide marketing channels and it covers territory that the other Standard companies taken together do not reach. Only two other companies in the field approach Vacuum Oil in this respect, the Texas and the Shell Union which is controlled by the British concern, the Royal Dutch-Shell. The union of Standard Oil of New York and Vacuum will give "Socony" products a national distribution.

It is understood that with the various Standard companies still being run by the Rockefeller interests the filling stations controlled by Vacuum will also market the gasoline being sold by the Standard companies operating in the various territories to which they confine themselves by some kind of understanding among them-

selves. Vacuum is now engaged in an aggressive campaign to acquire filling stations. Shell Union is its chief competitor but its British concern will have hard sledding. Already there is legislation before Congress that will curtail the importation of foreign oil for three years. This is aimed at the Venezuelan oil that the Shell Union is bringing into the country. The United States Tariff Commission gave support to the proposed bills by a report it submitted to Congress on February 7, on the comparative costs of producing American and Venezuelan oil. The powerful Standard interests by controlling imports, service stations, strategic patent rights and the all-important pipe lines from the producing fields will probably bring to terms their British as well as their American rivals. Standard is clearly aiming to take advantage of the increasing apathy towards Big Business maneuvers to reestablish its domination of the oil industry. The Standard Oil Trust may soon be with us again. Neither laws nor court decision will stop its advance. Its growth is an economic process. Socialists recognize this and point out that the nationalization of Big Business is the solution for the evils of labor exploitation and price control that accompany monopoly under the system of capitalism.

"Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present, in concise form, the details of progressive youth. It includes contributions of news and views."

National Notes

The National Office issued four charters last week. Several other charters have been organized that have not yet been chartered.

Last Wednesday, National Secretary Switkes, spoke before the party branch of Potomac, getting a batch of subscriptions for Free Youth, selling quite a number, and getting a promise to help in the organization of a circle. On Thursday he organized a circle in Lancaster, Pa. On Friday afternoon he lectured to an interested audience in Potomac, getting a "write-up" in the local capitalist sheet. Sunday night found him in Allentown making a plea for the organization of a Young People's group. He got the party branch to subscribe for Free Youth and to put it in the local library.

READING, PA.

On Tuesday, Feb. 24, the Reading circle had a talk on capitalism which was illustrated by slides. Tickets for the first annual dance were distributed. At the next meeting the members will have a discussion on Capital Punishment.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

The monthly issue of the mimeographed bulletin, issued by the Circle, "Red Youth," is at hand and we learn that the members helped in putting over a fine meeting for August. Classes are being given by Kyelem, organizer; Helen Biemiller, recording secretary; and Beatrice Shapiro, financial secretary.

NEWARK, N. J.

The social event of the season will be held by the circle on March 7 in the form of a dance. The members are selling tickets and want the date broadcast as they expect a crowd from across the river.

Milwaukee Yipels will have six baseball teams in the field this year. They already have a crowd practicing. They expect to bring a winning team for the Annual jamboree and to beat the best in the League. Other circles please note.

At the last meeting the comrades had the pleasure of having the Mayor of Milwaukee, Daniel Hoan, at their meeting. The members are busy preparing for a one act play to be presented in a couple of weeks.

MADISON, WIS.

The University of Wisconsin so-

Socialists Push "Unemployed" In the Nation

Branches Help Carry
Sales to 200,000—
Organizations Urged
to Handle Magazine

THE Unemployed, the magazine devoted to unemployment and published by the League for Industrial Democracy has reached nationwide recognition as the vital radical expression on capitalist hard times. Sales of the two issues thus far issued, the first in December, the second during February, have reached the 200,000 mark. In over fifty-two cities, men and women have with enthusiastic energy been spreading the publication. The demand is still on the increase with scores of requests coming in for a third issue.

Socialists in many cities have been eagerly distributing "The Unemployed." In some cases only the jobless of men and women have been the only salesmen; in others party branches have undertaken the sale with the proceeds going to meet deficits and the cost of expanding activities.

Socialists have used "The Unemployed" to focus popular attention on the problem on unemployment. Among the cities actively engaged in distribution are: Albany with Herbert Merrill in charge; Baltimore where thousands have been distributed under Joel Seidman, the Johns Hopkins Liberal Club and Morris Polin. Alfred Baker Lewis and Kay Bennett have electrified staid old Boston with the magazine. In Buffalo there is Comrade H. J. Hahn, while Chicago has been the leading city in the number distributed under Ethel Senior and Karl Borders.

Phil Zeigler, editor of the Railway Clerk's magazine, has been the trade-union center of distribution for Cincinnati. Sidney Yellen state secretary of Ohio, has been exceedingly active in galvanizing Cleveland into being unemployed-conscious. Joseph Sharts, as well as Oscar Edelman, have been caring for the arsenal of radical literature in Dayton. Denver has A. A. Heist, Detroit, Ted Healey, Erie, Samuel Baker, Houston, P. Lorenz Peterson.

William Busick who has become nationally known as a leader in Los Angeles unemployment demonstrations, has spread "The Unemployed" by thousands in Los Angeles, and nearby. William Coleman of Milwaukee has begun to make his city additionally famous by an intensive drive to distribute "The Unemployed."

In Louisville, Kentucky, John Reineissen and Thomas Murphy have begun to make the labor movement of the south interested in the magazine. Nassau, N. Y., is being covered by Helene Kolbe. Newark and New Bedford are also active. Philadelphia, under Franz Daniel and Andrew Biemiller have done tremendous jobs in the hitherto placid land of Pinchot. Pittsburgh, after scoring a signal victory over the conscientious cops, is working hard, while Sarah Limbach turns the wheels.

The list continues. The honor roll grows. The state organization of Oregon; Emanuel Switkes, in

Reading; R. C. Fuhrberg in Seattle; Helen Elise Biemiller in Syracuse; Edna Rye in Thief River Falls, Minnesota; Thomas Olsen in Troy, N. Y., and Robert Shostek and I. P. Dinowitz of Washington, D. C.; all are exceedingly active. Hundreds of requests pour in from out-of-the-way places for small orders. The wide activity in behalf of "The Unemployed" is an unmistakable evidence of "Socialism Forward in 1931."

The magazine offers probably the most profitable and effective avenue for Socialist activity that can be taken at this time. The current issue contains articles by such well-known Socialists as Morris Hillquit, Upton Sinclair and Reinhold Niebuhr. Socialist branches and individual Socialists, where branches do not act, are urged to communicate at once with the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th street, and make arrangements for handling the magazine in their communities.

O. WEVL
(250-6-WEVL-New York City-1500 KC)

SUNDAY, MARCH 1st, 1931
11:00—Triangle Serenaders, 4
12:30—Dr. Lundenfeld, Talk
1:45—Musical Melodies, Maids
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
2:00—Gross Musical Gens
2:30—Stewart Shoppers
2:45—Koller's Review
3:15—Musical Moments
3:30—Prof. William H. Bridge "Friends of Nature"
3:45—Western Quartette
4:00—Rev. J. L. Belford "Religious Aspects of Business Depression"
4:15—Wandering Gypsies
4:30—Equity Musical Moments
5:00—Time

TUESDAY, MARCH 3
8:00—Good morning
8:30—Morning Melodies
8:45—Sunshine
9:00—Musical Episodes
9:45—Koller's Review
10:00—Charlotte Brenwasser, Soprano
10:15—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
10:30—International Musical Moments
10:45—Variety
11:00—Brose Lithographers
11:15—Equity Musical Moments
11:30—William E. Brown "Talk"
11:45—Equity Broadcasters
12:00—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
12:15—Milton Fiske and Playboys
12:30—James Audubon, Tenor
12:45—Jamaica Serenaders
1:00—Bob Kindler & Charles Meyer—Soloists
1:15—Dance Orchestra

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4
8:00—Good morning
8:30—Eight-Fifteen
8:45—Morning Melodies
9:00—Musical Episodes
9:15—Shells and Chessnut
9:30—Samson and Elmer
9:45—Koller's Review
10:00—Musical Moments
10:15—Music
10:30—Dixie Brand, Composer
10:45—Elizabeth Husted, Contralto
11:00—Ida Palmer, Women's Peace Union
11:15—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
11:30—Clara M. Plute
11:45—Equity Broadcasters
12:00—A. C. Goodrich "The Churches and the World Court"
12:15—Trene Welsh, Soprano
12:30—Lydia Tris
12:45—Allan Broms, Baritone

THURSDAY, MARCH 5
8:00—Good morning
8:30—Eight-Fifteen
8:45—Morning Melodies
9:00—Musical Episodes
9:15—Shells and Chessnut
9:30—Samson and Elmer
9:45—Koller's Review
10:00—Gladys Hartman, Soprano
10:15—Intelligent Women's Guide
10:30—International Musical Moments
10:45—Morton J. Breslau "Arts and the World Court"
11:00—Dan Roth, Baritone
11:15—Victor Austin, Tenor
11:30—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
11:45—Scholi Hour of Music
12:00—Musical Moments
12:15—Equity Musical Moments
12:30—William E. Brown "Talk"
12:45—Equity Broadcasters
1:00—League for Independent Political Action
1:15—Silverstone Orchestra

