

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Progressives Hobbled by Party Ties—No Special Session of Congress—Dumping and the Farmers—The Sickness of Our Social Order—An Inadequate Investigation

### DISAPPOINTING PROGRESSIVES

THERE is a growing lot of progressive sentiment in America and a great deal of interest in it. This was proved by the discussion at and about the Progressive Conference in Washington. Nevertheless the Conference in itself was disappointing.



Norman Thomas

First, it was disappointing in its program. Professor Beard's replies to Senator Watson's questions and the resolutions adopted or discussed were a step backward rather than forward from the La Follette Progressive platform of 1924. There was a complete silence on foreign relations, that is, on the very things that may plunge us into war. The prohibition issue was ignored although unless it can be settled outside the realm of party conflict it will indefinitely bedevil, as it does today, any progressive action.

Second, the approval of some Progressives, openly expressed by Senator Wheeler, for Franklin D. Roosevelt shows once more how little it costs to satisfy progressives. Governor Roosevelt is a likeable gentleman with some liberal inclinations and a great ambition. But he wrote the constitution forced on Haiti with bayonets; the quality and his emphasis of the prohibition question varies with the calendar and the atlas, the time and the place; until recently in all his appointments, vetoes, etc., he has been more subservient to Tammany than Al Smith was when Governor; he sided with the bankers, including some Bank of U. S. directors in blocking the banking reforms recommended by Robert Moses after the City Trust failure; he has said vague words about unemployment insurance but not fought for it; in short, only on public utilities, and there only to a limited extent, has he taken a progressive line. And that makes him good enough for Wheeler and other progressives!

Finally, and most important of all, the progressive conference stultified itself by avoiding the one principal question. And that is the question of organization. No guerrilla warfare in Congress can get far. Events will march faster than progressives hobbled by old party ties. There can be no inspiring or forthright popular education with La Follette and Hoover both calling themselves Republicans while Wheeler and Raskob are both Democrats.

### AN IMPORTANT OMISSION

ONE serious progressive omission was the failure of the Conference to insist on a special session of Congress in order to get unemployment relief. I don't say this because I love Congress but because only Congress can come to the aid of the unemployed by direct relief and public works both based on taxing incomes and inheritances. And don't forget there are plenty left in the United States who can stand it. In 1929 the group receiving incomes in excess of one million dollars was 504 and the total number of millionaires was 38,650.

### DEBENTURES AND SUBSIDIES

PROGRESSIVES still talk of debentures or other subsidies as the hope of grain and possibly cotton farmers. It is true that if manufacturers have a right to the high tariffs on goods they sell the farmers the farmers have at least equal right to equivalent subsidies. But there is one increasingly serious objection to all devices whereby farmers can sell their products at a lower price abroad than at home. That is that every such scheme is a form of dumping. And dumping embitters all international relations. In a world of surplus wheat there must be international agreement, not national competition in dumping.

### NEAR THE END OF AN EPOCH

THE inadequacy of progressivism lies in the fact that we are nearing the end of an epoch. Only a recognition of this and a new set of ideals, loyalties and hopes among the farmers and workers will save us. To the sickness of our present order business depression and unemployment; lack of leadership; the epidemic of racketeering; the existence of bandit chiefs like Capone, more powerful than government, complacently or humorously accepted by the masses and the classes; and a literature of frustration and cynicism bear witness. Our hope is not really in better times but in a better social order.

### A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH

THERE is a kind of alcohol named methanol which chemical manufacturers like the Du Ponts, the Carbide and Carbon Company, etc., find it easy and profitable to make. High medical authorities, including the National Institute of Health, reported grave dangers in the use of methanol as an anti-grease mixture, dangers in the fumes and in contact as well as in drinking the stuff. The manufacturers thereupon paid the cost of an inquiry by the Bureau of Mines. The Bureau sent a preliminary report to the leading manufacturers and apparently embodied their criticisms in a final report which gave methanol a clean bill of health for all uses except drinking!

Obviously this is no adequate investigation. Since the Federal Government has fallen down, state legislatures must take up the matter, investigate and legislate for the public health. Even more important it is that public opinion should demand an end of asking or taking funds from interested parties for any allegedly scientific inquiry by any government agency.

SO Jack Leary is going to investigate unemployment insurance for Pres. Hoover. I can hardly imagine a worse appointment than this cynical, hard boiled, alleged labor reporter, who never was as progressive as Sam Gompers and is a champion of Wollism.

## Cleveland Socialists Name Strong Slate in City Poll

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—At a highly enthusiastic city convention of the Socialist Party of Cleveland, held Monday, March 18, four candidates for City Council were nominated, a campaign committee of six was elected, and a platform committee of five chosen. A large part of the convention was composed of Yipsels, who instilled a strong fighting spirit into the older comrades.

Socialist candidates for city council are as follows: 1st district, John G. Willert; 2nd district, Joseph Martinek; 3rd district, Joseph Siskovich; 4th district, Max R. Wohl. Since Cleveland elections are conducted under the proportional representation plan, the convention decided to nominate only one candidate in each district, so as not to divide our vote. Willert and Martinek have very good chances to be elected. Wohl is a member of the Young People's Socialist League.

The campaign committee is composed of John Krebel, Sidney Yellen, Max Epstein, Jones, Lew Zerlin, and Bob Parker. The committee has already begun formulating plans to make the coming campaign the strongest in the history of the Cleveland movement. The platform committee is composed of Joseph Maniet, chairman, Bob Garvin, Ben Parker, and Meyer Weintraub.

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# Socialist Bill For Job Insurance Is Introduced in 4 Legislatures

## Bread Cost Quiz Forced By Socialists

Hoopes Resolution, Buried Twice by Penn. Legislature, Finally Carries

(Bulletin)

HARRISBURG, Pa. — The resolution offered by Socialist Representative Darlington Hoopes, to investigate the price of bread and alleged profiteering, passed the lower house of the legislature Wednesday night.

By Arthur McDowell

MONDAY night, March 9th, Socialist Representative Darlington Hoopes rose on the floor of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and made a ghost walk. The ghost was the resolution asking the State Secretary of Agriculture to probe the high cost of bread in this time of depression and low prices of the bakers' raw materials, particularly the farmers' wheat. When the resolution was called up by its sponsor, February 18th, it was cheerfully pickled in the Appropriations committee. The relief of members at that time was cruelly spoiled when the two Socialist members grimly forced a roll call vote and began their Doomsday Book of votes. So intense was the embarrassment of members thus forced into the open that administration leaders came back to assure the Socialist legislators that the bill would come out of pickle very shortly. Three weeks passed, members forgot their exposure and Hoopes was curiously told the committee had tabled the bill.

Last Monday night, armed with the results of careful investigation, the Reading Socialist leader arose to hurl his deft old party organization in the midst of a noisy and derisive House. Desk lids banged. Conversation continued in loud tones. With his voice raised to a continual shout Hoopes piled up his indictment. A slight change began to occur in the atmosphere as it was noticed that a jammed gallery was listening intently. Members' chairs were swung around to face the back row where sit the two Socialist members of the Pennsylvania legislature. At last only a thin wall of din from the front rows where sit the House leadership, shut off the burden of Hoopes message from the Speaker and the press desk.

"Excess of Investigation" The Socialist agitator for investigation of price of bread pointed out that every one was willing for some kind of investigation of utilities, in fact both houses were conducting separate investigations at the same time. Although hoping for results in terms of public welfare from such zeal the unexpressed suspicion of the Socialist's speech was to the effect that predatory wealth in public utilities had little to fear from any investigation directed or inspired by Governor Pinchot, who has now plainly asserted his opposition to public ownership and who the previous week had used his control of the House to kill a Socialist resolution by Lilith Wilson favoring signature of Muscle Shoal Bill by President Hoover. Relating the history of the bread

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## Our Timid Progressives

Old Party "Insurgents" Throw Workingclass As Many Crumbs As It Asks For

THE "progressive" conference met in Washington last week, deliberated, acted, and then adjourned. Lacking any comprehensive philosophy, the members of Congress who constitute this group decided on nothing positive except in the matter of civil rights.

The issue of civil rights is as old in this country as the Alien and Sedition Acts in John Adams' administration. To be sure, they are important even if the issue is old. Centralization of capitalistic power is accompanied with subtle invasion of civil rights. No upper class welcomes free criticism of its rule. It favors silence and submission.

The Washington conference recorded its approval of a free press, free discussion, free assembly, repeal of the espionage act, and restoration of the citizenship of those convicted under it. It favored anti-injunction legislation in labor disputes. It condemned the employment of agents provocateur by the Federal Government and censorship of newspapers, books and magazines. It recorded its opinion that the United States should be an asylum for political refugees and opposed the policy of deportation of such refugees.

### "Facing" Unemployment

So far we heartily concur, but when we turn to the economic problems considered by the conference its actions are no more positive and no more satisfactory than the actions of the Hoover administration. The report made and adopted on unemployment and industrial stabilization offers no legislative suggestions whatever to meet the grave situation that faces us. In this respect it does not differ with the record of Hoover and his supporters.

That we do not exaggerate is evident from the report. The first section declares: "Statements made by qualified persons from different parts of the United States indicate that the volume of unemployment is so great and the prolonged strain on various public and charitable funds so substantial as to lead to the exhaustion of many of them within the next month. Consequently, conditions much worse even than those prevailing at the present time appear to be unavoidable."

In other words, all available information in the hands of the committee indicates not only a present grave emergency but "conditions much worse" within a month. The urgency of some definite program is obvious from this statement. Is one offered? Not at all. What then?

### "Let's Investigate"

We turn to section 5 and learn that appointment of a subcommittee is urged to "make a rapid and exhaustive survey" of the distress and the agencies of relief and if the survey reveals the "necessity of such action" a special session of Congress "must be demanded to prevent widespread starvation."

The mountain labored and delivered a dead mouse! The authors of the report had already admitted knowledge of widespread suffering and admitted that the climax to the tragedy may be reached within the next month. Knowing this the committee recommends—an investigation.

Throughout our legislative history this proposal has often been a refuge of timid politicians. Is it necessary to make an investigation to ascertain whether there are five or six million jobless workers in this country? Is it necessary to investigate whether relief agencies are "strained" to the breaking point? Does not the committee itself admit that the situation it proposes to investigate is already a tragedy?

We do not think that Hooverites themselves could have indulged in more lame action than these "progressives."

### Labor's Lack of Power

There is another aspect to this futile gesture. The unemployment problem has been acute for two years. During all this time the "progressives" have not worked out any program to meet this economic disaster. Their attitude has been one of negation to Hoover but they have nothing fundamental of their own to substitute for his inaction. It is no answer to say that the committee

### THE SAME OLD GRIND



John Sloan in the New Freeman

proposed subcommittees to prepare proposals on employment offices, unemployment reserve and insurance funds, planning stabilization industry, public works in industrial stabilization, increased purchasing power and the shorter work-day and week, and coordinating the activities of Federal, State and local governments. The fact is that two years of distress have passed into history before even these suggestions were made.

How "progressive" is a group that waits a year or two after an economic earthquake before it awakens to the fact? How reliable is it when it finally approaches the disaster with cautious steps, observes the human wastage, and wonders whether an investigation of what is obvious to all isn't necessary?

The attitude of this conference towards the problems that faced it did not measure up to the Populism of forty years ago. That movement of the farmers, the lower middle class, and a few of the city workers, at least attempted to face its problems and to draft a program. However much it may have fallen short of its job, it at least did not dodge its job and rest content with an attitude of negation toward the capitalist parties and politics of that period.

High in the councils of both the Democratic and Republican parties, of which the "progressives" are members, are the leaders who represent high finance and capital. Those parties belong to the banking and capitalist rulers of the United States. They represent property, big property, while the working masses have little or no property of their own. This two-party rule for the same big interests will never be overthrown by the timid gestures of these "progressives" or through their adhesion to their respective party machines.

We offer these observations because many slans, American workers have suffered from

workers are accustomed to indulge in the habit of relying upon almost anybody but themselves. They constitute a powerful social and political force but have never efficiently organized that power for their own interests. Lacking the driving force of a power that would wring concessions even from conservative politicians of our ruling classes, those who call themselves "progressives" tread softly and act timidly when facing widespread working class grievances.

### Build the Socialist Party

Socialists and others who understand the urgent need of independent party action will continue their work for the building of a political power representing the workers of the nation. No man and no group within the parties of capitalism can represent or fight for the welfare of the masses. They are compelled because of their affiliation to follow a timid course in office. They want their committee assignments. They want to be renominated by their parties. The result is indecision, timidity, and uncertainty which paralyzes bold action and the formulation of an adequate program.

Everywhere in the modern world where the working masses have become a political force to be reckoned with it has been due to reliance upon their own resources, their own party, and their own representatives whom they nominate, elect and control. The sad plight of the jobless millions in this country today is merely further evidence of the need of political action that will make war against the parties of capitalism.

Once we become influential in this respect those among the "progressives" who are capable of progressing will be with this movement. The others will remain where they are.

Build the Socialist Party. Wrest what we can from those who are in office but work and fight for a political revolution that will not be timid in approach but bold in action and conscious of its aims.

## Measure Is Presented In New York

Chicago Labor Approves Plan—Lee Argues for It at Albany Hearing

THE unemployment insurance bill sponsored by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has now been introduced in at least four state legislatures. It has won the support of two state federations of labor and a number of central labor bodies and local trade unions.

The bill provides for payments of unemployment benefits from a fund to be raised by the state and by the owners of industry.

The bill has been introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature by Assemblyman Darlington Hoopes of Reading, in the Wisconsin legislature by the Socialist members, in the Illinois legislature by State Representative Buck, and in the New York legislature by Assemblyman Wendell of Schenectady, acting on the request of the Schenectady central labor council. The Pennsylvania and Wisconsin state federations of labor have endorsed the bill.

Chicago Labor Approves The Chicago Federation of Labor, at its regular meeting, March 15, voted to endorse the bill the Socialist party drafted, and which has been introduced by Rep. Buck of Villa Park. Last week, Reuben Soderstrom, president of the Illinois Federation, denounced it as a communist measure.

The resolution was introduced by Morris Seskind, Socialist, and delegate from the Newspaper Writers' Union. It not only put the Federation on record, but instructed its legislative committee to push it at Springfield. It was carried unanimously.

### Hearing in Albany

While approving without qualifications the principle of compulsory unemployment insurance, the State Committee of the Socialist Party (Wednesday) urged the New York Senate and Assembly Committees on Labor to amend the Mastick-Steingut bill. A statement signed by Louis Waldman, State Chairman for the State Committee of the Party, and by Algernon Lee, Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, members of the Committee, made three specific criticisms of the Mastick-Steingut bill. Lee represented the party at a hearing in Albany.