SATURDAY, MARCH 7
8:00—Good morning
8:30—Eight-Fifteen
8:45—Morning Melodies
9:00—Musical Episodes
9:15—Shells and Chessnut
9:30—Samson and Elmer
9:45—Koller's Review
10:00—Brant H. S. Stamp Club
10:15—Grace G. Clarke, Soprano
10:30—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
10:45—Kitty Crowe, Irish Melodies
11:00—Sandra Morrison, Bits of Scotch
11:15—Ann Burr, Soprano
11:30—League for Independent Political Action
11:45—Juffe Musical
12:00—Bob Marces—Ethel Levine, Songs
12:15—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
12:30—Honey Dums "History in a Tree Trunk"
12:45—Mary Merrill, Ballads
1:00—Cordelia Brown, Sunshine Society
1:15—Pitt School of Music

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The Humanization of Industry
Sunday evening, Mar. 1st
PROF. WILLIAM P. MONTAGUE
The History of Scientific Ideas:
Basic Concepts
Tuesday evening, Mar. 3rd
PROF. FREDERICK BARRY
The History of Scientific Ideas:
Basic Concepts
At
Muhlenberg Library
209 W. 23rd Street
at 8:30 o'clock
Monday evening, Mar. 2nd
DR. E. BOYD BARRETT
Mumford, Krutche, Dreiser
Wednesday evening, Mar. 4th
MR. CLYTON ADAMSON
Three Farewells to Rebellion:
Hemingway, Roberts, Westcott
Thursday evening, Mar. 5th
PROF. E. G. SPAULDING
What is Psychology? Does
Consciousness Exist?
Saturday evening, Mar. 7th
DR. V. J. MCGILL
L. Wittgenstein

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"Magic and Spirituality"
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Members Please Take Notice
The assessment for 1930 is ten cents for each hundred dollars in insurance due from all members since the first day of January. It is advisable now to wait for the assessment notice but to make your payment now in order to avoid the rush in April and May.

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For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

Philadelphia, We Love You

WE heard Reinold Werrenath sing the other night and we were impressed by the dearth of good songs for anyone who does not want to sing jazz, blues or mummies.

Are all our song writers warbling along Tin Pan City? It would seem so. When Mr. Werrenath had chosen some contemporaneous ditty it was one of those "yo-ho I'm a pirate bold" things or something up to date and snappy like "My sword is for the king."

I'll bet a grown-up man feels like a bit of an idiot listening to a good baritone on this infantile tripe. Certainly the contemporary scene should be rich in themes for the writers of our nation's songs. If the allied effect which seems to be much sought after desired, why not good, rousing bust-outs something along this line:

Now Mrs. McCarthy and five of her children went out for a walk at the end of the day. They went through old Chelsea in search of McCarthy who was drinking the last of his longshoreman's pay. You can finish that off any way you want and we our few singers who feel themselves above something to put their lyrical teeth into.

We were down in Philadelphia over this last week-end and right now we want to enter a cheer for the grand work that is being done there by Andy Biemiller, Franz Daniel, Maynard Krueger, and the other youngsters who are succeeding in putting the Socialist Party back on the Philadelphia map.

Franz was pinched a few days before we got here for distributing leaflets on unemployment which did not speak with becoming respect of the charitable instincts of such Philadelphia millionaires as the Stotesburys, the Snellenbergs, etc.

This of course is the worst sort of lese majeste and they hurled Franz into the local Bastille and started to charge him with "sedition" and a lot of other high crimes. One cop looking over the impressive bulk of Franz who stands up mighty tall and husky asked him why he didn't join the cops and "make an honest living."

They put him in the patrol wagon at the city hall and started him off to another jug in the company of second-story men, pickpockets and the unprivileged and incautious generally. Inadvertently they forgot to take his leaflets away from him and on route Franz had all his fellow-captives folding up the "seditions" literature while he poked the leaflets through a little port-hole at the top of the police van. In such fashion did the surprised populace learn about the causes of unemployment and the Socialist cure therefor.

This is the sort of fighting spirit that the party needs. Keep your eyes on Philadelphia, boys and girls. There will be big doings there.

Philadelphia millionaires seem to be exceptionally unaccountable and yet sensitive to boot. One of them was so upset by the Socialist propaganda that he hurriedly came across with a good-sized pile of cash for the unemployment relief campaign. At first he had sent around a lousy check for one thousand dollars which was indignantly rejected by the director of the fund. Is there anything more ironic than the sight of a millionaire loudly applauding Herbert Hoover's drive about "self-help" and how it is the fine old American tradition that the unemployed should starve to death without calling on their government for help and how private charity can handle the situation and then contributing nothing or worse than nothing to the self-same private charity and beating it to Florida?

And just to show you what this "Greatest Mother," the Red Cross is doing to help her individualistic brood, we print this item sent to us by Livingston Hall from "THE LAMAR LEADER" of Lamar, Arkansas:

"Twenty-one thousand people in St. Francis County, Ark., are living on the scant rations supplied by the Red Cross, which consists of bread and sugar, rice and beans. The number applying for food is growing daily. Disease produced by undernourishment is spreading rapidly. Live stock is dying. Residents of towns are not receiving aid from the Red Cross and the town charities are deluged with pleas for aid from destitute townpeople. Yet the National Administration refuses to give a single dollar or a single grain of its 100,000,000 bushels of wheat and the Red Cross says it will refuse government money even if it is offered."

Alongside of this, Hall, in his very live sheet, "THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRAT" publishes the following despatch:

"TURLOCK, Calif.—(AP)—Rotary and Exchange Club men will egg each other on with a view to reducing the present surplus of prospective omelets of this vicinity and stabilizing the poultry industry. Clad in armor and carrying baskets of eggs, the club members will hurl the missiles at each other until about one hundred cases of eggs are broken."

"Make your own comment," says Hall. And we have made it and this being a family paper, we are going to put it in print.

Of course this is one way of stabilizing industry that had not occurred to us in the course of a considerable investigation that we have been making of it into this subject.

The egg-throwing Rotarians are however no more fundamentally fantastic in their approach to the problem than a lot of our "best minds" who have been giving their proposals for stabilization and rationalization. The answer is, folks, that there ain't going to be no stabilization and no rationalization there, without a mighty thorough-going nationalization.

We have been pretty busy lately reading all of the books on Russia that have been literally pouring off the presses so we haven't had time for any intensive reading of a volume which has just been laid on our desk bearing the euphonious title, "A Munition of Socialism: Essai de la Démocratie Socialiste." The book consists of 1,143 pages, not including the Scandinavian, and we have only worked up to page 322 which is all about "Székesszovarski Autokratizmus" and is pretty hot. It seems that these Autokratizmus have just been raising hell around Budapest, the same as here, and it is high time that something were done about it.

We are also in receipt of an invitation from the "Dean of the Emigration," a gent in a dress-suit named C. J. Hoffman, who wants us to come around and hear him lecture on the subject, "Who is Your Master?" We are also informed that "you can see the Dean personally and ask him any personal question you desire." Any question, Dean? That's a mighty big order. For example, we know darn well who our masters are. What we want to know is how to get rid of them in the shortest possible manner. We think we know that too, but what we want the Dean to tell us is the best and shortest way to get that knowledge around. How about it, Dean?

Don't forget the dinner to A. J. Muste on March 8th at the Hotel Woodstock in New York City. A. J. is a grand soul and we want to see a grand crowd there to hear him and Harold Laski on real workers' education.

McAlister Coleman.

While the Planes Soar, Italy Falls!

By G. E. Modigliani
PARIS,

Bluster of Mussolini Effort to Conceal Economic Instability of Regime

AS is known, the Fascist Government, facing a constantly increasing treasury deficit, decided at the beginning of December to reduce the pay of all civilian employees of the State (the army and the Fascist militia, as "instrumentum regni," are not affected by this decision) in order to save a little more than 900,000,000 lire (worth about 5 1/2 cents apiece) a year.

Almost at the same time the wages of all industrial and farm workers were cut from 8 to 25 per cent. by government order and without any consultation with those interested. And the pay of the private employees (white collar workers) was also ordered reduced 8 per cent.

At that time it was said that these cuts were ordered so that everybody might share the sacrifices required by the occasion. But, in fact, these arrangements only hit the workers, although in order to disguise and cover up this class blood-letting, the Fascist Government and press staged the comedy of the obligatory and immediate reduction of all retail prices. Comedy, I say, because everyone knows how easy it is for a merchant to make up on quantity or quality what he has to lose in price. And in Italy everybody has seen recently that the landlords, apparently compelled to reduce rents, either haven't reduced them or have reduced them very little, and then always have received fiscal favors compensating them almost in full.

After this had been done and without any of the interested persons being able to interrogate him, Mussolini issued a defense of this policy at the very time when Italo Balbo and the Italian fleet of flying boats were taking off on

their spectacular and daring trans-Atlantic flight to Brazil.

Yes, said Mussolini, the Fascist Government, at one stroke, has cut 3,000,000,000 lire from the earnings of all those in Italy who live exclusively by their labor; but this has been done because on the one hand it was necessary to balance the State's finances, and on the other, it was necessary to reduce all prices, and to begin by cutting the cost of production by reducing wages, by reducing the piling up of circulating capital used for production and general purposes.

In this way, explained Mussolini, the State will be able to continue to spend all it wants to for armament and Fascist politics and the drop in prices will facilitate both domestic business and the exportation of Italian products. In other words, the head of Fascism has confessed that the highest economic and financial wisdom of the regime has been reduced to compelling the workers to bear the entire burden of State finances and of the exigencies of capitalist production.

All the workers will eat less and live worse so that the State may be able to oppress them still more ferociously and lead them toward a new and more tremendous war. And even the capitalists themselves, especially the small and medium-sized ones, will have to abandon the hope of paying less taxes to the regime and to be content if the Fascist Government gives them a chance to recoup their losses by saving on wages.