Objections were raised by Lee to the benefits proposed to be paid which were held to be inadequate. It was also contended that the bill unnecessarily and unreasonably excludes large classes of workers from its scope. Finally, and the most emphatic objection was raised to the proposal to make unemployment insurance a charge on individual employers. He urged instead the adoption of the Socialist Party bill proposed by Assemblyman Wendell of Schenectady, which provides that unemployment insurance fund shall be raised by assessment on industry and the State.

"Our main criticisms of the Mastick-Steingut bill, are as follows," Lee declared:

"1. The benefits provided by the bill are grossly inadequate. They are restricted to \$10 a week for a worker over the age of 18 years, and \$5 a week for an employee under that age, and these benefits are limited to 13 weeks in

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### Speakers

HEYWOOD BROWN  
McALISTER COLEMAN  
ESTHER FRIEDMAN  
RABBI SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN  
MORRIS HILLQUIT  
JULIUS HOCHMAN  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

## Unemployment Demonstration

UNION SQUARE

This Saturday (March 21st) 1 P. M.

COME AND VOICE YOUR DEMAND FOR

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE; THIRTY-SIX HOUR WEEK; SPEEDING UP OF PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM; ABOLITION OF SLUMS TO PROVIDE MORE WORK; ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR.

Auspices: Emergency Conference on Unemployment, Socialist Party, Trade Unions, Workmen's Circle.

### Speakers

ALGERNON LEE  
DARWIN J. MESEROLE  
ABRAHAM MILLER  
JACOB PANKEN  
A. I. SHIPLACOFF  
NORMAN THOMAS  
B. C. VLADECK  
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE







## Unions Renew Fight to Free Tom Mooney

Resolutions Are Pouring In on Newly-Elected Governor Rolph

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
SAN FRANCISCO.—Resolutions demanding freedom for Tom Mooney, once more are coming by every mail from local unions, trade assemblies, central bodies and individual workers in all parts of the United States to the office of the Governor of California.

When the reactionary majority of the California Supreme Court recently reported adversely on Warren K. Billings' application for pardon in a decision not only full of factual misrepresentations but reeking with prejudice, the corporation controlled judges went out of their way to brand the campaign for the release of Mooney and Billings as a "propaganda of misrepresentation and utter falsehood" which they declared "we earnestly trust will now and forever cease."

Instead of the agitation for the release of Mooney and Billings ceasing, as the special interest judges "earnestly hoped," it is becoming increasingly evident that their disgraceful decision has renewed the world-wide demand on the part of organized labor that these victims of a deliberate frame-up be freed from the California state prisons where they already have spent the best fifteen years of their lives.

C. C. Young, the chief executive of California, who for four long years made a football of the Mooney case in the hope of advancing his own political fortunes, was defeated for renomination in the primary election last August, and now James Rolph, Jr., for twenty years mayor of San Francisco, is sitting in the governor's chair. As yet Governor Rolph has expressed no opinion on the Mooney case, but in the near future a group of California's best known citizens will call upon him with the request that he grant a hearing for Tom Mooney's new application for an unconditional pardon.

The Metal Trades Council of St. Louis recently addressed a strong letter to Governor Rolph declaring that Mooney is confined "for a crime which has proven a frame-up" and demanding his unconditional pardon.

Central labor bodies in Tacoma, Schenectady, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and scores of other cities have passed strong resolutions in Mooney's behalf.

## Depression Shakes Farmers Of Western Canada From Traditions of Individualism

United Farmers Vote to Enter Political Arena as Independent Entity

By C. McKay  
(Special Corr. of The New Leader)

OTTAWA.—What amounts to a revolution in the ways of thinking and feeling of the farmers of the Canadian west has been produced by the economic crisis, causing them to turn their backs on many of the ideas, beliefs and traditions of the past and to set their face to the task of reconstructing agriculture on the widest possible basis of co-operation, supported by political action, independent of the old parties. Notably expressive of the changing outlook is the fact that the United Farmers of Saskatchewan have followed those of Alberta in declaring nationalization of farm lands to be a desirable goal of endeavor, a declaration which marks a wide departure from the time-honored proprietary psychology which nourished the hope that free-hold proprietorship would bring comfort and dignity.

This sums up the views of the drift of opinion on the prairies expressed by several United Farmer members of Parliament who are in Ottawa for the session and who while they take a much more serious view of the agricultural crisis than that expressed by business leaders in western cities, nevertheless believe that the farmers are acquiring a new vision which will restore their morale.

"The annual convention of the United Farmers of Canada, Saskatchewan Section, was a revelation of the new spirit of unity among the farmers and of their ability to reach common conclusions in respect to the problems confronting them," said H. E. Spencer, Alberta Farmer M. P., and Whip of the Ginger Group in the House of Commons, who attended the Saskatoon gathering. "It was the greatest convention of farmers I ever attended and remarkable for the unanimity of its decisions. The resolution to enter politics as an organization and with a platform as progressive as that of the Alberta farmers was passed without a single speech of dissent and with only one hand raised against it, when the vote was taken."

"Those who believe that the farmers' movement has run its

course are sadly mistaken. After backing and filling for years, the Saskatchewan farmers have now definitely put their hand to the plough of political action, and they are not likely to turn back. The policies they committed themselves to at the Saskatoon convention show a new outlook upon their problems and evidence their determination to use their political strength to realize a better way in greater security of livelihood."

What was particularly noticeable, in Mr. Spencer's opinion, was that defenders of what he called the old order were conspicuous by their silence. So far from regarding the difficulties of the Wheat Pool as a functional failure of co-operation as their only hope of achieving any measure of comfort and security in a world where co-operation between financial and industrial interests has already attained sufficient control over manufactures to weight the balance of prices against them.

"Little interest was shown in free trade at the Saskatoon Convention, indicating that the farmers now realize that their main problems would not be solved by free trade, even if eastern Canada would consent to try it," said another farmer M. P.

Some of the resolutions adopted by the Saskatchewan farmers, which are closely in line with resolutions adopted by the recent convention of Alberta farmers, seem calculated to make the conservative interests in the east do some "viewing with alarm." For instance, there were resolutions calling for nationalization, or social ownership, of lands, productive machinery, the Canadian Pacific Railway and Express Company and the banks, with the organization of production and distribution, for use, not profit; a more radical program than that of organized labor in Canada. Other resolutions called for government action to peg the price of wheat at the cost of production; a stabilization board to scale prices of farm-used commodities parallel to the prices of farm-produced commodities; government crop insurance and a general readjustment of debts.

"Our ultimate objectives will bring the benefits of the Soviet system without its disadvantages," said A. J. MacCauley, vice-president of the U. F. of Saskatchewan. But President George Williams contended that these objectives were not comparable with the Soviet system.

## Labor Health To Be Subject Of Conference

Sessions Set for April 24—'Five Star Final' Taken for April 28

"FIVE Star Final," by Louis Weltzenkorn, has been taken by the Women's Auxiliary of the Union Health Center for April 28th. The Medical Department of the Union Health Center has had to care for large numbers of unemployed free of charge. The Center finds itself faced with a deficit which must be met if this care is to go on. Readers of The New Leader are urged to assist the institution by not arranging any entertainment for that evening and by purchasing as many tickets as they can possibly dispose of. Mail orders filled at 131 East 17th street, Tel.: Stuyvesant 9-7063.

The Conference on Labor and Health is arousing much interest among the labor people of greater New York as well as among other groups interested in the problem of sickness among wage earners. The discussion will center around questions such as the high cost of medical and dental care; how to reduce a doctor's bills and the attitude of the profession toward workers' health institutions. For the profession, the speakers will include Senator Copeland, Commissioner of Health Shirley S. Wynne, former Health Commissioner Louis I. Harris, Dr. T. Hyatt of the Metropolitan Life Insurance, and others. Commissioner of Labor Frances Perkins will speak for the Labor Department of New York State.

The speakers for the labor movement include Hugh Frayne and Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, John Sullivan and John O'Hanlon of the New York State Federation of Labor, Joseph R. Ryan and James Quinn of the Central Trade and Labor Council, B. Schlesinger and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, B. C. Vladeck of the Jewish Daily Forward and Morris Hillquit, counsel for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A large labor audience is expected to attend. Time: April 24th, 2 p. m.; Place: Russel Sage Foundation Auditorium, 130 East 22nd street.

A Women's Auxiliary to the Union Health Center has recently been organized with Rose Schneiderman as chairman.

## Socialist Branch Draws Up "12 Weeks Plan" of Activity

Each Member Assigned 13 Tasks in Drive to Swell Socialist Influence

THE Washington Heights Branch of the Socialist Party has ventured upon an ambitious program, which it announces as the "Twelve Weeks' Plan." Its objective is ambitious and includes the following aims:

1: An increase in membership of 200 per cent. 2: To place the branch on a sound financial basis. 3: To publish a branch paper. 4: To thoroughly ground the members in the principles of Socialism. 5: To support the "Socialism Forward" and THE NEW LEADER drive.

Having outlined these aims the branch then considered methods of practical work to achieve them by assigning specific duties to each member. The following program was worked out for each member:

**Tasks for Members**  
1: Attend each branch meeting or write a letter stating reason for failure to attend. 2: Attend meetings on time. 3: Bring at least two visitors to each meeting. 4: Get one new member every two weeks from friends. 5: Get one new member every two weeks from enrolled Socialist voters and interview at least five of these voters. 6: Sell one Socialist pamphlet every two weeks. 7: Sell five Socialist pamphlets every two weeks. 8: Give out 25 free leaflets every two weeks. 9: Call up two delinquent members between meetings to urge attendance and payment of dues. 10: Sell at least six tickets for the theatre party by April 4. 11: Leave with the secretary names of prospective members and prospective pupils. 12: Spend at least three hours weekly on Socialist activities. 13: Pay dues and pledges up to date and contribute to the Socialism Forward Drive. 14: Give complete report on each two weeks' activities and financial standing at every branch meeting.

Nor does all this complete the program. Not an item of possible work has been overlooked as additional work indicates. The Branch is to carry out the following activities:

**The Branch's Job**  
1: Run a large meeting for enrolled Socialist voters. 2: Run two outdoor meetings each week. 3: Continue the Washington

Heights Forum lectures. 4: Run a prize contest, awarding a prize to the "Best Socialist" for the most activity during the twelve weeks. 5: Establish a weekly study course in Socialism. 6: Post results of each member's activities and plans. 7: Run a theatre party on April 18. 8: Run a banquet or dance on June 4, celebrating the success of the Twelve Weeks' Plan.

The branch is confident that it will succeed in all of its plans and talk is already rife of the "Twelve Weeks' Plan in Ten." To make it a success funds are badly needed and members can help by purchasing tickets for the Mooney-Billings play, "Precedent." The branch has purchased the house for Saturday night, April 18. Prices are \$1.50 and \$2. Tickets can be obtained by writing to Robert Delson, 615 West 164th Street, New York City.

This branch is setting the pace, not only for branches in New York City, but for local organizations throughout the country. It is a program that might well be imitated in other cities and strengthen the party organization throughout the country.

## Camden Socialists Carry Forward Fight For Election Victory

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
CAMDEN, N. J.—Camden Socialists in their municipal campaign are working hard for a good vote at the election in May. Camden has a commission form of government.

At a big meeting in the Y. M. H. A. Auditorium recently, many voters signed the Socialists nominating petitions. William C. Horver, Socialist councilman of Reading, spoke of the progress and achievements of the Socialist administration of that city.

August Claessens of New York was the principal speaker. Claessens gave his attention to the unemployment problem and his shafts of wit exposed the ridiculous contradictions of our industrial system and the absurdities of some solutions. Claessens kept his audience in good humor which occasionally broke into roars of laughter.

Herman Niessner and Samuel Josephson, one of the Socialist candidates for Commissioner, also spoke. A considerable quantity of literature was sold. Many other meetings will be held before the election in May.

## N. Y. Socialists Buckle Down For Hard Work

City Executive and Central Committees of Party Are Organized

DURING the month of February, the newly elected City Executive Committee of the N. Y. Socialists, organized itself for effective work for the coming year under the active leadership of Julius Garber, Executive Secretary. This organization was effected and many innovations have been made in the Party organization and the work of the city office. The office has been transformed in an up-to-date manner.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee, a special committee of five was elected to draw up a plan for organization and formation of special committees for various types of work in the Party. On the report of this committee, the Executive Committee elected the following sub-committee and chairman:

Finance and Budget—Chairman, George I. Steinhardt; Organization, Membership and Branch Activities—Chairman, A. I. Shipiloff; Public Affairs—Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, Co-Chairmen; Y. P. S. L.—Chairman, Wm. E. Bohn; Relations with Labor Organizations—Chairman, Louis Schaeffer; Education, Forum, etc.—Chairman, Bela Low; Propaganda, Literature and Mass Meetings—Chairman, James Onal; Comrade Algernon Lee was elected as chairman of the City Executive Committee for the year 1931.

It was also decided that the City Executive Committee shall meet on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month throughout the year, with the exception that during the months of June, July and August, it shall meet but once a month on the 3rd Wednesday of each month.

### Unemployment First Issue

Considerable work has been planned and some of it already carried into effect. The organization of an Unemployment Conference has achieved success in making contacts with numerous labor organizations. It has arranged for a huge demonstration on March 21, on Union Square, circulated petitions for an Unemployment Insurance Act and had representatives at hearings in Albany and before the Board of Estimate in New York City.

The members of the City Ex-

ecutive Committee for the year 1931, are as follows: Elected by the City Central Committee—Edward F. Cassidy, Frank Crosswaith, S. A. DeWitt, Esther Friedman, G. A. Gerber, Algernon Lee, Bela Low, A. I. Shipiloff, Louis Stanley, James Onal. For New York County Committee—Joseph Beckerman, Wilho Hedman, Leonard Kaye, Joseph Leventhal, A. N. Weinberg. For Kings County Committee—Harry Kritzer, Hyman Nemser, Frank Smith, Joseph Viola. For Bronx County Committee—Dr. A. Molin, Louis Schaffer. For Queens County Committee—Leonard Bright. Members added by Executive Committee—H. W. Laidler, S. Romualdi, Louis Sabloff, N. Marquer, Mrs. R. Panken, Walter Dearing, Edward Levinson. Fraternal Delegates—Abe Belsky, Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Meyer Weinstein. Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary, August Claessens, Organizer. George Steinhardt, Rec. Sec'y.

The City Central Committee meets regularly on the first Wednesday of each month, and is composed of delegates representing every branch of the Party in proportion to their dues paying membership. The Committee has over 100 delegates. Monthly meetings are very well attended. All matters of Party policy and tactics are discussed and acted upon. Both committees meet in the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

## N. Y. Women Socialists Aid Paterson Strikers

One of the most successful Socialist dinners of the year was held by the New York Women's Section, last Thursday night, at 10 East 16th street. Nearly one hundred women gathered to hear prominent Socialist women speakers discourse on the subject, "Do We Mean Anything to the Socialist Movement?" Amid conflicting views from such widely representative women as Bertha Mailey, Rose Gismet, Tessie Wallace Hughes, Rachael Panken, Pauline Newman, Esther Friedman, Adele Zamelken, Marion Severin and Nancy Eliot of England, there was a refreshing eulogy from Maurice Berman. The women voted fifty dollars from the relief fund for the strikers of the Wright Motor Corporation of Paterson.