And here is the very tragedy of the Italian situation. This stupid Fascist policy is bound to aggravate the economic crisis in Italy.

In order to lighten taxes and "party" levies, Fascism would have to reduce its expenses of oppression and of war, i. e. weaken

its regime. And this is something that the profiteers of the Fascist dictatorship don't allow to be even mentioned. That's why the ruinous economic measures now being tried were decided upon, as always, by only the political hierarchy of Fascism and the limited clique of big speculators, composing the only group profiting from the present regime, without any class or interests being allowed to make their protests felt, or even heard.

But they are fooling themselves. The Fascist statistics themselves are enough to prove that in Italy today the progressive economic ruin of the country is beginning to shake the financial solidity of the political regime.

It is no longer necessary to demonstrate the ruin of Italian industry, commerce and agriculture. Everybody knows the figures on unemployment. Officially there were 552,000 jobless the end of November, to which must be added a million farmhands who do practically nothing all winter long. (The number of unemployed on Feb. 1 was 721,976, according to a Rome dispatch of Feb. 16.)

And as unemployment gauges the misery of the workers, so bankruptcy measures the downfall of those who give work. For two years bankruptcies in Italy have materially exceeded a thousand a month. In September, they totaled 1,524, and in October, 1,594. And the outlook for the future is black, indeed. The other day more than 300,000 lire were withdrawn in twenty-four hours in Milan and Genoa from the second biggest Italian bank, following reports of serious disturbances on the Stock Exchange. (On Jan. 24, Riccardo Gualino, one of Italy's biggest financiers and business men, was sent to the penal islands for five years for alleged unethical deals

following heavy losses, partly due to the current depression.)

The same official statistics show that during the second half of 1930 at times, in August and October, there actually was a falling off in the total capital invested in stock companies. Everybody knows that savings are flying from the banks and taking refuge in the ordinary savings institutions which, in Italy, are not allowed to invest their deposits in industry or commerce. And everybody knows that in Italy stocks, except the few enjoying monopolies, like the shares of the electric concerns, are now quoted so low that comparative figures are more and more rarely given in the official statistics. And rural property now is worth less than half, and often less than one-third, of what it was when the Italian agrarians brought about the Fascist conquest of the country.

On the other hand, the figures on the disaster overtaking the financial side of the Mussolini regime are not so well known. And just because these data prove that the political foundation of the regime is no longer so solid, it is worth while citing some of the more illuminating.

The treasury receipts during the current financial year have so far amounted to 712,000,000 lire less than the estimates. So that at the end of these five months the budget showed a deficit of 812,000,000 lire. And it should not be forgotten that this deficit is being piled up within a budget totaling but little more than 21,000,000,000 lire for the whole year. And the disaster would have been still greater if the famous "battle for grain" had yielded the much-heralded results. But the "battle" didn't go well in 1930, which resulted in the importation of con-

siderable grain, the custom duties on which brought in 234,000,000 lire more than the treasury's estimate.

But all this is nothing in comparison with the situation of the treasury, which had a debit at the end of last November of 5,061,000,000 lire, even after the State had withdrawn 4,513,000,000 lire from funds, which ought to be held intangible, in the Bank of Deposits and Loans, the money-box of the nation; the Bank of Naples, the money-box of the migratory workers, and the social insurance reserves. But this doesn't hinder this bankrupt regime from preparing to assign more than 5,000,000 lire in the current budget of 1930-31 for armament, without counting probable increases and the secret military expenses.

Just a few more figures to finish with. During 1931 and the beginning of 1932, the Italian Government is due to pay off 9,000,000,000 lire of treasury bonds. Assuredly it will not pay them off. It will issue consols in place of money. This will mean a loss of from 20 to 30 per cent. to those who lent cash. And it won't be the first time, because in 1927 the government did the same thing in the case of the same amount of treasury bonds. This explains why the Fascist Government can no longer find anyone in Europe or America to lend it a cent. This explains, too, why, while the planes of Balbo were crossing the Atlantic, amid the applause of the world, the symptoms of genuine desperation were being felt in Italy.

And as the desperation of criminals always is translated into ferocity, the more desperate the economic and financial situation becomes, the more ruthless become the police measures, the inhuman persecution and the pitiless sentences in Italy.

How much longer? This is the question with which the New Year begins for Italians.

The Chatterbox

More Sounds

There is so much of sunlight in your ways,
And so much need for warmth and clarity
Within this time of cold and darkened days,
I dare not dream the things that stir in me.

Or else desire to gather and meet
May bear me down upon the frozen plain
From which you raised me when your loveliness
Gave benediction like a summer rain.

So am I torn between a love for you
And this compassion for the grievous days
Whose lot would lighten if they only knew
How much there is of sunlight in your ways.

And surely they will claim you when they see
How you have lightened all the life of me.

The attack in England against parliamentary tactics and democratic methods of government is the forerunner of what we may expect right here if Congress and the state legislatures continue their criminal muddling through the chaos that exists in social and industrial life today. Social-fascism is the new philosophy. Oligarchy is the new promise of freedom. It is a crazy-quilt pattern of things that confronts our bewilderment. No one is doing much about it. Nothing will be done. Except just when the change takes place. And then, all the protest meetings, all the scurrying and hurrying around for recruits to battle against the dictatorship in fact will be of little use. Social democracy is in for bitter days here and abroad. And it will take courage and patience of a rare kind to buffet through the storms ahead.

And all of the outcry and passion against democratic methods is due to the ugly state into which democracy has fallen. Steam rollers, caucuses, intrigue, private ambitions, personal lust for power, the building up of clique mechanisms for control—all these and outright dishonesty have contributed to creating the cynicism and distrust with which the masses regard all parliamentary bodies.

Nothing has been more indicative of the futility of result for the better, than the case of Labor rule in England during the last few years. Political compromises, grandiloquent gestures in uselessness, bickerings and trades for a longer tenure of important rule have aggravated the case for the masses and only dragged the reputation of the party down to street corner and pub derision.

Here in America, we have come to a similar state only that the Republican party is getting the ha-ha now, and the Democrats will get it later... surely enough.

So that we Socialists who firmly believe in parliamentary and political means will have a doubly difficult task to face as these days go on. Not only do we have the job of teaching Socialism to an individualistic people, but we must also refurbish and make clean the now besmirched escutcheon of Democracy. But then we are inured to hard tasks... and so we must on.

Manhattan

Manhattan—They thought you years and years ago... for what? Twenty-four bucks and a jug of gin.

And from a child
You grew and grew through all the rounds of life—
Your muscles bulged and in your face rang laughter
With its share of pain.

You gave the rich the bounties of the land.
You gave them plenty of food with which to round
Their stomachs with contentment. You gave them
Places to cavort—to laugh—to dance—to drink—to
please the vanities
Of well-dressed parasites and leeches. You gave them
Special this and special that and cars and buildings
big, to live within,
And planned in all the splendor of the castles of old.
You gave them country houses and lakes and forests
and brooks and luxuries—
All that money can convey. You gave them these
and winked your eye.

You gave the poor, oh, countless tears and pains.
You took their children and then painted white their
faces.
You laughed at fathers, mothers growing gray with
anguish.
You smiled and then caressed the daughters who for
things

They wanted deeply—sold themselves to reprobrates
That you protected. You took the many sons
And then instilled within their minds an education
Feeble and consistent with your laws that wanted
That the rask and file of students be alike.
You then sat back and closed your eyes to sleep.
You then sat back and let disciples of your wishes
Proclaim the standards of your ways.
You then sat back...

Manhattan—
The writing on the wall will some day greet your
eyes.
Will some day strike the very depths where beats
A small, anemic heart; will some day reach your
very soul.
(As puny as it be) to rouse you from your smug
And placid place, Take heed—the day of days will
come.

They thought you years and years ago... for what? Twenty-four bucks and a jug of gin.
Then know, the price that we shall pay
Oh, God, exceeds the first a thousand, million ways.

Manhattan—
The writing on the wall will some day greet your
eyes.
Take heed—the day of days will come.

—DOUGLAS B. KRANTZOR.

By the way, for you thousands who did not attend the New Leader birthday dinner on Lincoln's Birthday, there is still left the opportunity of sending in a birthday greeting in the form of a new subscription for the paper. And Lordy, how we can use such presents these days... What say you, dear contributors and readers?

S. A. deWitt.

If the votes cast for the capitalist parties in 1928 could be redeemed at ten cents each today we would have a nice fund for the relief of the unemployed.

One consolation we have is that the Socialist movement has not joined the army of the unemployed. It has more work than it can do.

One of President Hoover's rugged individuals jumped into the river recently because he could not get a job. His individual initiative brought him to the morgue.

Well, Canada has retaliated by jacking up the tariff on automobiles and some American manufacturers are thinking of moving their plants to Canada. Referred to Matthew Wolf and his tariff league as a special order of business at its next session.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

American Labor and Anti-Trust Legislation

Judicial Extension of the Law

THE political activities of labor in the United States have been of such a character that they have been able to get very little in the way of favorable legislation from our national and state legislative bodies. The notorious anti-labor attitude of our courts has both nullified most of what they have gotten and discouraged them from trying to get any further governmental aid. The courts have shown their bias against labor in two ways. First, they have interpreted the common law and also statute in a manner most unfavorable to labor organizations and secondly, they have declared unconstitutional or otherwise nullified the effect of laws passed for the purpose of aiding labor.

It is probable that the courts have done the most harm to the cause of labor by the first method. Through it they have declared illegal such all important weapons of labor as the strike, the boycott, and the sympathetic strike among others. It was in this manner that the injunction was born. It is also true that it is in the misinterpretation of one law of Congress that the courts have done the most damage. That law is the Sherman anti-trust law and its amendments. This fact has generally been known but the complete story of the work of the court in that connection has just been told in the publication of "Labor and the Sherman Act" by Edward Berman (Harper & Brothers; \$3.00).

Mr. Berman has made an exhaustive study of the problem presented by the application of the Sherman act to labor unions. He tackles the problem from all angles; discussing whether it was the intent of Congress that the Sherman act apply to labor unions, the chronological story of its interpretation by the courts in labor cases and in the more important non-labor cases, the type of labor activities it has been applied to, its effectiveness, and, finally, suggestions for getting rid of the evils that have resulted from the present interpretation of the act. He brings to the task a great deal of ability and the viewpoint of a liberal professor of economics, which he is. As a result the book is very well done and quite favorable to labor.

Space does not permit going into detail about the conclusions reached by Mr. Berman or about his method of reaching those conclusions. Most of them are important enough to be repeated here briefly and the reader who desires more detail can refer to the book itself.

The first conclusion of importance is that a complete study of the congressional debates on the Sherman act shows that Congress did not intend that the act should apply to labor and that the courts

in interpreting the act so that it did so apply were not following the intent of Congress. After pointing this out the author shows the development of the application of the law from the early cases, like the Pullman cases, through the entire history of the law; showing how, one after another, sympathetic strikes, boycotts, organization campaigns, and even strikes were declared illegal and subject to injunction proceedings under the provisions of the Sherman act. Under the provisions of the act the courts even held, in the Coronado Coal cases, that labor unions are financially responsible for losses due to a strike.

Another important fact, well brought out, is the misinterpretation of the labor provisions of the Clayton Act, which Samuel Gompers referred to at its passage as the "Magna Charta of Labor." Instead of freeing labor from the injunction provisions of the Sherman act, as it was supposed to, the Clayton act has had just the opposite effect because it allows private parties to sue for injunctions, something they could not do under the Sherman act.

What solution does Mr. Berman offer to correct the evils which admittedly exist in the situation as it is now? He suggests that the courts apply the "rule of reason," which they have used in deciding cases concerning "big business" to labor cases as well. If the courts were to apply this rule they would have to base their decisions on the question of whether or not the purpose of the activity was reasonable in the eyes of the judges. It would be a question of openly applying their social philosophy to the case before them. If the judges had the same social philosophy as the author no doubt the solution he offers would be of some value but with the judges what they are and without much hope of their getting any better the suggestion is but a pious wish. I think to suggest a program of legislative action to overcome the work of the court. Such a program would have a better chance of being put into action and also could be better worked out than any which was made up of judicial decisions.

Party Drive Brings Spurt in Activity

(Continued from Page One)
with a vengeance with the appointment of a state wide committee of four prominent Socialists and a Drive Director who has made conspicuous successes in organizing the jobs he has been given by the party. Harry Krueger, who organized the huge Mooney-Billings demonstrations last year, will have his headquarters at 7 East 15th St., New York City, Ill.

Books Received

Calvin B. Hoover—The Economic Life of Soviet Russia. MacMillan; \$3.00.
Albert Einstein—About Zionism. MacMillan; \$1.25.
George S. Schuyler—Blair. No More. Macaulay; \$2.00.
M. P. Shiel—The Black Box. Vanguard Press; \$2.00.
Charles M. Wood—Too Much Government. Vanguard Press; \$4.00.
Roy E. Curtis—The Trusts & Economic Control. McGraw-Hill.
Edward Berman—Labor and the Sherman Act. Harper; \$3.00.
K. A. Bratt—The Next War. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.75.
George S. Counts—The Soviet Challenge to America. John Day.
S. Spero & A. Harris—The Black Worker. Columbia University Press; \$4.50.
Sherwood Eddy—The Challenge of Russia. Farrar & Rinehart; \$2.50.
John Louis Hill—Negro. Literary Associates.
Richard Bartholdt—From Stereotype to Congress. Dorrance.
G. Lowe Dickinson—After 2,000 Years. W. W. Norton. \$2.00.
Julian Drackman—Studies in the Literature of Natural Science. Macmillan.
N. Brian Chomynov—A History of Russia. Dutton. \$2.50.
Meyer Levin—Yehuda; Cape & Smith. \$2.50.
Louis Dolman—Lumber; Little, Brown & Co. \$2.00.
N. S. B. Gras—Industrial Evolution. Harvard University Press.
Symposium—Dictatorship on Trial; Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.75.
Gustaf Hellstrom—Lacemaker Lekholm Has An Idea; Lincoln McVeagh. \$2.50.
Walford H. Crook—The General Strike; University of North Carolina Press. \$6.00.
Harry Carman—Social and Economic History of the U. S.; D. C. Heath. \$4.00.
Michael Farberman—Russia's Five Year Plan; New Republic. \$1.00.

Laski to Be Speaker At Dinner to Muste

Progressive thought and action in the United States and England, including the workers' education movements, will be compared by Professor Harold J. Laski, of the University of London, at the Testimonial Dinner for A. J. Muste, head of Brookwood Labor College, on March 6th, at the Woodstock Hotel.

The dinner is being given by Brookwood graduates as the opening event of the tenth anniversary program of Brookwood. Tickets for the dinner are \$2 each, and may be obtained from the Dinner Committee, Room 2004, 104 Fifth Avenue.

The Director of the National Drive will confer with him about the activities in the state during his Eastern trip to attend the N.E.C. meeting, Washington, D. C. Feb. 28-March 1.

Word has just been received from Andrew P. Wittel, state secretary of New Jersey, that his executive committee has instructed him to arrange banquets in the principal organized counties of the state and to cooperate in any other ways with the National Drive headquarters. He requests speakers for the banquets.

Fighting for a Slave Society

WHEN Marx and Engels published the "Communist Manifesto" in 1847, American society was already staging a struggle that admirably illustrated their interpretation of history in terms of the underlying material factors. One phase of it was the struggle of the ruling class of the South to save itself from the extinction which the growth and expansion of Northern capitalism threatened. This is the theme of a study by Herbert Wender, Ph.D., (Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837-1859, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. \$2).

The conventions were held with the hope of rescuing the planter system from its absolute and relative decline of economic and political power in comparison with Northern capitalism. It was the old conflict between agriculture and capitalism which has always existed no matter what form the agrarian mode of production might be. Capitalism has always triumphed because of its more powerful economic artillery which batters down all archaic forms of production.

The problem of the Southern ruling class was to preserve their social system and the privileges of their class in competition with the growing power of the ruling capitalists and bankers of the North. This was impossible. To compete with capitalism was possible only by encouraging capitalism in the South but this would destroy their own social system and their power would also pass into the hands of a capitalist class. Most of the ruling gentry knew this. A few were in favor of letting down the gates to the enemy in the hope that a capitalist class and a planter class would share power together but the general fears were admirably expressed by one delegate in 1839 who said:

"To our view it is clear that if the dreams of the Southern commercial conventions should ever be realized the planter society would perish at once. Nothing maintains slavery but the influence extended upon it by the dominant class at the South. It is right because the ruling class declare it to be right. In other parts of the world it is wrong because the fashion of society denounces it. Let the planter class feel itself inferior to the merchant and the manufacturer and it will no longer dare to defend an institution condemned by them."

On the other hand there was the contempt for trade and manufactures that has always been exhibited by an aristocratic landed class. That same contempt was displayed by the landed aristocracy in New England before the rise of the factory system. As DeBow, one leading intellectual leader of planter interests said near the end of the slave system, "Southern gentlemen would not emulate the English hawker, pedler and drummer since those pursuits were unbecomingly to aristocratic taste and talent."

Trade with Europe and hopes of

a railroad that would tie the South to the agricultural West, road and railroad building, timid support of factory enterprise and other cautious expedients were considered, but ever in the background a bourgeois figure haunted them. Give that gentleman encouragement and the gentry knew that he would push them out of the picture.

Then there was the ragged white proletariat, millions of them, the "poor whites," sullen, many of them hating the ruling upstarts but equally hating the Negro because the latter had a more assured place than they did in the planter system. If industry became general in the South these whites would become wage workers whose interests would be allied more with the capitalism that gave them jobs than the planter system which made them outcasts.

The prospect of this white proletariat being ranged against the gentry made the latter shiver. Some thought of some arrangement by which these whites could obtain a slave or two and a patch of land, thus attaching them by economic ties to the slave system but nothing came of it. As a delegate from South Carolina said, "it was necessary to devise some means by which non-slaveholding citizens of the South should from motives of material interest be led to entertain a more favorable feeling toward the peculiar institution."

As the old order entered the shadows in its last decade before the Civil War the "fire-eaters" gained more and more influence and the program turned more and more to a determination to reject the perilous temptations of bourgeois riches. The landed order was the "natural" order, even "God's order," and it was the sacred duty of the "South" to defend it to the last ditch. In passing it may be observed that when the orators referred to the "South" they always meant the handful of ruling magnates and nobody else. They demanded the reopening of the African slave trade, thought of importing Chinese coolies, and of bringing in Negroes under indentures, but all expired in futility. The roaring of guns settled the debate and when the fighting was over the planter system was in ashes.

And the sequel? It is amusing to observe the sons and the grandsons of the old gentry paying homage to the bourgeois gods of the North by investing their funds in capitalist enterprises! If the shades of Yancey, Calhoun, Hammond and others now look down upon these apostate descendants who have bartered the ancient creed for bourgeois ease and dividends, there certainly must be deep mourning behind the veil.