Maud Schwartz, formerly of the Women's Trade Union League and latest woman appointee to the State Labor Department will speak at the general membership meeting of the Women's League next Thursday night, March 26, at the Rand School. All women of the party are urged to attend this interesting and important meeting.

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### And to All Who Qualify—Norman Thomas' New Book

"AMERICA'S Way Out—A Program for Democracy," by Norman Thomas, will be published by the Macmillan Co. within a month. It will be the first substantial contribution to Socialist literature in many years. Thomas has been at work on the book for several years and it is certain to be a best seller. An autographed copy will go to all contestants who score 50 or more points.

### RULES GOVERNING THE CONTEST

The contest score will be reckoned in points. The contestant having the greatest number of points will secure the first prize—next highest, second prize—next the third, then fourth and fifth. All contestants making 50 points will be rewarded with a copy of Norman Thomas' new book. A minimum of 2,000 points will be needed to qualify for the first prize. Each six months' subscription to The New Leader will count 5 points—each yearly subscription, 10 points. Send in names and addresses printed clearly. Write only on one side of the paper and do not forget to sign your name and address to each list you send in. Send in your lists once a week addressed to Contest Editor, The New Leader, 7 East 15th St., New York. Accompany lists with check or money order. Scores will appear in The New Leader weekly.

Remember, you should collect \$1.00 for a six months' subscription and \$2.00 for a yearly subscription. All subscriptions must be NEW and start not later than June 3, 1931. In case of a tie all contestants will receive the same prizes. All entries must be postmarked before midnight of June 1, 1931. Any mailed after that will not be counted.

The count will be certified by Henry Halpern Co., Certified Public Accountants.

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# The Progressives Reveal Their Weakness

By Harry W. Laidler

THE ghost of Karl Marx hovered over the conference of progressives last week in Washington.

"Don't you think," asked one of the most prominent sociologists of the country in an informal chat after the conference sessions, "that events of the last 10 years are showing that Marx was nearer right in his prophecies than we used to give him credit for? In my class room discussion I have never shown much favor to Marx, and yet, the concentration of industry in the past war period, the recurrent depressions, the increasing insecurity in capitalist society, the growing disparity between our ability to produce and our ability to consume and the steady transformation of the small business men into the ranks of the wage earners and the salaried earners—all are bearing out the prophecies of the Socialist leader."

"Yes," agreed a prominent cleric, "the last ten years have borne out much that Marx prophesied." And throughout the sessions, the phrases, "breakdown of capitalist society," "the need for a planned production and for a thorough redistribution of wealth," "the need for increasing the purchasing power on the part of the masses," as a way out of the present anarchy and chaos, were heard not once but many times. That did not prevent a number of the leaders of the conference from steering clear of the words "Socialist" and "Socialism," but the thought that the solution of the unemployment problem could not be found within the capitalist system could not be drowned.

## Why the Conference

The reasons for the conference were various. Some of the progressive senators, stung by the defeat of most of their measures in the last Congress, or by the vetoes of the "Great Engineer of Disaster," as Senator Blaine described the Chief Executive, were resolved to try to mobilize public sentiment back of their program in the next Congress. Some felt that a progressive demonstration might aid in the selection of more liberal presidential candidates in the 1932 campaign. Some undoubtedly felt that it would give the progressive legislators an alibi for their failure to force concessions in the short session, while others were convinced that directly or indirectly it would stir up sentiment for a new political alignment.

The announcement of the conference and the invitations thereto brought a far greater response than the promoters had anticipated, a response that indicated that, whether or not there was any constructive leadership in the country, there was plenty of discontent with things-as-they-are, and that, anywhere and any time there was no difficulty in getting together a host of men and women who felt that the administration

had been a complete failure in the present crisis.

As at almost every conference, this conference was overloaded with subjects to discuss and with set speeches, with practically no time for discussion from the floor.

## Norris, La Follette Lead

The conference opened Wednesday morning at ten o'clock in the ball room of the Carlton, one of the most exclusive of the Washington hotels. There were the handful of United States Senators and Congressmen who had called the conference together, Norris and La Follette most conspicuous among them and the couple of hundreds of social workers, economists, agitators for liberal causes from various parts of the country, Norris, bitter from the Presidential veto of Muscle Shoals, delivered a stirring indictment of the present administration. "With food products rotting for the loss of market," he declared, "starvation stands like an evil spectre at the bedside of millions of humble homes. With unemployment driving thousands of honest laborers into beggary, the more favored classes of our citizens are living in riotous luxury, with more money than they could possibly spend." He became particularly eloquent in his denunciation of the "power trust," which, he declared, "had reaped millions in misleading and corrupting legislators, regulated commissions, political parties and all other men and organizations having to do with the so-called regulation of our utilities. Wherever it has been possible, they have contaminated and misled the press of the country."

Norris was strong in indictment, but did little to outline a program for the future. Costigan, the new Senator from Colorado, then delivered an attack on the Hawley-Smoot tariff, declaring that steps should be taken to bring about the reduction of all important tariff duties, especially on manufactured articles, while David J. Lewis of Maryland, formerly member of the Tariff Commission, maintained that it was impossible for any group of men to know what tariff to fix on the half million articles that were entering the United States with a view to equalizing costs, and that the final decisions were a result of log rolling and pure guess. Two Filipino delegates maintained their belief in independence, despite the fact that independence would be followed by a tariff wall against their products. Whereupon some delegates from the farming states who had criticized the importation of sugar from the Philippine Islands, urged Philippine freedom on the ground that it would kill two birds with one stone—would give liberty to another people and at the same time put money in the pockets of the American sugar growers!

The afternoon session on agriculture was indicative of how little fundamental thinking has yet been done on this important problem. The story of the tragic situation of the farmer as set forth by Senator Borah was a moving one. The story of the failure of the Farm Board to do anything appreciable in the situation was convincing. But of constructive suggestions there were few. Senator Borah and the speakers who succeeded him maintained that, as big business was getting its swag through tariff, the farmer should get his part of the swag through debentures. And there the problem was left.

## Some Mechanical Defects

More fertile in immediate suggestions for improving representative government were the speeches at the night session by Senator Cutting of New Mexico, scion of the wealthy Cutting family of New York, Professor Charles A. Beard and Professor E. A. Ross. Professor Beard entertained the audience by a description of the kind of legislation which consumed the time of Congress, and urged that all this minor legislation be disposed of in the course of one or two days and then that the profound minds in Washington be free to concentrate on the weighty issues before the country. Representative Huddleston of Mississippi followed with a frank description of a Congressman's life. The average congressman either had to be a slave in his office to the thousands of constituents who insisted on favors, or he had to be of well organized groups in his district bent on securing special privilege. He preferred slaving in his office; other Congressmen had chosen freedom in their office, and slavery in their legislative work.

The program adopted by the delegates included the demand that Cabinet members and departmental heads be required to appear before Congress and give information requested. There were further demands for anti-injunction legislation, the restoration of civil liberties, the abolition of the lame duck Congress and the strengthening of the primary system. Hiss met President Green's statement on Thursday morning that the American Federation of Labor was absolutely opposed to the recognition of Soviet Russia. On Wednesday evening Professor Beard declared, in summing up progressive opinion, that this opinion favored the recognition of the de facto and de jure government of Soviet Russia. Whether Matthew Woll, who suddenly appeared in Washington Wednesday morning, was responsible for President Green's statement or not, it is difficult to say. The statement gave a distinct anti-climax to Green's otherwise forceful speech

on unemployment on Thursday morning. President Green brought in the Russian issue and the Federation's absolute and irrevocable opposition to recognition.

## The Unemployment Discussion

At the unemployment session, the conference came to grips with the fundamental issues involved in our social institutions more than in any other. La Follette led off with the usual senatorial indictment, although several delegates were privately rather caustic about the failure of the younger senator from Wisconsin to force, through a filibuster, some relief to the jobless worker.

The most enthusiastic reception given to any speaker at the morning session was that extended to Mayor Murphy of Detroit. Mayor Murphy maintained that unemployment was a governmental concern and not a matter of private charity. He criticized the automobile industry of Detroit, which, for taxable reasons, built its plants immediately outside of the city limits, for failing to aid in the situation. The city, regarding the present situation as a public calamity, he declared, was now spending some \$2,000,000 a month in unemployment relief. This, however, was totally inadequate. He urged Federal relief as the only way of meeting the problem. "It is inequitable, it is unfair, it is cowardly that the government is not doing its duty in this regard." He urged a comprehensive system of public unemployment exchanges, unemployment insurance, public works, a redistribution of the purchasing power of the people, higher wages and shorter hours and demanded that the employers cease whittling away the living standards of the people.

Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated described the Amalgamated's unemployment insurance system and urged compulsory unemployment insurance to take the place of the present demoralizing dole together with a shorter work day, the five day week, abolition of child labor, and an economic council looking toward some form of social planning.

"Business men, declared Hillman, 'have no intention of giving any leadership. They speak of overproduction, but this is silly when millions of people are in great need of the necessities of life. If we continue to drift, we will drift into chaos. Five or six millions of men and women will not accept the verdict that they must die of starvation.'"

## The A. F. of L. Is Studying

President Green declared that between 1919 and 1929, the productivity of labor increased 50 per cent, while wages increased only 27.5 per cent. Labor was producing in 4 days in 1929 as much as in 6 days in 1919 and in 7½ days

in 1899. There was no reason why hours of work should not be greatly reduced. He called upon the government to institute the five day week among all government employees. This has already been established in a portion of the building industry. Why should the government follow? Why should it not lead? Hours of labor, he declared, should be reduced to square with the increased productivity of labor. Injunction relief measures should be passed so as to enable the workers to organize more effectively. The A. F. of L. joins with the railroad workers in opposing any kind of railroad consolidation that does not take care of the human element. The A. F. of L., he continued, is studying, "and sympathetically studying"—plans for unemployment insurance. It wants to be sure that any scheme finally adopted is a sound one.

D. P. Robertson, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, declared that the railroad men were not the aristocrats of labor they were reputed to be. Even in prosperous times some 10 per cent to 15 per cent of them were unemployed. Some 35,000 of the membership of his organization, about one-third of them, were now looking for work. When they were working, they averaged only \$35 a week, and it must be realized that they were working in a particularly hazardous occupation. In the last nine years there had been a total reduction of 350,000 in the railroad industry.

The question in the mind of Robert P. Scripps of the Scripps-Howard Syndicate, was whether the institution of democracy could survive the machine age. It is inconceivable, he declared, that the workers are going to stand for this insecurity forever. If something is not done speedily, they will seek some other system. We ought to institute a system of shorter hours than we have ever before dreamed of. We must have a far wider distribution of wealth, so as to permit an increase in luxury production. A readjustment is coming. It is inevitable.

## Unemployment Findings

Leo Wolman declared that it would be a long time before we would dig our way out of the present slump and that other worse periods of depression were inevitable, if we continued along past lines. George Soule of the

New Republic especially urged a bold experiment in social planning. The unemployment committee, appointed after the meeting, maintained that "the only sound approach to the problem of unemployment and industrial instability is the creation of the necessary public machinery of planning and control." It deplored "the failure of the Federal government to make provisions for the millions of American citizens on the verge of starvation at the time of a general agricultural and industrial breakdown"; urged a coordinated national system of unemployment exchanges and organized a number of committees on various aspects of the problem. A sub-committee was also appointed to make a brief review of the national situation and, if it seemed necessary, to call on the President for an extra session of Congress.

The menace of the power trust and the breakdown of utility regulation were emphasized at the final session on public utilities. Donald Richberg, in an otherwise able paper on the evils of present day regulation, felt it necessary to urge improved regulation rather than public ownership as the way out. A telegram was read from Seattle, calling attention to the dismissal of J. D. Ross, the efficient superintendent of the Seattle municipal plant, as a result of pressure brought on the city administration by the power interests.

## Strength and Weakness

It was unfortunate that, at the beginning of this session, Senator Norris went out of his way to argue against independent political action. This argument was a par with Green's attack on Russian recognition. It is foolish, he declared, to think of a third party until the electoral college is abandoned, as many voters now see the names of the electoral college, and become confused as to what candidate they are voting for. Further, if another party were organized, the power interests would seek to control it. Finally its organization would be a man-sized task. Senator Norris is probably the only opponent of a third party movement who conjured up the electoral college argument. That its existence has any considerable effect on the vote is exceedingly doubtful. It is a convenient argument to use

in rationalizing a disinclination to leave the shelter of the Republican Party, but that is all.

The conference was a hopeful sign of the mounting discontent in the country. It revealed the strength of the progressive group in Congress as critics of the administration and of the present industrial and agricultural situation. It indicated their weakness as constructive statesmen. It indicated particularly that they cannot be depended upon to take a leadership in a new political alignment. If they could be assured that on entering such an alignment, they would be returned to their seats in the Senate and the House, they would have no objection whatever to becoming a leader in the third party. But Washington life has a certain charm all its own for them and their families. The big and small cities of the middle west appear as rather drab affairs to them after a term or so at Washington. They let their business go by the board when they forsake Main Street for Pennsylvania Avenue, and the building up of that business again would not be a cheering task. Thus, at present, when they think of losing the support of their party machines and returning to Main Street, they choose the old machines and the limelight at Washington.

The conference of course showed the weakness of their general position. The handful of progressives have built up no party based on progressive ideals. They remain in office, many of them, on account of personal popularity. When they leave the scene, the old machine at home will get well oiled again, and a man favored by the "interests" will most likely take their place. If they had helped build a strong Socialist or labor party, and had the backing of such a party, they would not have found it necessary to call together a few hundred free lance progressives throughout the country to hold their hands and give them words of cheer. The ever stronger machine of the third party would be daily putting the fear of God in the minds of the old parties and compelling some kind of action. When the administration knows that three-fourths of the followers of Norris will vote for it in the next election despite Norris' criticisms, it does little worrying, and when the

power trust knows that the progressives will be divided between the Republican party and the Democratic party and that their votes will be constantly neutralizing each other, they refuse to keep awake at night.

## Cold to Gov. Roosevelt

"As a Democrat," declared Senator Costigan, "should I go into Nebraska during a campaign I would be expected to speak for Senator Norris' opponent, and, should Senator Norris go into my state of Colorado, he would ordinarily, as a Republican, be supposed to advocate the election of my opponent. Of course that will never happen in our case." But in that statement the Senator from Colorado put his finger on the cardinal weakness in the present line-up.

There was much talk in the press about the popularity of Governor Roosevelt at the conference. The delegates at the conference gave far less attention to Governor Roosevelt's letter than did the press. There was a slight hand-clapping when his letter was read, as there was when other messages were announced, but that was all. Senator Norris might have had in mind the present Governor of New York when he spoke about the former Roosevelt and expressed his wish for another Roosevelt in Washington. (The great panic of 1907, by the way, occurred during the presidency of Mr. Roosevelt and if the strenuous Teddy did anything fundamental to grapple with the situation at that time, my memory fails me.)

Senator Norris, when asked, declared that his remarks had nothing to do with Governor Roosevelt, but the inference may have been there. However, not even a Roosevelt, as a candidate of Tammany Hall, of scores of corrupt political machines of many of our other cities and the reactionary bourgeois in many of our Southern states, could hope to put through any program sufficiently fundamental to bring us out of the present anarchy. And, whether the promoters of the conference wanted it or not, this conference and a host of other events transpiring in these hectic days are forcing us more and more to the conclusion that if we are serious about progress, we must bend our every energy to the building up of our own political machine, based not on the mutual desire to "get ours," but on a desire to give birth to a world of security, of plenty and of economic equality.

## THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

### THE DEBS MEMORIAL FUND

Editor, The New Leader:

A short time ago I wrote you suggesting the erection of a memorial window in memory of the late Eugene P. Debs. Although I had had this on my mind for some time, I did not take any action until after I had spent some time in the subject and found the responses seemed to be as keen as my own for its fulfillment.

After getting away to a very fair sort, all things considered, I am glad to find the idea seems to have died completely, for I have not noted a single subscription recorded in the "Leader." I am asking myself whether it is because of lack of understanding on the part of those I appealed to, or lack of proper explanation on my part. The idea of a memorial window is certainly uncommon in cases similar to this. They are connected more in the public mind with grand churches and cathedrals, but I see no reason for any monopoly. I can assure your readers that I would compare favorably with the best in any church or cathedral extant. As I have stated before, I intend to make every bit of the glass that goes into this window with my own hands and it will be given fully and gladly. Furthermore, the coloring will be superior to anything found in the famous continental windows—Rhinis, etc. I don't think I can make my ideas plainer, but if they are not thoroughly understood, I will be glad to answer any question on the subject by mail.

May I suggest to the few who have responded and who I am certain have a deep and abiding affection for "Our Gene" that they—and others who may feel inclined—write two letters to individuals who they think would be interested and asking the recipients to write two more—in short establish a chain and so reach many who would not otherwise be reached? I do hope that this appeal will

culminate successfully and that we will be able to erect this beautiful memorial to a beautiful soul without loss of time.

W. BLENKO.

Millon, W. Va. We heartily concur in the views expressed above and we hope that our readers will respond to his appeal. On Feb. 10 the undersigned acknowledged the receipt of \$12 contributed to this fund. Since that date the following contributions have been received: D. C. Brown, Los Angeles, Calif., \$1; B. C. Cox, Shubuta, Miss., \$1; E. C. Parks, Stillwater, Okla., 25 cents. Total received to date, \$14.25.—James Oneal, treasurer of the Debs Memorial Fund.

### ITALIAN SOCIALISTS

Editor, The New Leader: Richard M. Briggs states in his article "A Socialist Defense of the Soviet Union" that of all the Socialist Parties in the Second International in 1914, the Russian Bolsheviks and the American Socialist Party opposed the World War. Why not the gallant Italian Socialists? As far and clear as I can remember, the Italian Socialists stood firmly against the World War since its outbreak. And later when Italy went with the ALLIES we Socialists fought the capitalist war bravely. The Caporetto disaster, in the fall of 1917, was largely due to the propaganda of our AVANTI!—now under the direction of Constantino LAZZARI. And who does not still remember ZIMMARWALD? But now we Italian Socialists are disbanded and nobody thinks of us any more. International solidarity!

Comrade Briggs article, moreover, was a good one about Soviet Russia. New York City.

ALBERT CUPPELL.

### EDUCATIONAL WORK

Editor, The New Leader: There are many Socialists inside and outside of the party that lay greater stress on "Marxian study classes" and other purely educational activities. I would suggest to the coming Milwaukee Conference, that in large cities, those who wish to may charter branches and confine themselves to educational activities more than the political and industrial, in time they could be federated in the same manner as the Foreign Language Federations and function as the party's department of education.

A very good comrade who is a good Marxian made a remark to me that he didn't care if we did not defeat the attempt to extend the capital punishment law in Michigan, April 6, but wanted us to get some educational work out of it. Well, I too, claim to base my reasoning on the Marxian analysis of capitalism and the materialist conception of history, but I have done most of my reading in a prison cell, and I look upon the attempt to foist capital punishment on us in Michigan from the point of view of a participant in the class struggle. I want to see the party big enough and broad enough so that all of us can work in it, whether we lay greater stress on the educational, political or industrial phase of the party activities.

JOHN PANZNER.

Hast Park, Mich.

### WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

Editor, The New Leader:

In rejoinder to the comment appended to my letter in the New Leader of March 7 regarding the label to be applied to the government of Russia, I wish to point out that the original question had nothing to do with the government of Russia, but with the question of whether the Soviet regime was established. It merely inquired if the Socialist Party of America recognized said regime as working class. The editor explained that the question was not a question of the government of Russia, but of the working class in the interest of the working class is beside the point. Practically all Socialists agree on that. Incidentally, the British Labor government was established by a party which polled only 8,331,480 of the total of 22,491,393 votes cast in the election of May 30, 1929, which means that it wasn't backed by a majority of the workers themselves. But we don't refuse to credit the MacDonald regime with trying to serve the working class, although its success hasn't been striking. On the other hand, the Fascist government of Italy certainly is a capitalist institution, despite the fact that only a few of the Italian capitalists had anything to say about it and probably most of them are heartily tired of the Mussolini dictatorship. It seems to me that the answer as to whether a government is capitalist or proletarian depends upon whose interests it supports, not upon how it came into being.

HOLIS, L. I. HARRY T. SMITH.

The main issue involved is whether a workers' government implies one set up by the "free choice" of the masses and that is sustained by the coerced will of the masses. With arbitrary rule established that will cannot and does not find expression. The

only will that is expressed is that of the dictators. They may think that they are serving the workers but an overwhelming majority may think otherwise and not be able to express their view. In this case it certainly is not a workers' government as a free expression of the will of the workers would demonstrate it. Comrade Smith insists it all "depends upon whose interests it supports." But in the above illustration a majority which cannot express its will and a small minority with power to enforce its will differ as to whose interests it supports. The only way to ascertain the truth is to permit the functioning of that "free choice" which Comrade Smith eliminates from consideration.

The British Labor government is not an apt illustration as the parliamentary system makes possible a precarious plurality government. A more apt illustration is that of a number of unions in the building trades in New Jersey where small groups headed by officials rule by intimidation and suppressing the will of members who are dissatisfied. "Free choice" is eliminated yet wage scales are signed by the officials and members must accept them. We would hardly call such unions examples of "workers' government."—Editor, The New Leader.

Does the world always reward merit never worship want, never make mediocrity to distinction? Never crowd to hear a donkey baying from a pulpit nor ever buy the tenth edition of a fool's book?—Thackeray.

**MAX WOLF**  
OPTOMETRIST & OPTICIAN  
828 W. 125 St., Ret. 8th & St. Nicholas

## Bread Cost Probe Forced by Socialists

(Continued from Page One)

price probe resolution, the speaker declared that he would not let the resolution die without a protest and stated that he would demand that the committee be discharged.

The people throughout this great Commonwealth are daily inquiring why low-priced wheat becomes high-priced bread," declared Hoopes bitterly. "Here is the puzzle as outlined in the Washington News." A farmer can take a bushel of wheat to town and sell it for enough money to buy six ordinary ten-cent loaves of bread with a few pennies left to jingle in his pocket. His bushel will grind out enough flour to produce sixty-two of those one-pound loaves. So somebody else gets the other fifty-six loaves and also the shorts, bran and other mill-feed by-products."

"The purpose of this resolution was to find out who gets the fifty-six loaves and by-products which the farmer does not receive and why."

Quoting the Bakers Association's own claim that to make, bake and deliver one hundred loaves of bread, the flour given to them free of charge, the cost would still be about \$4.85, the champion of the food price probe, by simply adding the cost, at current prices, of the one-third of barrel of flour that would be the amount required for one hundred loaves, found that a ten-cent loaf meant a fifty-two per cent profit and a twelve-cent loaf an eighty-two per cent profit.

"In other words," continued Hoopes, "according to their own figures in these times of depression and unemployment when hundreds of thousands of families do not have adequate means to obtain the necessities of life, when the funds of our welfare federations and other charitable organizations are almost depleted, we find that the bakers are making profits ranging from fifty-two to eighty-two per cent in that most necessary article of food, bread. Such a condition of affairs is outrageous. I challenge any representative of the baking interests to justify such profits at any time, let alone in times like these." The adding of excessive distribution costs upon the consumer was cited

as a great and needless waste while bakeries sent trucks of from twenty to twenty-five different bakeries to pass each door in a single day. Report of sub-committee of U. S. Senate was quoted, word for word, on this same subject: "Retail prices have not dropped proportionately with wheat prices and the responsibility rests primarily upon the large wholesale bakery companies. . . . There is some evidence of a combination in restraint of trade on bread prices. . . . Distribution costs appear to the committee to be too high."

To a partially quieted house the Socialist member brought his speech to a close with a clear-cut challenge. "In closing," Hoopes said, "I want to call your attention to the fact that no matter how the question may come before you the real issue in this matter is, 'Shall the present outrageous price of bread be investigated?' He then offered the motion to discharge the powerful appropriations committee from consideration of the bread resolution.

The Chairman of the Appropriations committee opposed the motion and with this crack of the whip the House fell in line, a large number abstaining from voting, 148 voting against the motion and barely seventeen for. But the ghost threatens to walk again and even to stage a resurgence in body. A Republican member to straighten himself out reintroduced the Hoopes' resolution the next day. Many members see a way out here.

## Job Insurance Bill Is Now in 4 Legislatures

(Continued from Page One)

any year. No provision for additional benefits is made for workers with large families.

"2. The bill unnecessarily and unreasonably excludes large classes of workers from its operation, i. e., all agricultural workers, domestic servants, workers in establishments employing less than four persons, and all workers whose rate remuneration is \$2,000 per year or more, i. e., all workers whose rate of wages are \$40 a week, or more."

"3. The bill is unsound in principle and inadequate in practice because it seeks to make unemployment insurance a charge on individual employers. Unemploy-

ment insurance is not analogous to Workmen's Compensation. Individual employers can provide safeguards and minimize the hazards of employment in their own establishments, and may properly be called upon to pay a penalty for their failure to do so in the shape of increased insurance rates. Unemployment is a general industrial condition which no individual employer or separate industry can avert, and the responsibility for which rests upon our economic system and social order. This principle has been recognized in all countries which have adopted the system of unemployment insurance. In all such countries contributions to the unemployment insurance fund are made not only by the industry, but also by the government representing organized society as a whole. Our bill proposes that one-half of the required funds be contributed by industry and one-half by the state, to be raised through additional taxes on higher incomes. Under this plan the burden of unemployment would be equitably distributed and the funds would be more adequate."

The shorter hour campaign is but one step in a great purpose, which is not to make better bargains, but to put a stop forever to the whole modern practice of bargaining in flesh and blood.—Henry Demarest Lloyd.

Cleanse the fountain if you would purify the streams.—A. Bronson Alcott.

## Workers' Theatre Group Planning Productions

A WORKERS' THEATRE has been organized, "to use the stage as a medium to denounce the capitalist system, to expose the false glitter of bourgeois life, and to extol the workers' struggle for a new order; to bring the working class face to face with their problems, and at the same time to furnish workers and their families with wholesome entertainment at the lowest possible price."

The Workers' Theatre, under the direction of David S. Rossi, consists of seven dramatic organizations; The Rand School Players, The Young Circle League Senior and Junior Dramatic Studios, The Negro Workers' Stage, The Young Peoples Socialist League, The Pioneer Youth and the Socialist Party Cultural Group. The Rand School Players are now working on "L" by Lee Atlas, to be presented Saturday evening, March 28. The Young Circle League Senior Studio is working on "Squaring the Circle," a Soviet Comedy. The Junior Studio is working on a play for Workers' children, and the Negro Workers' Stage on a play of Negro life.

The characteristic of human excellence is an imperfection that knows itself and constantly strains towards the perfect.—Charles Beard, B.A.

## A Children's Socialist Republic

VISITORS traveling on the Rhine this summer will see red flags floating over the Children's Socialist Republic on an island below Coblenz. Here, on the North Sea and in Switzerland Socialism and the power of the masses are demonstrated to 10,000 working class children of every year. They are to be the shock troops of German Socialism.

The Red Falcons look like American Boy and Girl Scouts. Only when they go marching through the surrounding towns in their blue workman's shirts that signify loyalty to their social class, singing: "We are the Builders of the Coming World," is the Socialist purpose to create a new kind of child evident.

"Children of the working class belong first of all not to the fam-

ily but to the whole class. The working class must see to it that the bourgeoisie do not rob us of our children," writes Dr. Kurt Lowenstein, the most influential of the founders of the Red Republic.

The Night Watch In school, home and on the street the workman's child is taught to accept and obey, the German Socialists assert. Here under the red flag, in the Children's Republic, he must learn his own power.

The Parliament house is the heart of each republic. With much propaganda and speechmaking, the children elect their representatives. From young leaders they learn the theories and the arguments of Marx and the other leading Socialist writers. The equality of boys and girls is vigorously enforced.

The children are from 10 to 14

years old. Girls and boys sleep in the same big sleeping rooms, approximately twenty in a room. Throughout the Summer they wear practically nothing but bathing trunks and a gymnasium shirt except for guard duty.

Standing guard is the duty of every young Socialist. All night watch is kept at every entrance to the encampment against "thieves and Nationalists."

The natural happiness of youth has been used to betray the working class into affection for the capitalist world in which as children they find themselves, the leaders of the Red Children's Republic believe. They propose that the workman's child shall have happy memories of childhood Summer seasons and that bound to these memories shall be others of the "fighting songs" of Socialism.



## All Hail "The American Freeman"

I KNOW that out of the mess in Illinois there would come a triumphant, head held high, colors flying, integrity untouched, one grand fighting man from whose vocabulary the word "surrender" has always been missing. I mean Oscar Ameringer, dean of labor journalists, veteran Socialist and one of the finest souls I have ever had the honor of working for, being cussed out by and loving as a kid loves his father.

Like most of us hereabouts my heart sank when I read the brief announcement in the capitalist press that the insurgent miners in Illinois had, through Harry Fishwick and John Walker, patched up a disgraceful peace with John L. Lewis. I thought and still think that this skulking compromise is one of the worst things that has happened in the annals of organized labor since the war. And there have been plenty of mighty rotten things that have happened since the day when John L. Lewis said: "I will not fight my government" and gave the Open Shop drive its first big impetus.