JAMES O'NEAL.

"Rango" at Rivoli is Thrilling and Exciting

The Stage

The Movies

Music

Continues at the Cameo



"Comrades of 1918," Germany's thrilling anti-war film document continues at the Cameo Theatre, where it has been received with much interest and enthusiasm. Hans Joachim Moebis and Gustav Diesel are pictured above.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

MUSICAL COMEDY ON MOVIES

"AMERICA'S SWEETHEART," Book by Herbert Fields, music by Richard Rodgers, lyrics by Lorenz Hart. At the Broadway.

One is tempted to call this play a musical "Once in a Lifetime," for it trafficks lightly with hollow Hollywood in the days when talkies first took the land. And the opening speed of the evening promises effective satire of the talking pictures, which move swiftly in popularity in spite of all adverse comment. But sex and sweet sentiment soon make the evening less a satire than a sort of musical movie on the stage. But it is good to note how, these days, almost every comedy stops its story for a horse laugh at the (more costly) farce from the White House.

The fun "America's Sweetheart" provides, taking it on that level, is varied and good. The three young ladies from the mountains of the South—Hilda, Louise and Maxine—perform a drone nasal discords into amusing harmony; they have a future. Jeanne Aubert may be depended upon to infuse sex-consciousness into an embalmied mummy; she'd turn a Pharaoh's tomb into a phallic symbol. "There's So Much More," "I want a Man"—her songs and words and ways are the essence of woman's wiles. The play of Inez Courtney and Harriette Lake is more rollicking, and more innocent, like a daisy and a

violet beside an orchid. And Gus Shy commands the slapsticks. There is a new subtlety of detail in the song structure, for those who listen to the words as well as the catchy airs. A word is repeated—with an added shift: "What is your object; what is your objection . . . a certain party; a certain particular . . ." There is beauty in the chorus, both of individuals and of swirling dance design. "America's Sweetheart" should pulse for some time in Broadway's breast.

"ALE-AND FAREWELL"

"THE GREAT BARRINGTON," By Franklin Russell. At the Avon.

There is kidding in "The Great Barrington," often more pointed than deft, but often drawn—we hope deliberately—to the edge of the ludicrously overdone, on the subject of snobbery. The twelfth Prescott Barrington, millionaire of bluest blood, is having his usual anniversary dinner in the ancestral home, on the ground acquired in 1630 from old Peter Van Doorn. But the occasion is a special one, for Prescott is to read the newly found deed to the property, which was not bought, but presented to the first Prescott "for distinguished services to the community." There never has been a blot on the Barrington name . . . And by a double level of time, we watch, intermingled with this story, the actual events of 1630, and learn that the first Prescott Barrington was a thief and a murderer named Higgins, who created his name and story, and was given the estate for marrying a servant Peter Van Doorn had got with child. The two time-levels are brought neatly together, with the discovery of a (literal) skeleton in the family closet—and the daughter of the twelfth Prescott embraces her

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

DWIGHT DEERE WIMAN presents

MARY BOLAND

in her newest, gayest comedy

VINEGAR TREE

Playhouse 48 St. W. 48 St. E. 8:40.

BEST SEATS \$1.50 to \$3.25.

Philharmonic Symphony

TOSCANINI, Conductor

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WEBER-SCHUMANN-DYORAK

Carnegie Hall, WED. EVE. MAR. 4, at 8:45

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BRUCKNER-BEETHOVEN

SPECIAL CONCERT—

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Under the Direction of

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI

Solist: EFFREM ZIMBALIST, Violinist

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DANCING AT 10

Please Come in Gypsy Costume

"Rango" at The Rivoli Is a Colorful Story Of the Malay Jungle

The Malay jungle is dominated by the tiger.

During a year spent in the unexplored wilderness of Sumatra filming "Rango," now at the Rivoli, Ernest Schoedsack found that the menace of the tiger keeps the natives in constant terror.

"The dwellings, habits, education and legends of the Malay tribes have been inspired by the tiger," asserts Schoedsack, co-director with Merian C. Cooper of "Chang." "To the native he is a striped fury, responsible for an average of fifty deaths annually in the tribal villages of northwestern Sumatra."

"The Malay huts are raised from twelve to fifteen feet above the ground, and the tiny doors and windows are closed securely at night, in spite of the heat, to prevent the hungry cats from improving their menu."

Native legends spun about the mysterious potency of tigers, presented a serious problem in Schoedsack's jungle camp. Some natives believe that all tigers are the reincarnation of departed spirits and a curse follows those who kill them. Other tribes believe in the "pawangrimboe" which means tiger-familiar, a beast invested with the benevolent capacity to watch over and protect villages and individuals. When it was absolutely necessary to kill a tiger for safety, Schoedsack usually had to perform the feat unassisted, the natives fearing a curse more than the tiger's claws.

Flo Lewis Added To the Hipp Bill

Flo Lewis, the red-headed flapper, who has just returned from an extensive foreign tour that took her as far as the South Seas, will return to R-K-O vaudeville this Saturday, via the Hippodrome.

sweetheart, John Jones.

Anybody with a sense of humor will find delectable fare in this play; and anybody with a social sense will recognize that it's as true as "Don Quixote." We heard several persons, leaving the theatre, say: "If half these stuck-up families knew the story of their past, I bet—"

MORE HORRORS OF WAR

"COMRADES OF 1918," German talkie at the Cameo, from the novel "Four from the Infantry," by Ernest Johannsen.

The news-story, carefully tucked in an inconspicuous spot, that 12,500 bodies from the World War lie rotting unburied in a hangar in France, makes especially timely the horrors of the Cameo's first American showing of "Comrades of 1918." There is no need to tell the story—nor to know German—in order to be stirred by this film. Perhaps the most vivid of all the war pictures, the advance of the Allied tanks, the hand sticking out of the mud—with all else of the body buried, the lieutenant going mad; these are moments one is unlikely to forget (at least until the careful propaganda is begun, to prepare nations for the next war). For not even the closing handshake of the two enemies can clasp the world in peace, nor all the desire of all common men, against bloody treaties built out of revenge and greed, against a world organized for profit rather than progress. The "war to end war" is not military, but political, social. Vivid pictures such as "Comrades of 1918," practical scientists with social ideals, like Einstein, must be supplemented by many a Debs and a Gandhi before "profit" is beaten and peace and progress secured. Until then, man continues to grow more efficient, not more understanding, more just.

The Greeks Had a Word For It

A New Comedy by ZOE AKINS

Presented by William Harris, Jr.

Sam H. Harris, Thea. 42nd

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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In Jimmie Cooper's New Play



"A Woman Denied," an adaptation from the Italian of Gennaro Mario Curci by Jean Bart, was presented at the Rivoli theatre last Wednesday by Jimmie Cooper. Among the very fine new faces appearing in the cast, are Mary Nash and McKay Morris, above.

"Dracula" on "Hipp" Screen—Karyl Norman Part of Big Stage Bill

"Dracula," the startling mystery is at R-K-O's Hippodrome this week with Bela Lugosi in the title role. It is Tod Browning's crowning achievement and present's fiction's strangest character in the weirdest screen thriller. David Manners, Helen Chandler, Dwight Frye and Edward Van Sloan are prominently in the cast.

Karyl Norman, "The Creole Fashion Plate" in one of the most beautifully staged and gowned presentations heads the eight-act vaudeville bill. Eddie Pardo, Broadway's smart comedian; George Tapp and his Dance Mannequins, eight exuberant steppers with Marion Lane; Deszo Retter, the world's champion laugh wrestler; Jimmy O'Brien and Jack Hewitt, songland's personality boys; Enos Frazer, daring aerialist and two other R-K-O features complete the stage show.

"The Last Parade" Vivid Tale of the Racketeer, at Mayfair

Columbia Pictures' tense picture of modern gangland, "The Last Parade," will have its New York premiere at the Mayfair Theatre, February 27. Jack Holt and Tom Moore are teamed in the featured roles, with Constance Cummings in the feminine lead. Eric C. Kenton directed and the balance of an imposing cast includes: Gaylord Pendleton, Robert Ellis, Erle Bunn, "Vivi," Jess De Vorka, Robert Graham, Ed Le Saint, Clarence, Muse, Edmund Breese and Gino Corrado.

"The Last Parade" is a vivid and authentic tale of the racketeer, and contains a powerful moral lesson. The picture is played against a background of the underworld, fashionable night clubs and the inner sanctum of a big city police department.

GILBERT MILLER Presents

Tomorrow AND Tomorrow

with Herbert JOHANN and MARSHALL HENRY MILLER'S

Thea. 124 Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

Helen Hayes in "PETTICOAT INFLUENCE"

By NEIL GRANT

HENRY STEPHENSON

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

LYCEUM Theatre, 404th St. East of Broadway.

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Two Good Reminders

The production of "Gods of the Lightning" at the Provincetown Playhouse is a strong reminder of the Sacco-Vanzetti murder by Massachusetts—set down for all time in Upton Sinclair's "Boston." The Chicago anarchists had brief word in Steele Mackaye's drama, "Anarchy," the Boston martyrs have their greater document. Out in California, still alive, are Moon and Billings, victims of the same class war, but still to find the order of their story. Perhaps he will come, also, when they have been buried, adding to the toll presumptuous power takes.