I knew of course that Oscar would have nothing to do with this compromise affecting as fine a rank and file as you can find inside the official labor movement today. But I had no idea that Oscar would come out with quite so withering a philippic as he issued in the last "American Miner," which under Oscar's editorship had been the spear-head of the attack upon Lewis and his gang.

"Better death," says Oscar, "than a rotten compromise," and then he goes on to say, "Rather than remain silent longer and thereby become party to a deal which will mean the spiritual death of the Illinois Miners Union, I will bury this paper along with so many other children of my heart. . . . Thanks above everything to you men of the rank and file and to your wives and children who have paid it all. We shall miss your tens of thousands of letters that have yearly poured into the 'Miner' sanctum. Miss 'em! Good God, how we shall miss them. But life is struggle; on with the struggle."

Many a time I have wanted to write a biography of Oscar. It could be a magnificent epic of the early pioneering days in the Socialist and labor movement. Of the story of a young German rebel arriving in this country with nothing more than an indomitable spirit, a flute, a few badly spoken English words and above all else a magnificent sense of humor. And of that boy fighting his way to the leadership of tens of thousands of men who had been without hope, beaten men coming to their feet again at his rallying call. Into what strange and colorful places such a story would take one. All across the frontiers of America. To the Middle West in the heat of the fight for the eight hour day. Down into Oklahoma and across the border line into Texas. To the wind-swept tents of evicted miners on a thousand hills, to the wretched huts of tenant farmers. To the bunk houses of cowboys and the tepees of Indians. To little, paper-littered editorial offices of obscure labor papers. To meeting halls in all the great industrial cities. To Milwaukee feeling out his Socialist oats. To the quiet of auditoriums where his beloved Beethoven brought surcease to a man freshly come from a meeting of cheering coal-diggers.

But to do justice to such a biography, you have to catch your subject and sit down with him and make him talk about himself. And while Oscar is one of the best conversationalists in America today, sitting down and talking about himself in any serious mood is not in his line. To be sure he will tell you yarn after yarn, which grow mellow with the years, kidding himself. And only now and then do you get a tantalizing glimpse of the real iron that is under the happy laughter.

So it looks as though I would never write that biography. But if by any chance Providence for once were with me, I could persuade Oscar to stop long enough to give me the dope. I'd do my damndest to make the best chapter in the book what now looks like one of Oscar's worst defeats—the part that he played in the formation of the insurgent miners' movement in Illinois which has just now gone to pot.

Most men getting such a body blow as Oscar has been handed by this wretched compromise with Lewis would simply quit in disgust. What does Oscar say? "Life is struggle; on with the struggle." And in the same editorial in which he repudiates Lewis and all his works and bids such a touching farewell to his followers with the picks, he announces that he is starting a new weekly, radical, labor paper. And the mark he is shooting at is nothing less than five million readers in five years. Out of defeat he forges a most glorious victory. Out of the ruins of his dearest hopes he builds a new and finer dream. For this new paper of Oscar's will be more radical than any on which he has labored for many years. He will call it, "The American Freeman" and I have a hunch that this smug country has yet seen.

Now it's up to you and me and all our friends and comrades who know real courage when they see it to make Oscar's dream come true. The American Freeman will in no way compete with The New Leader. Rather it should help our paper by reaching a whole cross-section of the country which we are not reaching today and bringing our message to those who are looking "for a way out of the sorry mess that the capitalist brethren and their talking delegates in Washington have cooked up for the American people," as Oscar puts it.

The New Leader and The American Freeman will be buddies in the finest fight in which a man can enlist—no competitors. From Fifteenth Street in New York we reach out our hand to that splendid plant in Oklahoma City where The American Freeman will be printed, in fraternal greeting. And we will back that up with something more substantial. We will back it up with our subscriptions. Get in at the start of this magnificent adventure. Send one dollar for a year's subscription to the new paper (or sixty cents a year in clubs of five or more) to The Oklahoma Weekly Leader, Box 777, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, so that as soon as possible The Oklahoma Leader may be changed into The American Freeman. I've sent along my mite. Go thou and do likewise and show the world that Socialists the country over will back to the limit any man who has the guts to say "On with the struggle."

Never were the times more propitious for papers like The New Leader and The American Freeman. All across the country, farmers and workers are awaiting a radical leadership that will not compromise, that will present an implacable front to the black hordes of reaction. But, you may say, times are hard, dollars scarce. What dollar is better spent than that which goes to end hard times for good? What one hundred cents would you not give to see the labor "leaders," the power trust mob, the pussy-footing politicians, all the respectable scum and riff-raff of the most cruel and greedy system ever devised by man skinned alive each week by experts at skinning. The American Freeman is Oscar Ameringer's baby, but it's not going to be a one man sheet. Some of the best writers in the country have already volunteered their services. Nor will it be, unless I miss my guess, merely an organ of vituperation. It will have a scrapping Socialist program pointing the way towards a new world where men can really be free.

McAlister Coleman.

## From Our Foreign Correspondent

# In France And Belgium

By Emile Vandervelde

**BRUSSELS.**—One would have to be an incurable optimist to declare oneself satisfied with the present situation in Europe, especially in Western Europe.

It is not only in Germany that a bourgeois coalition government, unstable, without a real majority, caught as in a vice between the extreme parties, finds itself the prey of all kinds of difficulties.

With merely a difference of degree it is the same thing in France and Belgium. On both sides of the Rhine the difficulties are just about the same. Three questions above all, dominate, in a different sense, the worries of the governments and the worries of the people: unemployment, reduction of armaments, the liquidation of the charges due to the World War.

These three questions are linked together.

At this moment Germany has the shocking number of 4,800,000 unemployed. (The number was 5,000,000 at the end of February), and the German workers are not inclined to allow themselves to be turned over to the tender mercies of private charity, à la Mr. Hoover. Consequently, the State is obliged to face the problem of maintaining some 4,000,000 families, or almost one-third of the entire population.

On the other hand, under the pressure of the Nationalists, the State is boosting the budget of the regular army from year to year. Is it not surprising, then, that Germany, with the deficit in the general budget steadily growing, after the enormous expenditures of

## The Burning Questions of the Day—Unemployment, War Debt and Disarmament

the inflation period, declares itself unable to cover, at the same time, its social charges, its military charges and the reparation charges?

But it would be a mistake to believe that, on the other hand, M. Pierre Laval in France, or M. Jaspars in Belgium, are resting upon beds of roses any more than Chancellor Brüning.

Of course, in France and Belgium, where the currency was stabilized in time, there is less unemployment than in Germany, but still it must not be forgotten that Belgium and French statistics only cover unemployed drawing optional benefits, whereas the German figures take in all the unemployed covered by obligatory insurance. In truth, it is necessary to just about double the official figures in order to get the real number of idle workers in France or Belgium. (The official figure for France was 4,076,000 on March 1).

On the other hand, right in the midst of an economic crisis and several months before the opening of the disarmament conference, the bourgeois parties are uniting in the demand for new billions for the "defense of the frontiers." Despite Locarno, despite the Rhineland Pact, despite the obligations assumed at Versailles to reduce their own military expenditures when Germany should be disarmed, they want to confront a Germany forbidden to fortify the Rhine with a formidable and onerous barrier of steel and iron.

Finally, whenever a desire is manifested by the Germans to demand the revision of the Young Plan or, at least, a moratorium, they shiver at the thought of German stopping, or suspending, its reparation payments, a fright easily understood, because that would mean a catastrophic upsetting of the financial equilibrium of the Belgian and French governments.

Naturally the French and Belgian-Socialists take quite a different stand toward these problems. They demand with all their force the maintenance of the unemployed allowances, while at the same time insisting upon the realization of a broad program of public works to furnish jobs for idle workers. They resolutely combat any increases in military expenditures and declare that even the proposal of such increases constitutes a defiance of the solemn agreements of the Treaty of Versailles on the very eve of the disarmament conference. And they also point out that in 1922 and 1923, in Frankfurt and Hamburg, the Socialist International was fully agreed in announcing that the only satisfactory way to settle the question of liquidating the war was to cut the German payments to the minimum and to cancel the inter-allied war debts to the same degree.

And there is no doubt that this integral solution would have been accepted at once if our Socialist comrades in the United States had had as much influence on their side of the herring pond as the Social-

ists of Germany, France and Great Britain had on theirs.

It is interesting to note that just now the Socialists aren't the only ones to turn to the United States, which, during the war, was not without big profits for the business man, the capitalist and banker of the Entente before it became an "associate."

If we are correctly informed, a Belgian financier, during a recent meeting of the officials of the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, turned to the Germans and the Americans and said to them quite bluntly:

"You Germans are at the end of your rope; you have good reason to demand a moratorium or a reduction in payments under the Young Plan. We would be glad to grant it if, during such a period, we didn't have to pay America. And as for you Americans! Things went along fairly well so long as you were investing the income from your loans to Europe and were allowing more or less European goods to cross your frontiers. But today, since you have put up a prohibitive tariff wall and are keeping at home the payments we are making you, how do you expect Europe to carry on? What would you say the day the Germans and ourselves agree to tell you that we are unable to pay and that, if you refuse to grant us a moratorium and insist upon your full payments at any cost, you will have to come over and collect them?"

It may be noted anyway, that about the same language, although publicly and more moderately this time, was used recently by Mr. Vladimir d'Ormesson, a conservative publicist. In l'Europe Nouvelle of Feb. 1, M. d'Ormesson confirmed the present desperate situation in Germany and called for the collaboration of France and the United States in Germany's aid. He wrote: "Germany is looking to France."

This is a fact. Germany is looking to the United States. That is also a fact. If the United States and France would agree to make a provisional reduction of 50 per cent of their respective claims and if, on the other hand, France and Germany would at the same time agree to make a proportional cut in their military expenditures the result would be doubly beneficial. It would ameliorate an economic and financial situation which threatens to become a catastrophe for the whole world and it would be a good omen for the coming conference on disarmament."

Because of lack of space, I must refer the reader to the article itself for details. It contains answers, interesting at least, to the objections that might be raised to such a plan, in Germany, in France, or, and here is where the shoe pinches, in the United States.

What I want to show is that the Socialists aren't the only ones looking to international solidarity to solve problems which appear insoluble in a national sense.

It remains to be seen what sort of a reception such suggestions will receive from the other side of the capitalist world.

## Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

# Religion, A Weapon in the Fight for Social Justice

## The Faith of a Fighter

By Reinhold Niebuhr

THERE is probably no one who stands for radical religion, both in theory and in practice, more consistently than Harry F. Ward. He has made a unique place for himself in the history of American thought and in both the religious and in the labor world. In his new book "Which Way Religion" (MacMillan \$2.00) he elaborates his whole position with a sweep of logic and a power of argument which brings delight as well as profit to the reader.

Professor Ward's main argument is simple enough. It is that the only religion worth having is the kind which emerges out of the struggle for human brotherhood. Where that struggle is sincerely and vigorously undertaken, he is convinced that there is a possibility of universalizing its values and making the adventure of faith that the struggle for brotherhood has cosmic significance. Where that struggle is neglected every preoccupation of religion becomes an escape from the ethical task which confronts modern man. He analyzes the philosophical and aesthetic interests of modern religion and finds value in both of them only as they are related to the main business of making this world a decent habitat of man. Art, he suggests, may provide the symbols of perfection which we must seek in social life; but it may also provide the way of escape from the urgent social tasks which our generation faces and he deals rigorously, therefore with the tendency of modern Protestantism toward more and more beautiful churches. He pays his respects to the futurists of the school of Joseph Wood Krutch by suggesting that if they were not so interested in themselves and were more ready to accept a life-purpose which the urgency of our social and economic situation pressed upon them they would not fall into such complete scepticism about the meaning of life. About a possible revival of religion he delivers himself thus: "What chance in a scientific, acquisitive age has a magical, mystical, an aesthetic or a purely cosmic faith to be anything else than a feeble defense of outworn privilege, regarded with polite cynicism by those who seek in vain thus to use it? The only religion: awakening that can meet the need of modern man is one that will save him from frustration and futility by urging and holding him to the difficult task of making the civilization." Not only the church, but the social scientists who hide their unwillingness to do anything about the crying social problem of our day behind a "cult of objectivity" come in from some rather neat rapier thrusts from Mr. Ward's very pointed pen.

The only limitation which I can find in this book is that Mr. Ward does not balance his uncompromising demand for an ethical and socially radical religion with specific suggestions of strategy on how the present church, involved in the interests and absorbed in the prejudices of the middle class

world shall extricate itself from its position, or even how any group within the church is to accomplish this task. We need such an uncompromising statement of the ultimate goal of an ethical religion, but those who believe that religion can be made a force for radical, social, ethical and political reform, must also offer some immediate suggestions on how this is to be accomplished in a specific local situation, what political tools shall be used and what kind of educational program will lift religion out of its present alliance with inertia and privilege.

## The Building Industry

WHY did P. H. McCarthy lose his grip on the building trades and on San Francisco? Why have national associations of building trades employers succeeded so badly? What is the most successful way of settling jurisdictional disputes in building? What are building contractors doing to raise the standard of competition in their trade? Can building work be made more regular and seasonal unemployment be cut down? These are some of the questions raised by Prof. William Haber in his book which has just appeared. (Industrial Relations in the Building Industry. Harvard University Press, 1930. \$5.00.)

Haber ranges over a very wide field. His opening chapters on the technique and business organization of the industry are especially illuminating. He goes into the questions of unemployment, job control and output, jurisdiction, and the closed shop; traces the growth of organization among mechanics and employers; studies the history of collective bargaining in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, and concludes with brief discussions of the building construction Council, and prospects for stabilization of the industry.

Of course there are plenty of people, both in the industry and outside it, who know more than this book can tell them about certain phases of the subject. But there is nobody who knows it all in advance. If everybody could read the book—which is not possible: it is too long; but if everybody could—some of the steam would be taken out of the debates, and the big questions would be a lot closer to solution. It doesn't matter that Haber offers little that is new in the way of solution; nobody would pay much attention to the suggestions of a mere outsider, and a college professor at that. But the big idea back of the book—that the disorganization and instability of the industry is responsible for most of its woes—may well be pondered by nostrum artists. And if the book were to stimulate somebody on the inside, somebody who really knows how things happen and why, to set down his experiences and theories in a scholarly way, it would be amply justified by that alone.

Horace R. Davis.

Slow are the steps of freedom, but her feet never turn backward—Lowell.

## Our Governmental Machine

THE American governing machine of today is something much more complex than the structure framed for about five million people, most of whom inhabited a strip of the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia in 1787. Except for its amendments and judicial interpretation, the Constitution is the same, but expansion to the Pacific, increase of the population to over 120,000,000, and the development of capitalism have so transformed the governing apparatus that Washington and Jefferson would be unable to recognize it today.

This growth of the government and development of its functions is the theme of an informing book by Charles A. Beard and William Beard (The American Leviathan. New York, Macmillan, \$5.) The subtitle, "The Republic in the Machine Age," indicates the approach of the authors to their study of the period that has marked the rise to eminence of our ruling business class.

Those who have read Professor Beard's "American Government and Politics" will recognize certain sections of that work which have been incorporated in this one, but "recast and rewritten to bring them in line with recent tendencies," as the authors remark in the preface. The result is a book of 800 pages, thirty illustrations, and a copious index, a reference work that is invaluable. Moreover, it avoids the dry-as-dust style of academic presentation. Something of the vigorous and pungent style of the elder Beard's writings is retained in the "Leviathan." In the hands of some other author we would have had a volume of ponderous accuracy, but lacking in that continuing interest which the present volume has.

The "Leviathan" is more descriptive and analytical than interpretive, although certain chapters like the one on "Parties and Opinions" bare the underlying material origins. There are other chapters, for example, "The Promotion of Business Enterprise," that are in part interpretive by the presentation of important facts which leave the reader to draw certain inevitable conclusions.

There does not appear to be a phase of the subject that the authors have missed. The first chapter, "Government in a Technological Society," is introductory to the main theme and the nine chapters which follow outline the basis of the Federal system, followed by a consideration of the role played by political parties and political opinion, and in turn by a presentation of the division of the government into departments and organs, their powers and functions. The remaining thirteen chapters are concerned with taxation, finance, supplies, transportation, communications, labor and immigration, agriculture, natural resources, public health, safety and morals, measurements and planning, Federal relations with the states, territories and empire,

foreign relations and the war machine.

Certain marked trends are apparent. The simplicity of the government in the days of the fathers is evident and one is amused at Jefferson's statement of the first proposal was made that the government should erect a lighthouse. Internal improvements such as road building, dredging rivers in the interior, etc., were important issues in politics at one time, one school holding that the government had no such powers and another contending that such powers were implied.

Today the functions and services of the Federal governing machine are complex and have been multiplied since the Civil War. It has its social aspects in its agricultural experiments in plant and animal culture; irrigation and reclamation of waste lands; its health service; its bureau of mines and rescue work; steamship and railroad inspection, and a variety of other activities.

On the other hand, its character as a nurse of business and financial enterprise overshadows its social character. With its subsidies to shipping and aviation corporations its consular officials all over the world devoted to the task of searching out markets and fields of capitalist investment; the State Department rendering faithful service to bankers in floating overseas loans; with the Navy guarding big business investments abroad, and special exemption of export corporations from the anti-trust laws, it is even what "rugged individuals" are of special concern to the gentlemen who operate the machine at Washington.

The war period, moreover, re-

vealed a marked trend toward bureaucracy and autocracy; and an invasion of state sovereignty hitherto unknown to our history. It was a period of Federal and State espionage and section acts, of Federal conscription and many State anti-syndicalist and constabulary laws. The Palmer injunction against the miners indicates how far we had advanced into the "new" freedom. Moreover, the Supreme Court during this period nullified the Child Labor Law on the grounds of its conflict with State rights, while the government extended its control a hundred-fold over all the States.

The governing machine reminds us of that Janus faced god of Greek mythology, one face apparently benevolent in character and the other ferocious in aspect. The Beards have analyzed, charted and diagrammed the machine with the skill of surgeons dissecting a guinea pig and there is little doubt that their work will be accepted as the standard authority in its field for decades to come.

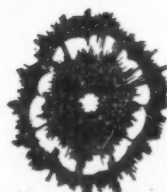
James Oneal.

## Books Received

Louis A. Wood—Union Management Cooperation with the Railroads; Yale University Press, \$4.00.  
M. E. Leeds & C. C. Balderston—Wages; University of Pa. Press, \$1.50.  
Lorhop Stoddard—Master of Manhattan; Longmans, Greene & Co. \$3.50.  
K. Pollack & T. Tippet—Your Job and Your Pay; Vanguard Press, \$2.00.  
Charles Yale Harrison—A Child Is Born; Cape & Smith, \$2.00.  
T. R. Garth—Race Psychology; McGraw Hill, \$2.50.  
Louis Adams—Dynamite; Viking Press, \$3.50.  
H. A. Manhood—Gay Agony; Viking Press, \$2.50.  
Percy Waxman—Black Napoleon; Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$3.50.  
Emil Lengyel—Cattle Car Express

"...A NATION DEDICATED TO A MYTH!"  
Roger Baldwin.

# BEHOLD AMERICA!



Indictments by Robert Morris Lovett, Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. Muste, Joseph Jastrow, Robert Dunn, James Oneal, McAlister Coleman and 25 others.  
Edited by SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN

A challenge to the complacency of capitalist America—an indictment of so-called American ideals in art, literature, economics, politics—a program for revolutionary readjustment! No reader of The New Leader can afford to miss this book . . . it is the opening gun in the fight of the awakened progressives.

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## The Chatterbox

IF you get around as much as I do evenings, you manage to learn a lot about Socialists. That is why this space is occupied so much with criticisms and panegyrics about Comrades and party problems. And that is why, every so often I run afoul of the sensitive prides and pet foibles of men and women who are just as interested in the cause, and who have given more for its furtherance.

Now with just such an introduction, I can see Jim Oneal perk up, drag out the blue pencil and prepare to do rude service on the ensuing paragraphs.

But really, I am in no messianic mood to-night. A newly accrued sense of humility and peace is prompting this badinage. In fact, I am about to chide in paternal pattern, the boys and girls who suit me best.

And all because, I happened to be scheduled for a talk to the comrades of the Morningside Branch a few days ago. While waiting for the business part of the session to end, I became aware of a militancy among the members present. Russia was on their minds. There was a sense of uncertainty, as to whether the party was really taking the right stand on that question.

And when the matter of appointing a New Leader agent for the branch came up, a dullness fell like sudden fog on the general interest. Then one courageous lady comrade arose and made the remark that The New Leader was a dead sort of a thing anyway. Similar comments followed from others.

Here I sat, volunteer columnist and member of the Board of Management, being told negative news about the paper they really owned, and for whom it appeared every week through one tortuous process and another. I never winced. I made no open defense or protest. I meant to hear the critical concert through. But it subsided as suddenly as it commenced. Somebody quietly agreed to do the work of soliciting subscriptions for the paper, and to keep the renewals in line.

All through my talk on poetry, the matter of their attitude to our only voice here in the East made nagging botheration. I went home pondering ponderously.

Here was a group of young, enthusiastic and altogether splendid comrades venturing about the Russian cross-word puzzle, evidently put out about the lack of Russian comment and news in The New Leader, disagreeing with many of the older comrades on policy, and certainly unenthused about their party publication.

There is only this to be said. The ones who make it their business to see that The New Leader is printed and distributed are by that very symbol of service privileged to color and shape its utterances. If the Yipsels, for example, were the ones who volunteered and managed to see that the publication came out each week, that the bills were paid, that the subscriptions were solicited, and the news written up, one would naturally expect the editorials, the articles and the entire spirit of the sheet to bespeak the accepted views of the majority of young Socialist folks.

Since the membership of the Socialist Party is just content to receive this journal as a sort of religious procedure, and mumble a grumble every now and then, when the editorials are too heavy or the articles are too Menshevik, nothing really be done about anything for progress in any direction.

In proportion to the interest of the comrades in the New Leader, is the will of the membership reflected. That is saying a trite truth tritely. But it is truth nevertheless.

It is about time all the dissatisfied readers of the paper did something about it. Maybe that is the best sort of a battle-cry to issue in a campaign for more subs.

I can assure you all, that the satisfied patrons of our intellectual cafeteria are doing something about business. They send in subscriptions, they boost the paper, and support its subsidy. And consequently they are catered to by the editorial policy.

And lordy, how we welcome, and heavens, how we implore for your volunteer assistance toward making The New Leader a bigger and wider influence. And if enough of you would put in good effort toward getting more readers for your paper, you could be boss and print a weekly graph sheet of the Five Year Plan and anything else you had a mind to do, right on the front page.

I might say in passing, that Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston sends in more subs to this office in a week, than all of the branches in New York put together. And, let me whisper this to you, that every time Al sends in a critical note, the Board of Management takes it up as a special matter of business. And more often than not we compromise with Alfred and do as he asks. The hand that brings the subs, writes the paper . . . here in the People's House, at any rate.

Let me then call your attention to the Subscription Contest that we are holding until June 1st. Get a copy of Norman Thomas's new book, "America's Way Out," just off the Macmillan Press . . . (and I would just as lief own an autographed copy of its first edition, as a round trip ticket to the Socialist and Labor Congress at Vienna) . . . and above all get on the Board of Management and Subsidy of The New Leader by the way of subscriptions . . . more and more subscriptions.

What the party needs is a voice of its own. Give us one hundred thousand readers, and let this worry about publicity in the enemy's back pages cease forever.

If The New Leader sounds dead to you, it is only because you have brought no life to it. Get busy, bring in the yearlies and the semi-annuals. See how much pep it will stir up in you to walk up to Miss Hillson or to Eddie Levinson, and say . . . "Comrade, I bring you ten new readers for our paper."

You'll be surprised how much livelier the headlines and paragraphs will snap before your appraising glance. Try it and get that thrill. I know what a pleasant sensation it is. I've brought in a few myself during these last seven years.

Stop grumbling. Join the contest. Build circulation. Be a builder. You're not a Socialist worthy of the name unless you can pitch in and build. And The New Leader needs building.

Eddie Levinson, Mary Fox, and John Herling have gone and done a real constructive job with the "Unemployed" Magazine.

It is sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy, is sold at cost to unemployed workers who in turn sell it at a nickel profit to a public that is sadly in need of clear understanding.

The first two issues have run into over a quarter of a million copies. Articles by the leading radical authorities have been contributed. Cartoons by America's ablest artists have illustrated this American misery and madness.

The third issue of "Unemployed" is just out with splendid work by able men and women. It is twice blessed. You help a lad keep his head above the tide, and you get a heap of kick from the trenchant stuff contained in the magazine. It should go to the million mark this month . . . Here's another way of boosting Socialism.

S. A. deWitt.



# "TABU"— OPENS AT BRECHER'S CENTRAL PARK THEATRE

## PICTURE OF VIVID BEAUTY AND ROMANCE

The Stage

The Movies

Music

In the New Picture at the Cameo



Brian Aherne is shown in a striking scene from the Cameo's new picture, "The W. Plan," adapted by Victor Saville from the novel by Graham Seton.

### The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

#### THE DRAMA OF DEMOCRACY

"THE ADMIRABLE CRICHTON."

By J. M. Barrie. At the New Amsterdam.

The plays of Barrie amused a generation that includes most of today's grown-ups. Maude Adams was not the least of his childhood sweets, and a girl I know is one of a group that so admired the loss of Barrie's making that they lost their young men for Maude's approval before declaring them selves engaged. "The Admirable Crichton" was last performed, it seems, in 1903. The present revival shows Walter Hampden close to his best as the commanding butler, and others competently moving through the graciously sentimental lines, amid the delightful settings of Gates and Morange. It's an altogether charming gesture.

What troubles us is its philosophy. For this play is a play with a lesson. Aristocrats of England, remember, are wrecked on an island, where the butler, by virtue of being the only one who can do anything, takes command. At the end of three years they are all saved, for his favor (he is a gentle, kind, firm but kind); the best of the Earl's daughters is about to marry him—when a ship appears. Playing the game straight through, Crichton fires the alarm that calls the vessel—and makes him but a butler once again.

The implications of all this—indeed, while still in England Crichton has been shouting it—is that this equality stuff is all bunk, that men are not created equal, that on other islands than England (even on desert islands) desert will tell, true merit will force to the front. But Barrie neatly—O, neat as a swallow's soar!—plays a trick on our logic.

If one of those nobles had been brought up, say, as a member of the army in India, he'd have been Crichton's match at a few things. If the minister, who seemed a decent fellow enough, had only had the opportunity to be brought up as a butler, he'd have been Crichton's match. There is no fundamental reasoning in this play, too readily accepted as a plea for the inequality of man. Properly understood, it is a plea for equality of opportunity. How can we tell whether men are really created equal, until they've all been given an equal chance? Set aside the aristocracy of birth and wealth that Barrie presupposes—and what he finds to put in its place is an aristocracy of training, of education! But suppose everybody gets a good training? I am not suggesting that everybody should get the kind of training that will help himself on a desert island, although the Boy Scouts and Free Youth, etc., are, are trying to make that an incidental part of everyone's growth. I am really no more than trying to suggest that pleasant drama is often most deciding argument, and should not be taken on its face value. Shaw has said that, when an Englishman wants to do something others may deem selfish, he persuades himself that he really hates to do it, but it is his bounden duty. Galsworthy and Barrie show us, at times, examples of other ways of tipping the scales. Justice, like

love, is blind; but self-love seems to have strong eyes.

#### THE GOLDEN RULE

"THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL." By Channing Pollock. At the Apollo.

It is hardly fitting that a theatre named for a pagan god should hold "The House Beautiful," for it is a dramatization of the sermon on the Mount, with flashes of Tennyson. The older rule, "Do as you would be done by" has these days been altered into "Do or you will be done." Mr. Pollock will have none of this, and pictures the growth of West Hills, N. J. (with intermittent visions of knights atop fifteenth century towers) to demonstrate that true hearts are more than coronets, that love in a mortgaged house is radiant, and honor snaps its fingers at foreclosure.

The well-meaning Mr. Pollock is well known; one expects all from him. He springs a surprise, however, in the ingenious staging of the play, excellently conceived and managed, with scenery designed by Jo Mielzner. There are moments of darkness to denote passing time; and from that pitch dark, where we had seen an old barn a new living room emerges; there are other moments of darkness to indicate Jennifer's musing, that living room brightens to reveal a castle-tower. Aft at far perspective through the dark the couple chats in bed. Voices cry, in revelry, in anguish; souls are torn. And as the darkness ever yields to the ultimate light, so the struggles of the Davis couple, and their good son, work toward the bright close of a life nobly lived and therefore ending in happiness and peace. A pleasant, a perfect, formula—if only it would work.

#### ABSTRACT FILMS

The first American abstract films, the work of Hugo Steiner, were shown at the Broadhurst Theatre last Sunday, as part of the Copland-Hesse series of concerts. Modern music by Blitzstein, for "Sea and Sea-Weed," and by McPhee, for "H2O," and "Mechanical Principles," accompanied the films, with modern variations attuned to the subjects (though the "H2O" music ended a bit before the film). There was also music by Darius Milhaud to two French films, a burlesque, clippings from old news reels; and "La P'tite Lillie," the dream of a maid-servant seen through a dish-cloth, the French counterpart of Chesterton's film vision of an English servant. Steiner's films have grown out of the experiments of a photographer, and as camera-work they are of the first rank. A film-shot might be cut almost anywhere from these reels, developed, and

**SCHWAB AND MANDEL**, Producers of "Good News," "Follow Through," "Desert Song," and "New Moon," present their newest and best **MUSICAL COMEDY**

### America's Sweetheart

with a Star Cast and Beautiful Dancing Chorus  
**BROADHURST** Theatre, 44th St., W. of Bway, at 8:30, Mats. Wed. and Sat.