And at the Waldorf Theatre is a dramatic version, as good, perhaps, as can be made, of the epic that arraigns American civilization: Theodore Dreiser's "An American Tragedy." Here we see a young man caught in the pressure of capitalist society—no superman, no villain, but an average product of the age—pounded by the forces that rise inevitably out of this system, tempted and twisted and torn; when he is about to leave his cell for the electric chair, and the minister asks him, before God, if he is guilty, the bewildered lad can only say, "I do not know." Without himself passing judgment, Dreiser has written a wide and searching indictment of American capitalist life. "Boston," by Sinclair, "An American Tragedy," by Dreiser—two searing studies of things as they should not be—but are.

Maxine Elliott's Thea. 39th Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Luigi Pirandello's NEW PLAY

AS YOU DESIRE ME

With JUDITH ANDERSON

"If this play fails to achieve a run, I'll give up dramatic criticism."—ROBERT GARLAND, Telegram.

EMPIRE THEATRE

Curtain at 8:30 Sharp

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EMPIRE THEATRE

"Father's Son" With Splendid Cast Holds Over at The Strand

"Father's Son" will remain at the New York Strand Theatre for a second week, it was decided late today, after a check-up of weekend and holiday receipts. The figures showed that in its first four days at the Strand, "Father's Son" far exceeded the entire week's intake of "Viennese Nights," and in view of the excellent notices the picture was accorded, it was decided to hold it over.

Leon Janney, Irene Rich and Lewis Stone have the featured roles in this drama by Booth Tarkington, adapted from his story "Old Fathers and Young Sons." William Beaudine directed.

"The Gorilla" Held Over at the Warner; Also "Lost Gods"

"The Gorilla" will be held over a second week at the Warner Theatre. The rest of the supplementary program remains intact. This includes a secondary feature titled "Lost Gods," a five-reel record of a search for lost civilizations in the great desert.

Lila Lee and Joe Frisco are co-featured in "The Gorilla," which was directed by Bryan Foy from Ralph Spence's famous stage play. Harry Gribbon and Walter Pidgeon appear in their support. Frisco and Gribbon are cast in roles of Mulligan and Garrity, two dumb detectives who see all, hear all and know nothing.

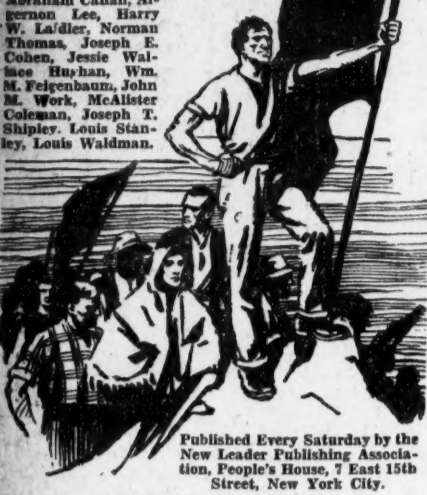
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1937

"Recognizing Labor"

EVERY new administration at Washington feels it necessary to "recognize" labor by a few appointments to office. The same is true of many city administrations. Of course, it is kind to even "recognize" Brother Labor considering that he counts for so little in politics. On the other hand, those who are "recognized" are those who faithfully help the professionals.

Once installed in office the "labor leader" must repay his benefactors and Secretary of Labor Doak is doing his bit to justify his "recognition" by Hoover. Limited and inadequate as the Wagner bills are with reference to unemployment they are a gesture in the right direction. Doak himself supported the proposals before he entered the Cabinet but now he serves Hoover by urging amendments that would disembowel them. Even the labor chiefs at Washington are aghast at this fruit of "recognizing labor."

But this is not the end of Doak's service to reaction. His department is responsible for illegal raids of workers of foreign birth, thus reviving the terror of the Wilson Administration. The raid of the Finnish hall in this city was illegal. Working class gatherings are the victims of these raids. Suspects are seized without warrant, the Bill of Rights being used as a footman by Doak's agents.

However, nothing better can be expected. Labor is not "recognized" by the politicians of capitalist politics without a price and that price is that the appointee shall use power against the workers and help to gut any legislative proposals however mild they may be. Evidently Hoover knew what he was doing when he "recognized" Doak.

Out of the Past

A WRITER in the New York Times presents some views that transfer us back to the Federalist Party of Washington, Hamilton and Fisher Ames. One can almost visualize him crawling out of a New England tomb, saying his piece and then retiring to his resting place.

He is disturbed because of the decline in prestige and power of the British throne, the stripping of the House of Lords of power, and the ascension of the House of Commons. The throne "is but a ghastly spectre of its ancient authority" and England is drifting towards a "mobocracy."

He turns to the United States and observes similar tendencies. We have let down the gates to millions of immigrants and the extension of franchise has gone so far as to include women. If mobocracy becomes "regnant in this land, all that we cherish under the symbolism of liberty will disappear." He appeals to the last words of John C. Calhoun, ablest exponent of the old slaveocracy, who warned against "a great consolidated, national democracy." Then back to the tomb to rest with the old powdered wig aristocrats.

What the writer really means is not "liberty." He associates this word with the rule of land owners and owners of capital while "mobocracy" means the ascension to power of those who are exploited by owners of land and capital. One is "liberty" and the other is "mobocracy." These words are defense mechanisms behind which lurk meanings which he must conceal. It would be stupid to speak frankly because the millions who have the ballot are in England and the United States required to support his idea of "liberty" if it is to survive.

This voice out of the past, however, expresses what some members of our ruling classes think. Their ideal of peace, security and "liberty" goes back to the days when silk breeches, ruffled lace, silver buckles and powdered wigs constituted "gentlemen," who were created to ride workmen and peasants as packhorses.

The Posture of Politics

HISTORY is never repeated but occasionally one period will reproduce some phases of a previous one. Fifty years ago Western farmers had been so looted that they were burning corn for fuel. In 1877 occurred the nation-wide railroad riots. Coming so soon after the Paris Commune, with strikers in control or partial control of a number of cities, and with the phenomenal rise of the Knights of Labor, the forces of capitalism were frightened.

Today Western farmers face a similar, even worse, situation. In the earlier period they were Republicans. In 1928 they rolled up an enormous vote for Hoover. They are again burning corn for fuel, many have none to burn and are dependent upon charity doles to keep alive. The first crisis developed rebel wings in both parties in the West which captured local groups and then emerged as the Populist Party. The Eastern wings of the two parties were controlled by the banking and capitalist classes. The election of Garfield in 1880 and of Cleveland in 1884 kept political control in the hands of Eastern capitalism.

With the worst industrial crisis in our history facing us, both parties are again badly shaken by rebel wings in the West. City workers are discontented but whether they will prove political rebels in 1932 remains to be seen. Meantime, Republicans and Democrats at Washington are obviously servants of capitalist and banking interests.

The political situation is interesting. Hoover wants to succeed himself. Roosevelt wants the Democratic nomination. He is "safe" for capitalism but he may be knifed by Tammany if nominated. New York State is essential to win. Owen D. Young of the Radio Corporation is next in line and his stock is rising. His corporation has a pirate record, flying the Jolly Roger as an industrial Captain Kidd, and scooping in millions for himself and his fellow corsairs.

What is interesting in this period is that the Democrats, once carrying the banner of the small capitalists, today seriously consider the nomination of a multimillionaire. This would have been unthinkable in 1880 or 1884. Even the Republicans, the leading guardians of capitalism since the Civil War, have never considered the direct promotion of a junior Morgan or Rockefeller to the presidency. They prefer small town politicians like Harding and Coolidge or an engineer.

This development is all the more interesting as it occurs at a time when millions of voters face destitution. We hope that the program goes through and that the Republicans will also turn to a corporation buccaneer for a candidate. It will simplify the argument of the Socialist Party in the campaign of next year.

As Others See Us

THE views of Professor Halvdan Koht of Oslo University, who sailed for home last week, have provoked considerable comment. He had observed a marked change in the "mental attitude" of the American people since he visited the United States twenty years ago. Then there was optimism. Today the effect of the industrial depression "seems to go so much deeper into the souls of people" and there is the general impression that "unemployment has come to stay."

Added to this is the fact that many workingmen no longer think of opportunities to rise out of their class. He had observed a more strict caste system in this country than ever before. The net impression upon Professor Koht was a sinking of the United States to a level of economic prostration with Europe and recognition by many Americans that class stratification is becoming definite in this country.

These observations correlate with the views of many students of American capitalism and they are the reverse of the rosy interpretations made by politicians and editors a few years ago. Our capitalism floated on a sea of world misery for a decade after the end of the World War and now we are compelled to face the same problems that afflict sick capitalism everywhere.

There is little doubt that the opportunities to ascend from a lower class to an upper one are being closed. Even members of the middle class are being pushed from their position into the ranks below. This process must foster class consciousness on the part of the working masses and this mental attitude is required if they are to act intelligently in their own interest. In other words, current economic change cooperates with the development of a Socialist movement.

IN A NUTSHELL

On Washington's birthday ringing of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia was heard over the radio throughout the country. Like Hoover's prosperity, the bell is cracked.

Al Capone's gangsters participated in the Chicago primary on Tuesday. Chicagoanillas are important heirs of the party that nominated Lincoln in Chicago in 1860.

Cheer up! Announcement is made that the cost of funerals is on the decline. It is reported that farmers in the West are consulting price lists in anticipation of orders.

An important fruit of Hoover's prosperity is being sold by the unemployed on the streets in every large city.

Owen D. Young of the Radio Corporation is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. Standard Oil should present the claims of Crown Prince John D. Jr. for the Republican nomination. A friendly rivalry between two royal houses, radio and oil, would be fine entertainment in 1932.

Economies Made Easy

Foster, Catchings, Snuff and Silver

A Retired Worker Takes His Pencil in Hand

DEAR EDITOR:

I trust you will pardon me for my seeming intrusion on your valuable time. In fact, I know you wish I would go to work and quit bothering you. But listen—I am one of those who has passed the dead line of 45, and will have nothing to do now till I am 70, when I can get in on that old-age pension. Being a man of preponderant energies and ambitions I can not very well sit back and twiddle my thumbs for 25 years, so I have decided to use my abilities and capacities, such as they are, on editors. And when I'm not writing, I'm reading. My wife incidentally still has a job, so we eat. For a short while though I was a little apprehensive on account of that Swartze fellow up at Albany, who introduced that bill to prohibit all married women from holding jobs. Now that he got his, I can breathe easier and continue reading the financial section of the New York Times, and that magazine of controversy that seems to settle all controversies.

Like all my fellow men who have ceased to be of any importance in this workaday world, I hate to give up all my interest in human activities and the onward sweep of civilization and manifest destiny and the problems that get under the great engineer's hair shirt. In other words, I refuse to go into the cat breeding business like McAllister Coleman, or raising canaries for the D. A. R. Being economic-minded, I want to think and write about the big things in this world of ours. I too want to have something to say about the coming millennium and how to get out of the economic morass we are now floundering in. Like Foster, Catchings and Shotwell, like Wiggins, Andy Mellon and Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, I too wish to take a pot shot at the mudhens that have flattered into our slough of despond and laid a lot of sterile duck eggs.

"The expansion of bank credit and wages in connection with the expansion of new industries chiefly accounts for our prosperity," say Foster and Catchings.

As to the means and aims of this party Marx writes as follows: "Democratic institutions are demanded as a means not for abolishing the two extremes, but for the mitigation of their opposition, and for the transformation of their discord into a harmony. Various ways must be adopted, and the different proposals may be adorned with more or less revolutionary trimming, but the substance is always the same. The substantial aim of Social Democracy is to transform society by the democratic method, the transformation of the petty bourgeois orbit. But do not run away with the idea that the deliberate purpose of the petty bourgeois class is to enforce its own selfish class interest. The petty bourgeois believe that the special conditions requisite for their own liberation are likewise the general conditions requisite for the salvation of modern society. They think that in no other way can society be saved and the class war averted (Marx).

The case being that the present ideology and course of action of the Socialist Party fits Marx's description and being that I am a class-conscious member of the working class, will I be justified in leaving the Socialist Party?

This letter and its answer will be anxiously looked for in the next issue of the New Leader by myself and several interested comrades.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Comrade Rothman is apparently very helpful to the Socialist even in the modern period but it should be remembered that at the period Marx wrote the Social Democracy had not emerged into the clear perspective it did later. The period of origins in every country was vague, including the United States. If there are any unwelcome leaders in the party today we may trust the members to make any readjustments that may be necessary as they have in the past.

A. RICKS, S. E. C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
Editor, The New Leader:

When I picked up my copy of The New Leader this morning, I came in contact with such an assortment of "Liberal" journalism as was wholly incompatible with my idea of what a Socialist Party should be. I am sure that the present situation in the Socialist Party, that of not knowing whether I am a Progressive, Liberal, Social Democrat or a Socialist to the point that the matter was never taken up and conscientiously cleared by the party and its press for all involved.

Only recently have I found through books regarded as among the classics of Socialist literature, namely, the Communist Manifesto and the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, definitions and statements which explained the birth, composition, and mission of the Social Democratic Party. Inclusive with this information was a history of a specific period of the relations of this party to the proletariat, namely, 1848-1851 in France.

As to the origin of the Socialist Party, the following from the 18th Brumaire:

"In Feb. 1849, to make a united front against the bourgeois forces, the petty bourgeois and workmen formed a coalition. A joint program was drafted, joint electoral committees founded and joint candidatures were arranged. The revolutionary point of view of the working class was blunted, and these demands were given a democratic gloss. Conversely, in the case of the democratic demands of the petty bourgeois, the purely political form was effaced, and they were made to seem as Socialist as possible. That was the origin of Social Democracy" (Marx).

I have been asked by the Morning-
side Heights Branch of the party to keep in mind the fact that the New Leader to certain distortions of fact which reflect upon the branch, in a recent article on "Millitary" by Comrade O'Neal. I hope The New Leader will be generous enough to present this emphatically necessary rebuttal, even if the comrades of our branch were to blame in not having read and answered O'Neal's article when it appeared.

Comrade O'Neal states that one of the branches "sympathetic to the 'Millitary' and noted for its splendid activities adopted two resolutions one regarding the five year plan and the other regarding political nominations. The first declared that a critical attitude toward the plan constitutes 'conduct unbecoming to a Socialist'; the second declares among other things, 'that in nominating candidates we should keep in mind the City that the party threaten to obtain control of the city that class will certainly react to its class interest.' O'Neal concludes, after stating that the branch was probably unconscious of the implications of its action, that 'the two resolutions constitute a perfect correlation between pseudo-radicalism and middle class opportunism.' This method of reporting and interpreting facts is perfectly incomprehensible from such a distinguished historian as O'Neal. We should like to know if the first resolution did not even mention the five year plan; and emphatically did not imply that the economic progress of the Soviet Union was to be accepted uncritically, was to be set upon a pedestal and

I like that phrase, or axiom. I like to roll it around on my tongue. Maybe after I have rolled it around for a few weeks I will get up enough courage to apply for a job selling vacuum cleaners on our block here in Brooklyn.

"It is mainly in that way that we have contrived to use instead of waste our savings," continue Foster and Catchings, and to clinch the statement add: "We did not buy these luxuries because we prospered. It is more to the point to say that we prospered because we bought these luxuries."

You know, editor . . . that strikes home with me. Yes, sir. As I sit here in the kitchen on my little flat watching the applesauce so it won't burn, I can feel a glow of optimism warm my innards. Those few words alone are worth the two dollars and a half I had to pay for a year's subscription to this Controversy Magazine. If only all those poor deluded mutts who have stood in line waiting to borrow on the expanded bank credits they had with the Bank of United States had read this article they could have bought apples and made a lot of money selling them, and thus have continued to buy luxuries and kept business good. The mistake here was that the depositors were forty minutes late in spending their credit. The affiliates of the bank got it and a million less frigidares were sold, and now we are in a hell of a pickle again.

The same happened in Birmingham, when Andrew Hove forgot to make the bank credit and saved wages of the depositors to expand with new industries; the same over in New Jersey and down in Kentucky, and in fact, all over the country. This ought to be as significant as the fleas in an engineer's hair-shirt, or as Messrs. Foster and Catchings so clearly put it: "The way out of our troubles is not to render existing capital useless, but to create still more capital. . . . In short, the way to go ahead is to plan to go ahead and not plan to go backward."

Well then, let's get to work. Due to the situation in India the price of silver has gone down to 26c. Snuff is on the up and up. Automobiles and radios and frigidares are up a blind alley, so to speak, so we have not much to look for from those items of our expanded industries and payrolls. The couturiers of Paris have gone back to long dresses and the shoe industry . . . well the less said about it the better. This brings us to snuff boxes and the pegging of silver. You may ask: Why not use steel snuff boxes, or brass, or gold?

But . . . "Ha, ha," as Professor Brooklyn, N. Y.

workshipped. Least of all did it seek to ban a constructive, sympathetic, and friendly criticism. The resolution merely took the same stand as did Hillquit when in "From Marx to Lenin," he said (I am obliged to cite from memory) that active support of the Russian Socialist state should be given on a condition of entrance in the new Socialist International. Specifically, the resolution attacked the participation of members of our party in such ventures as the Hotel Pennsylvania conference where under the leadership of disgruntled Russian exiles, they damned right and left the struggling Soviet Union. This sort of action we felt and still feel to be both anti-Marxist and fundamentally anti-Socialist.

Turning to Comrade O'Neal's interpretation of our second resolution, namely, "that in nominating candidates we should keep in mind the Citizens' Union and electorate in general," I claim that this is patently misleading. It is not what the resolution said; and, further, it should have been perfectly obvious that it was not what the resolution meant.

From this misinterpretation, O'Neal proceeds to a lecture on the fallacy of seeking middle-class votes, and ends with the eloquent accusation that the resolutions show "a perfect correlation of pseudo-radicalism and middle-class opportunism."

In this resolution, we attacked the negligent irresponsibility of certain party officials in nominating candidates for office without previously securing their consent. We pointed out the effects of this practice in our own district, where at the last moment we discovered that our candidate was not on the ballot. In describing how this partially neutralized the campaign in the 19th, we mentioned how our electorate (which by the way, Comrade O'Neal, is a proletarian class) reacted to an organization which didn't even know who its candidates were, and in passing predicted that the Citizens' Union was not going to be enthusiastic in supporting candidates of a party which apparently wasn't even sure whether they were on or off the ballot. If this be socialism, make the most of it.

Now the implication behind Comrade O'Neal's statements is that our resolution requested that the party be more careful in selecting candidates who would not alienate petty bourgeois voters. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What seems to me the most peculiar thing of all is that when The New Leader carries an enthusiastic announcement of Citizens' Union endorsement for a party candidate, Comrade O'Neal does not noticeably take advantage of his position as editor to deny indignantly that there is any cause for pleasure. I am also amazed that Comrade O'Neal has apparently never blue-pencilled as working class articles praising a candidate's capacity to appeal to the general electorate.

NATHANIEL WEYL.
New York City.
The resolution of the branch declared its "full sympathy with the efforts of the present Russian government to establish a Socialist state" and criticized the City Central Committee "in condemning the actions of the principal government which made genuine progress toward Socialism."