**The Greeks Had a Word For It**  
A Comedy by ZOE AKINS  
Presented by William Harris, Jr.  
**Sam H. Harris** Theatre, 42nd St., W. of Bway, at 8:30, Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

### Famous Mooney-Billings Case Made Into Dramatic Play

An accurate moving drama, depicting the major events of the tragic Mooney-Billings case, described by Harry Elmer Barnes, Scripps Howard editorial writer, as "one of the most disgraceful cases in American judicial history," will be presented at the famous old Provincetown Theatre on April 14 by a company of professional actors working under the cooperative management of Sidney Harmon. The play, entitled "Precedent," is by L. J. Golden, a St. Louis lawyer and playwright.

The major intention of the projected production of "Precedent" is to exploit the general social usage of the theatre in an attempt to arouse renewed interest on the part of the general public in the actual facts of the case and to denote the salient fact that two innocent men have been forced to remain in prison for over fifteen years as the result of a trial wherein it has since been proven the chief testimony was perjured, incompetent and malicious.

Considerable interest in the production of "Precedent," has already been expressed on the part of men and women of prestige interested in the Mooney-Billings case and organizations who are concerned are making clear the facts of the case to the general public. The National Mooney-Billings Defense Committee, headed by Henry T. Hunt and Roger Baldwin and comprising many notable figures, has subscribed wholeheartedly to the project and has engaged the theatre for several performances for its own members.

Tickets can also be obtained through the Labor organizations.

framed on a wall as a valid art photograph. As moving pictures, that is, as moving art photography, the views of water lapping or dashing on the beach, of seaweeds swirling in the tide, of sun and rippled shadows on the moving stream, and of the various pions and circling and pivoting parts of machines, are excellent indeed—though the machines are mere curiosities of form on the screen, as compared with the interest aroused by models in motion, at the Newark Museum or the New York Museum of Natural History. But motion pictures they are not, in the sense of any organized growth, even of abstract pattern. Wilfred's color-organ has played compositions of color-forms more unified than these successive, but as it were separate, merely successive, excellent moving photographs. Interesting as they are, their present development is scarcely valid as a distant organic film; but they indicate how great the possibilities still unexplored, for incidental beauty in film-stories. Perhaps in time they will achieve a unity apart from plot, of growing or harmoniously varying pattern.

"YOU SAID IT" IS DELIGHTFUL ENTERTAINMENT.—Mirror.  
"THE SWEET AND HOT" MUSICAL COMEDY  
with LOU HOLTZ  
MAYE LAWOR SMASH HIT  
STANLEY SMITH LYDA SMASH HIT  
ROBERTI CHORUS OF 50  
SEATS 2 WEEKS IN ADVANCE  
CHANNIN'S 46th ST. THEATRE W. of Bway, Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Wednesday & Saturday—GOOD SEATS \$1 to \$3

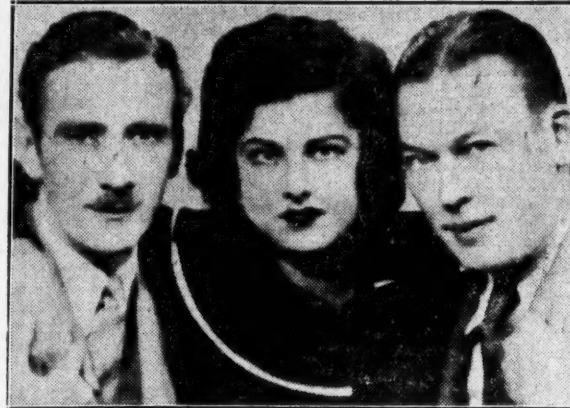
A Theatre Guild Production  
**MIRACLE at VERDUN**  
By HANS CRUMBERG  
Martin Beck  
THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 8th Ave. Eves. 8:40  
MATINEES THURSDAY and SATURDAY, 2:40

LAST WEEK  
**Green Grow the Lilacs**  
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St. W. of Bway, EVENINGS AT 8:30; MATINEES, THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:40

JOHN GOLDEN presents  
**As Husbands Go**  
"An entertaining evening in the theatre."—Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American.  
JOHN GOLDEN Theatre  
West 88th St. Phone Circle 7-3678  
Eves. 8:40; Mats. Tue. Thru. & Sat. 2:30

"As cheerful a frolic as the present season has offered."—Sun.  
DWIGHT DEERE WIDMAN presents  
**MARY BOLAND**  
in her newest, gayest comedy  
**VINEGAR TREE**  
Theatre, W. 48 St. Eves. 8:40  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40  
BEST SEATS \$1.60 to \$2.80

### Three Excellent Reasons for Seeing "Three's a Crowd"



Opening as a smash hit early this season, "Three's a Crowd" at the Selwyn, is still reported to be doing capacity business. The trio of stars in this merry revue are Clifton Webb, Fred Allen, and Libby Holman.

### "Kept Husbands" at The Hippodrome

"Kept Husbands" the new RKO Radio Picture drama of modern marriage makes its initial bow to New York at the Hippodrome this Saturday, March 21st. Dorothy Mackall is starred and supported by an exceptional cast that includes Joel McCrea, Clara Kimball Young, Mary Carr, Bryant Washburn and Ned Sparks. The story is by Louis Sarecky and was directed by Lloyd Bacon.

The colorful Springtime vaudeville bill boasts of Honorable Mr. Wu with his Chinese Collegians and Far East Co-eds; Joe Young who won his degree in "Hokumology" with the assistance of Myra Langford, Billy Riddle and Eleanor Gibson; and James Burke and Eleanor Durkin, the pleasing pair of funsters. Harry Van and Joe Ward, Eddie White adding to the laughs; Grace Edler, Madam Ella Bradna, introducing her fifteen dogs, forty pions and beautiful snow white horse and a sensational casting exhibition by the Four American Aces and a Queen round out the eight act program.

### New German Film At Little Carnegie

"Wien, Du Stadt Der Lieder," or, "Vienna, City of Song," which opened on Thursday afternoon, is continuing over the weekend at the Little Carnegie Playhouse. The cast includes Charlotte Anderson as the feminine lead, with Paul Morgan, famous German stage comic, Max Hansen, Igo Sym and Paul Graetz in the supporting cast. This delightful Viennese comedy with music, brims over with humorous scenes, sparkling dialogue and "Catchy" songs. It was directed by Richard Oswald.

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### Brian Aherne Shows Versatility in "The W. Plan," at the Cameo

In his latest picture, "The W. Plan," current at the RKO Cameo Theatre, Brian Aherne, who plays the lead role, proves himself to be a careful make-up man as well as a good actor. He portrays two distinctly different characters, each possessing features typical of their respective types. Aherne demonstrates both of these to perfection.

At the outset of the film, the story calls for Aherne to portray a British colonel. Here he is shown with distinct English features. Later on, Aherne assumes the persona of a German major and subsequently an ordinary soldier. For both of these characterizations he has a closely cropped haircut, a trick monocle, and a representative little moustache. "The W. Plan" is a plot of German conception with which it was intended to wipe out the British armies.

### Una Fairweather in Song Recital Mar 26

Una Fairweather will give her first New York song recital on Thursday evening, March 26th, at the Barbizon Plaza at 8:45 o'clock. Miss Fairweather is a soprano widely known on the Continent as an interpreter of both modern and classical songs, and some of the modern songs which she will sing at the Barbizon-Plaza she rehearsed with the composers themselves.

Celuis Dougherty will act as Miss Fairweather's accompanist when she presents the program on Thursday evening.

"Woman Hungry," which comes into the Strand Theatre Friday, is a tense human drama set against the background of the lofty Sierras.

**HA**  
**HA**  
**HA**  
**CHARLIE CHAPLIN**  
**"CITY LIGHTS"**  
Continuous 10 A.M.  
**50c & \$1**  
GEO. M. COHAN Theatre  
8'way between 42nd & 43rd Sts.

**Civic Repertory**  
14th St., 4th Ave. Eves. 8:30, 50c, \$1, \$1.50  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30  
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director  
Mon. Eve. Tues. Eve., "CAMILLE"  
Thurs. Mats., Fri. Eve., "ALISON'S HOUSE"  
Wed. Eve. "ALISON'S HOUSE"  
Thurs. Eve. "THE WOULD-BE-GENTLEMAN"  
Sat. Mats. "PETER PAN"  
Sat. Eve. "INHERITORS"  
Seats 4 Weeks adv. at Box Office and Town Hall, 113 W. 43 St.

### "Tabu," Murnau's Long Awaited Polynesian Love Story, at Central Park

It would be a mistake on the part of a Polynesian mother to call her daughter Daisy, having in mind the colloquial idea that daisies don't tell.

All writers about the habits and customs of the Polynesian in the Tahitian archipelago agree on their total lack of reserve. This is particularly characteristic of the women.

Conversation is their chief delight. They talk about every experience of their daily lives. It cannot be called gossip, according to F. W. Murnau, who has just returned from eighteen months in the Society Islands, where he produced "Tabu," with an all-native cast. Gossip implies malice, and the friendly people of the islands do not know this unpleasant quality, he reports.

The splendidly endowed Polynesian girl is incurably romantic, according to Murnau. She leads the life of the lotus-eater, in dreamy idleness.

Romance to the girls is the breath of life. It is a thing to be discussed and rediscussed when they meet to make a wreath of tiare flowers.

"They love love," says Murnau, speaking, of course, as the cold analytical film producer, familiar with beauty in all its forms. "They love to tell about their romantic experiences as they come to them."

### Stanley Sharpe to Produce Independently

Stanley Sharpe, for seven years general manager for Florenz Ziegfeld and previously in a similar capacity for the Shuberts, will become an independent producer, it was learned yesterday. Since his resignation from the Ziegfeld fold, Sharpe has had many attractive offers both in the legitimate theatre and in the movies, but has decided to produce plays on his own. "The Third Leg," a farce comedy by Alma Wilson, is the first play acquired by Sharpe. Lynne Overman has already been engaged for the leading role and the piece will go into rehearsals early next week under Zeke Colvan's direction.

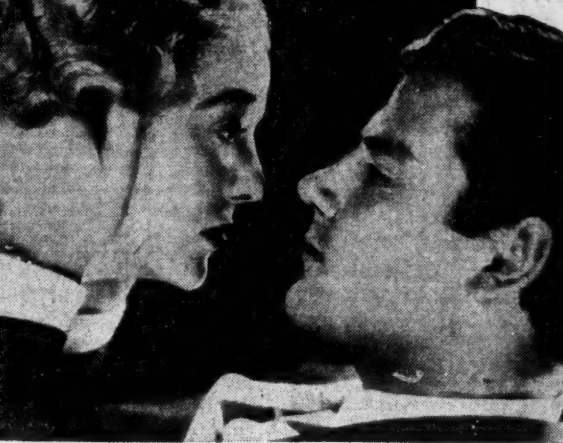
**ROXY**  
7th Ave. and 50th St.  
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)  
**CHARLIE CHAN**  
CARRIES ON  
Fox Movietone thriller with WARNER OLAND  
Marguerite Churchill, Warren Hymer, John Garrick, and Marjorie White  
—ON THE STAGE—  
Held Over  
By Popular Demand  
Greatest Show in Roxy history presenting every member of the gigantic Roxy staff  
REVUE ANNIVERSAIRE with ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA of 123  
Conducted by ERNO RAFFEE  
32 Roxyettes, Roxy Ballet Corps, Roxy Chorus and cast of principles.

"More hypnotic than ever!"  
—American.  
**MARLENE DIETRICH**  
in  
**"Dishonored"**  
with  
VICTOR McLAGLEN  
A Paramount Picture  
directed by Josef Von Sternberg  
POPULAR PRICES  
Continuous Weekdays from 9:30 A.M.

A New Film-Musical Treat from Germany  
**"Wien, Du Stadt Der Lieder"**  
(Vienna, City of Song)  
A rollicking German Comedy Hit with Melodies All New York Will Be Humming!  
Continuous 10:30 P.M.  
POP. PRICES  
DIRECTION LEO BRECHER

**WARREN**  
Richard Dix Irene Dunne  
Estelle Taylor  
Thousands in Nighty Cast  
2 Shows Daily, 2:30 & 8:30  
Midnight Show Sat.—Eve. Show 5:30 Sun.  
Sat. Eve. March 28, at 8:45  
Sunday Afternoon, March 29, at 3:00  
(Castellano—Tedesco, Strauss, Bayl, Arthur Judson, Mgr., (Steinway Plaza)

### The Hipp's New Feature



Besides 8 acts of vaudeville, the Hippodrome's new picture will be "Kept Husbands" with Dorothy Mackall and Joel McCrea.

### Joe Cook's Next Show To Have the Four Hawaiians in Person

Joe Cook, who is accustomed to prepare for his shows anywhere from twelve to eighteen months in advance of their production, today announced that an outstanding feature of his next musical will be the presentation in person of the famed four Hawaiians. These legendary characters, according to Mr. Cook, will be viewed in the flesh in an intimate musical comedy that will be the successor of "Fine and Dandy," current at the Englebert Theatre. A particular interesting phase of the proposed show, aside from the introduction for the first time of the four Hawaiians, is that the "hammer" that will succeed the Ferris wheel of "Rain or Shine" and the steam shovel of "Fine and Dandy" will be of entirely different design from its predecessors, and will, strange as it may seem, permit Mr. Dave Chasen to escape un-

**CAPITOL**  
Broadway and 51st Street  
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.  
**Joan Crawford**  
in  
**Dance, Fool, Dance**  
M-G-M's new sensation  
—STAGE SHOW—  
Collegiate Fun! Chester Fredericks & Nina Olive, Deane Reiter, Chester Hale Steppers, Bunchuk, Orchestra, Burton Holmes Travel Film

**A MILLION MEN OWE THEIR LIVES TO THIS WOMAN**  
**"THE W. PLAN"**  
Leo Brecher's CENTRAL PARK THEATRE  
50th St. and 7th Ave.

**8 RKO ACTS**  
including  
HON. MR. WU  
and  
Christine Colgate  
His marriage license was a bill of sale  
**KEPT HUSBANDS**  
Dorothy Mackall  
Joel McCrea  
BIGGEST SHOW-WY  
**25c**  
**HIPPODROME**  
6TH AVE and 43RD ST.