For instance, take the item of snuff. Snuff is a luxury. To produce snuff we need expanded bank credits plus wages and raw material. Snuff boxes, which are out of style, were made of silver and other precious metals. Well silver is down to 26c. per ounce. Silver during the high spots of prosperity was \$137.75. Without the aid of snuff boxes the net profits on snuff in 1930, after income taxes had been paid, were \$2,331,000. This is an equivalent of 54 cents per share on the "A" stock. I have no record of what the "B" stock brought in dividends . . . \$5 or \$6 perhaps. What the producers of the raw material for snuff will get will be determined when Secretary of Agriculture Hyde has predestinated a while with Senator Robinson's and President Hoover's compromise on the \$20,000,000 dole that has taken on the more deserving and dignified word of "rehabilitation."

I want you to follow me very carefully now, Mr. Editor. I'm getting into deep water and may need some help. When I began this letter everything was nice and clear, due to the smooth and well chosen words that Foster and Catchings use, but now I fear I'm liable to founder about a little; but I think we can manage it if we stick to snuff and snuff boxes. A little banana oil will help, too. I lubricate my typewriter with banana oil. Have you ever tried it?

Well then, let's get to work. Due to the situation in India the price of silver has gone down to 26c. Snuff is on the up and up. Automobiles and radios and frigidares are up a blind alley, so to speak, so we have not much to look for from those items of our expanded industries and payrolls. The couturiers of Paris have gone back to long dresses and the shoe industry . . . well the less said about it the better. This brings us to snuff boxes and the pegging of silver. You may ask: Why not use steel snuff boxes, or brass, or gold?

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It is true that the five year plan is not mentioned but it is obvious that this plan was meant as it singles out "the efforts of the PRESENT Russian government" for approval. If Comrade Weyl's interpretation is accepted then the resolution included support not only of the economic policies of the Bolsheviks, but all "efforts" and "actions" of their regime. That would make the resolution one of complete acceptance of repression and terror. In other words, a Commun-

Lucifer Butts says: "that's just the point." Steel is up and still going up, the flexible tariff commission having just allowed a 50 per cent. increase on poultry wire; and brass is still holding its own. Silver then must be pegged. Let me again quote Foster and Catchings.

"The automobile, radio and electric refrigerator industries are not horrible examples. They are inspiring examples. In the future as in the past we shall make real progress by increasing our equipment for producing luxuries. And buying more of these luxuries. And bringing forth more new inventions. And in the process creating more bank credit and paying more wages. Thus we shall use our wages instead of saving them."

"Are they (the industries) to produce more necessities? Are they to produce more wheat and rubber, more boots and shoes, more copper and cloth when all such necessities are already over produced? No there will be no hope for the jobless in that direction."

There you have it Mr. Editor.

Now then, I dare you to go out and buy a snuff box. I'll bet you a good five cent cigar you will not find one. And the snuff business is on the up and up. And silver is on the down and down. There is a gold famine too, because France won the Peace of Versailles. And, according to General Dawes, England won the war, because every thirteen pounds of food eaten by the American soldiers, eight were furnished by England. But that has nothing to do with snuff boxes . . . except you might take a pinch of snuff if the Great War gets under your skin.

Well, I think I have proved our case: There is only one luxury left that we have not tried and that is snuff boxes.

Yours for the inevitable better day,
OLE SNY HOPPER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ist resolution. The writer could have given the resolution that interpretation but he was more fair to the branch than the branch was to itself by accepting it as an approval of the Five Year Plan rather than of all the "efforts" and "actions" of the Soviet Government.

The second resolution declared that the practice of nominating candidates without first obtaining their consent creates "an impression of Socialist incompetence among campaign volunteers, the Citizens Union, and the electorate." Whether this mention of the middle class Citizens Union does not bear the interpretation the writer gave it may be left to our readers. Indeed, it appears that Comrade Weyl sustains it when he says that the Citizens Union isn't likely to be "enthusiastic in supporting candidates of a party which apparently wasn't sure whether they were on or off the ballot." On the other hand it should be remembered the writer conceded that otherwise the resolution was a good one.

As for The New Leader carrying news of Citizens Union endorsement of Socialist candidates, the answer is that it is printed because it is news. It is one thing to report news of unfolding events in a campaign; it is quite another thing to adjust our policies and make our nominations with the view of obtaining the approval of middle class organizations. As for appeals to the general electorate, it depends upon their character whether they are in accord with Socialist principle and aims and the editor has no power to blue-pencil material that comes from another department of the party. Moreover, he does not want to destroy any party edifice by objecting to any party edifice with such power.—Editor, The New Leader.

PHILLIPS ON GARRISON
Editor, The New Leader:
William Lloyd Garrison was far from being a man of one idea. He was a warm advocate of woman's rights, when the cause was even more unpopular than the abolition of slavery. He was as strong a non-resistance as Gandhi. He had a whole staff of newspaper nobles.

Wendell Phillips was more far-sighted. He saw the inevitable conflict between capital and labor. Garrison did not see it. But it is inaccurate to say that he "was not so keen" as Phillips. He never knowingly shut his eyes to any truth. His great influence was due to his unflinching courage and absolute integrity. Wendell Phillips said, "His moral nature was as marvelous as the intellect of Pascal."

In Garrison's time the lot of the free laborer was not nearly so bad as it is now. Many years ago (though long after Garrison's day) Louis D. Brandeis gave an address in which he said, in substance:

"In the last 50 years, a great change has come over this country. We have become a nation of employees. Half a century ago, the average American could look forward to being an independent man by the time he was 30. Now all that is changed. At Garrison's funeral, Wendell Phillips said:

"Young men, he is not given to you to remember the blackness of darkness of ignorance and indifference that brooded over what was called the moral element of the American people. Trade endeavored to crush the intellectual life of America disowned him. The church was a thick cloud looming over him in the darkness. Out of it thundered and lightning a malignity that could not find words to express its hate. He had no means. Where he got, whence he summoned, how he created the elements which changed 1824 into 1835, that made America mob him in every great city, is a marvel. That universal apathy, that deadness of soul, that contempt of intellect, in ten years he changed into the whole coun-

try aflame. He made every single home, press, pulpit and Senate chamber a debating society."

Phillips said it was really that "printer's boy" who inspired all the other workers, and was responsible for the final victory. Those who wish to get an idea of the great work that he did should read the whole of Phillips' address on that historic occasion.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.
Boston, Mass.

Hoover Versus the Children

By Mrs. Florence Kelley
General Secretary of National Consumers' League

DELAYS, due to Pres. Hoover's personal intervention, will probably cause the Jones' bill appropriating \$1,000,000 for the protection of maternity and infancy, to die on the calendar. If the president had promoted instead of delaying the continuance of the appropriations which lapsed with the Sheppard-Towner legislation in 1929, thousands of lives of infants would undoubtedly have been saved.

Mr. Hoover is famous as the friend of children. Such hypocrisy is incredible—unimaginable.

In Europe the index of infant mortality is considered the best index of the degree of civilization. When the Sheppard-Towner Act was passed in 1920 the United States stood tenth among civilized nations in this respect. The act caused a marked drop in infant death rates in the 45 states which eventually came under its provisions, and the other three—Massachusetts, Connecticut and Illinois—were put on their mettle to make good records also. Oregon now has the fine figure of only 48 deaths per 1,000, though one state, Arizona, has a rate as high as 130, and the country's average rate—67—is still high. Maternal mortality remains high too, owing among other causes to the inadequate training received by our doctors, gynecologists, obstetricians and midwives.

Before Mr. Hoover, five successive presidents had helped to bring down the death-rates of children in this country. Roosevelt called the first White House conference on the health and welfare of children in 1909. Taft signed in 1912 the bill creating the Children's Bureau and appointed Julia Lathrop as its head. Wilson had for reconstruction work a hundred million dollar grant from Congress for which he was not to account, and he turned over \$100,000 of it to the Children's Bureau. The money went for conferences in all parts of the country on standards of child welfare to be voluntarily accepted by states, municipalities and volunteer agencies. Many of the best of them are now widely in force.

Harding signed, in 1922, the Sheppard-Towner Act, under which the Federal government matched dollar for dollar up to \$1,240,000 annually, the money appropriated by the states for maternity and infancy work, each state's plan being approved by a board of three representatives of the Federal government. Coolidge urged Congress to prolong for two years the appropriation for the biennium, June 30, 1927 to June 30, 1929. This was done.

Under Mr. Hoover, the third White House Conference on the Health and Welfare of Children was made the occasion for a drive to destroy the Children's Bureau. The report of the medical committee of the conference favored transferring to the Public Health Service all the Bureau's medical work, leaving it only vague welfare activities. Under a decision of the United States Supreme Court no money can be appropriated for welfare unless the purpose is closely defined. The Hoover White House Conference was split by this proposal, on which finally there was no agreement and no action.

On the expiration, June 30, 1929, of the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act, Senator Jones introduced a bill appropriating a million dollars to carry on its work. The secretaries of commerce and of the interior wrote to Senator Jones, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, saying that the president would prefer no action to be taken until the reports of the White House Conference, to be held in November, 1930, were printed. Senator Jones was later promoted to the Senate Committee on Commerce. Senator Johnson of California who succeeded to Senator Jones' previous committee, unearthed the two fatal letters in the files and gave them to the press. Senator Jones finally got his bill through the Senate in January, 1931.

Pres. Hoover's obstructionist tactics have held up the work that was reducing the infant death rate.

try aflame. He made every single home, press, pulpit and Senate chamber a debating society."

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