2nd MONTH  
METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER'S  
Thrill of a lifetime  
**TRADER HORN**  
Astor  
Bway & 43th St. Twice Daily: 2:40, 8:40. Three times Sun. & Holidays: 2, 5 and 8:40.  
SEATS 4 WEEKS IN ADVANCE  
All Seats Reserved

**8th St. Playhouse**  
22 West 8th Street  
Continues 10 A.M. to Midnight

### "ENCHANTING"

—N. Y. Times

"It should be seen! This romance of the South Seas thrillingly told in film!"  
—World-Telegram

"An entrancing adventure into primitive life!"  
—Herald-Tribune

"Indescribably affecting!"  
—American

F. W. MURNAU'S crowning achievement

**Tabu**  
A Paramount Release  
Filmed in its entirety in the seductive South Seas with an all-native cast. A thrilling drama of forbidden love!  
Continuous at popular prices  
Noon to Midnight

**8 RKO ACTS**  
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HON. MR. WU  
and  
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His marriage license was a bill of sale  
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**Theatre Parties**  
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning the theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

LEE KEEDECK presents  
JOHN  
**Galsworthy**  
In a notable lecture  
"Some Favorite Novelists"  
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Lafayette Avenue and St. Felix Street  
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Tickets \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50. Now on sale at Box Office. Tel. Sterling 3-4780. Or at office of LEE KEEDECK, 415 Fifth Avenue, Tel. EX. 5-5367.  
NO OTHER EVENING OR MATINEE LECTURE IN GREATER NEW YORK







# NEW LEADER

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

Editor ..... James Onal

Assistant Editor ..... Edw. Levinson

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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, MARCH 21, 1931

## Tammany and "Reform"

THE Tammany brokerage agency in offices, contracts, graft and sinecures, is again facing a general investigation. Like a foul sewer that has become clogged, Tammany filth has risen in a backwash that has flooded many departments of the city government. On its crest floats a swarm of fat rats that have gorged themselves with rich pickings. The city is "awakened." A committee of one-thousand is ready to put on rubber boots, gas masks, and, with other equipment, proposes a general "clean up."

Every fifteen or twenty years since the reign of the Forty Thieves this history has been repeated. There is a "clean up." The filth subsides and the rats run to cover. "Reformers" rejoice. Contentment reigns. In a few years the situation is as bad as ever and another "clean up" is undertaken, followed by another rejoicing, and so on without end.

Brook Adams in his "Theory of Social Revolutions" about twenty years ago summed up this history in one brief paragraph. He wrote:

Tammany Hall is, I take it, the administrative bureau through which capital purchases its privileges. An incorruptible government would offend capital because, under such a government, capital would have to obey the law. . . . Occasionally, Tammany grows rapacious and exacts too much for its services. Then a reform movement is undertaken, and finally a new management is imposed on Tammany; but when Tammany has consented to a satisfactory scale of prices, the reform ends.

Socialists approach the filth and the rats with this fundamental point of view. Tammany is the official bureau of city capitalism. Associated with the innocent "reformers" are gentlemen who are only interested in scaling down the price of Tammany's services. They want cheap and "clean" government for themselves. Socialists want a city administration that will represent the masses and that will ignore the special claims of gas, light, power, traction, contracting, real estate and other corporations.

This is the underlying and important issue and Socialists will not be led astray by this new upsurge of "reform."

## Hoover's Overseer

IT IS a peculiar fact that the individual in this country who climbs over the backs of a lower class into the heaven of the upper classes often becomes more reactionary than many born into the upper range of society. The former slave owners generally obtained their overseers from the poor whites and these plantation bosses were often restrained from too brutal whippings of slaves by written instructions of the owners. Vulgarians like Henry Ford become slave drivers in their attitude towards organizations of labor. We have also observed men from the ranks of labor elevated to some public office by appointment who have become bootlickers of reactionary classes.

Secretary of Labor Doak owes his job to President Hoover. Doak is supposed to represent labor. For years he was identified with the railroad brotherhoods but if he had lived in the days of the old slavery he would have qualified as a plantation overseer. Had he received instructions from the master regarding punishment of the bondsmen under his charge we have every reason to believe he would have violated them when the master was absent.

His recent reply to a question regarding illegal raids of immigrant workers indicates his point of view. Asked if some complaints against the methods of his agents were not due to references to the United States having been regarded as an asylum for political refugees, he is reported as having said, "Yes, and we've been reaping the harvest ever since."

This from a "labor" man is revolting. We prefer the slave owner born to his task to the obscure underling who gets into the service of reaction and willingly does its work.

## Our Circulation Contest

THE history of the Socialist movement is not a record of steady advances on a straight line to its goal. If it was of this character one could easily forecast to the year when the old order of capitalism will face the final struggle for its existence.

The movement has had and will have its periods of reverses, its periods of barely holding its position, and its periods of marked gains. It all depends upon the economic, political and social conditions that prevail in any period. There are times when all of the resources of the party may be thrown into the struggle with few gains or none at all and other times when these resources will bring fruitful results.

A new situation is facing the Socialist Party today. A few years ago we labored against tremendous odds. It is different now. One does not have to argue the case against capitalism. It is obvious to all but the stupid. The Socialist indictment is enforced by a wealth of facts that are impressive to all who are capable of thinking at all.

That is one reason why we have started The New Leader Circulation Contest. The work of every comrade who enlists will bring fruitful results. You will be working for your paper, for your cause, and for the Socialist Party. The more readers we have the more recruits will come for the big job of pushing a wretched economic system into oblivion. There are prizes offered but your biggest prize will be the knowledge that you will be doing intensive work for your ideals. Read the announcement on another page. Enlist, then go to work with a will!

## An American Ideal

THE main theme of the full page advertisement of *True Story Magazine* in the daily press on Tuesday was the productivity of American workers. Bricklayers, steel workers, railroad workers and others do so much more in a day's work than workers abroad. Any capitalist who has "played fair with his help," we read, "can speed up his work whenever he wishes. And there seems to be no limit to the amount of that speed." That's one phase of the "new social order" that is admirable.

Let us see. If a truck gardener decided to part with two bushels of potatoes for the price of one would we think he was wise or a boob? The potatoes have absorbed labor time and labor power. The gardener obtains his living by selling his produce at the best terms he can get and he would be stupid to give two bushels for the price of one.

Now consider the wage worker. He sells labor power and he would be a fool to part with more of it during the work-day than is necessary. The owner of industry buys it because it is the source of values and the worker sells it for the same reason. If the worker consents to "speeding up" he agrees to part with more of his labor power than was agreed to. His excess exertion is passed to the buyer without the latter paying anything for the excess. The writer of the advertisement thinks that this fool should be complimented for his folly! He also describes the grief of European capitalists who find it much more difficult to more intensely sweat European workers.

So we know what the ideal American is. He is, in the view of many, an uncompromising pack-horse who permits his load to be increased to the limit of endurance. No doubt this workman enjoys *True Story Magazine*.

## IN A NUTSHELL

A great intellect in the New York Assembly has found a solution for the unemployed problem. He has introduced a bill which provides that cities engaging in public works should avoid use of machines and return to hand labor. Great idea. Let's start the march back to the tomb of our great-grandfathers and crawl in when we arrive there.

Henry Ford declares that "these are really good times but only a few know it." What he meant is that the times are good for a few and they know it.

Better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than a pig satisfied.—John Stuart Mill.

Charles F. Kerrigan, assistant to Mayor Walker, quotes Scripture in defense of his superior but it isn't the text that refers to driving out swine.

The public buys its opinions as it buys its meat or takes its milk, on the principle that it is cheaper to do this than to keep a cow. So it is, but the milk is more likely to be watered.—Samuel Butler.

We are a friend of the dog but the yellow variety in charge of judicial keepers should be sent to the house to be gassed.

Doubt comes in at the window when inquiry is denied at the doors.—Prof. Jowett.

"I might as well be buried" said a vice squad cop who was asked to tell where he got \$50,000. Well, it's his funeral and he can afford a good one out of his loot.

For my part I see no difficulty in finding work for the unemployed. Take the places they live in, for instance. There is the urgently necessary work of knocking these places down, burning their putrid debris, and replacing them with decent dwellings.—George Bernard Shaw.

Why will men take such risks, anyway? The gunmen robbing banks and getting a few thousand dollars should be go-getters employing workers and "readjusting" wages.

You never expected justice from a corporation, did you? It has neither a soul to lose nor a body to kick.—Lord Thurlow.

Capitalism is all right in its place but its place is by the side of feudalism in history's cemetery.

Have you made your contribution to the Socialist Party national fund drive or do you think that George should do it?

## Socialists of Phila. Aiding Mill Strikers

### Branch Organized in District—Legal Aid Is of Distinctive Quality

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA—The striking textile workers of the Kensington mill districts have taken such an interest in working class political action that the Philadelphia Socialist Party has opened a branch headquarters in that area at the Bailey Building, 2748 Germantown Avenue. An official opening was held last Saturday, when August Claessens spoke to an enthusiastic group of strikers, some of whom immediately joined the party.

This new office is only one evidence of the renewed interest in Socialism in Philly. At the membership of the Local held on March 17, plans made by the Organization Committee for greatly increased activity were received with great enthusiasm by all comrades. Leaflets on many municipal issues are now being prepared which will be distributed by the tens of thousands throughout the entire city. A complete ticket will be put in the field in the election this fall.

Philadelphians are disgusted with the treatment that has been meted out to strikers in the present struggle against wage cuts. Literally hundreds of pickets have been arrested at one time and workers are being forced to the recognition that the present political regime is entirely in the hands of the mill owners. The party is cooperating with the Hosiery Union in obtaining signatures to a petition asking for the recall of Director of Public Safety Schofield. His cronies have stirred up a resentment against the present industrial and social order that is not likely to be forgotten in a hurry.

Franz Daniel, Local Organizer, with the invaluable assistance of a score of local comrades, is doing magnificent work in showing the textile operatives the true nature of our present Republican office holders.

One of the most valuable pieces of work being done for the strikers is the able defense that has been presented for them in court cases by M. H. Goldstein and Samuel Gurbarg, local Socialist lawyers. These two have handled a dozen cases in the last two weeks, securing an acquittal in every instance.

As a result of these activities, every Unionist in Kensington is now aware of the fighting qualities and value of the Socialist Party.

### Hillquit to Lecture in Amalgamated Auditorium Next Friday, March 27

A very interesting lecture will be given by Morris Hillquit on "The Changing Social Order," next Friday, March 27, at 8:15 p. m., in the large Amalgamated Auditorium, Norman Avenue and Van Cortlandt Park, South Bronx, under the auspices of the Amalgamated Co-operative Branch of the Socialist Party; Chairman Lr. Louis Hendin.

All indications are that the tickets will be sold out before the lecture, and that this affair will prove to be a huge success from every point of view.

### Fish and Thomas to Debate Thursday

"Is the Program Presented by the Fish Committee Practical?" is the subject to be debated by Hamilton Fish, Jr. and Norman Thomas, Thursday evening, March 26th, at 8:15 o'clock. The debate which is to be held in Cooper Union, is under the auspices of the Lower East Side and Community Council. John Lovejoy Elliott will serve as chairman.

The world's great men have not commonly been great scholars, nor its great scholars great men.—O. W. Holmes.

# A Call For Party Service

## Volunteer Field Workers Needed

THE SOCIALIST PARTY is facing its greatest opportunity since the end of the World War. This coming summer is especially opportune for building the party in many states. We must go to the masses and we have every reason to believe that they will accept.

The party needs field workers. Many party members take a vacation. Why not spend your vacation serving the cause? Why not spend a few weeks or a month or two in this work?

A number of comrades have already applied for assignments to a number of states. We should have no less than fifty such workers in the field by next May.

Their work will be to canvass names, collect signatures to unemployment insurance petitions, organize locals where possible, take subscriptions for party papers and strengthen existing local organizations. Volunteers who can speak will also address public meetings, but members who are not speakers can also render valuable service.

It was through volunteer field service, in the days when the movement was weak, that the Socialist move-

ment was built in England, the United States and other countries. The call for such service is again urgent. The time is ripe. We must have volunteers.

Arrangements are now being made with state secretaries for this field work. Any party member whose work has the approval of his branch is eligible. All that is required is that he get a recommendation from his local or branch and then register with National Headquarters.

Any party member who contemplates undertaking this work should send for detailed information regarding plans, qualifications, and other information. National Headquarters will be glad to provide this by return mail. Register as a field worker for the Socialist Party. Help to build a powerful party organization for the battle of 1932!

Address all inquiries to the National Executive Secretary, Clarence Senior, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

## Industrial Cataclysms

By Adam Coaldigger

THE temporary business depression that started last October a year ago will soon celebrate its second birthday anniversary.

The most depressing thing about the depression is the unanimity and frequency with which the master minds of the nation predicted its speedy end—sixteen months ago.

By the way, why can't the great statesmen who claimed all the credit for the late lamented prosperity make another one?

Then there is the question, "Where does prosperity go when it ain't?"

And say, can anybody tell what became of the Coolidge prosperity?

Sure! Leave it to me, Cal took it with him when he left the White House. It's locked up in a little box under his bed, and judging from his writings, he must have lost the key.

Poor Herbert!

When he got there The cupboard was bare So instead of fame He got nothing but blame.

Oh well, a great engineer, who on top of that has lived all over Asia and Africa, should have learned from his experience with medicine men and voodoo doctors that beating tom-toms doesn't make rain.

One safe way to deal with prosperity is to meet it coming, then get in front of it and shout: "Follow me." Another safe way is choosing not to run when it's oozing out.

What I'm gently hinting at is that the man, high, jack, or low, who thinks that prosperity is made by marking a cross under the right sort of critter is an unmitigated jackass. Also, that college-bred men who seek the highest offices of the republic with such tommy-rot are either demagogues of the lowest order or they bought their sheepskin at the butcher shop.

The true, yea, the only possible source of good times as well as bad times, must be sought in the pocketbooks of the producing masses—that is, the farmers, wage earners and their white-collar brothers, the so-called brain workers. When the masses have money, they buy. When the masses buy, the merchants sell. When the merchants sell, the orders flow into the factories.

When the factories have orders, they turn out goods. When goods are turned out the workers work. When workers work, they have money. When the workers have money, they buy—and we have prosperity.

Where our imbecile economic anarchism breaks down it is always at the consuming end. We only make things to sell, and then we overlook the all-important point of putting enough money in the pockets of the workers to pay for the things we made to sell to them, and this in the course of time brings about an accumulation of unsalable goods.

Then whenever the stock of unsalable goods reaches the point where the merchants have neither the cash nor the need to buy more goods—Orders fall off in the factories.

When orders fall off in the factories, workers are put on short time, or are discharged outright.

When workers are put on short time, or are discharged, their wages go down or cease altogether.

## Social Art

IN a recent study of modern art, George Grosz, the famous German artist, whose wood-cuts are among the most biting attacks on capitalist society, has emphasized the social aspect of creative activity today. He says, in part: "The artist of today, if he is

When wages go down, the purchasing power goes down.

When purchasing power goes down, sales go down.

When sales go down, many merchants are forced into bankruptcy.

The bankruptcy of many merchants drags down banks and manufacturing institutions. Savings are wiped out. Investments are lost. Stocks of goods are sold below cost. More stocks are sold to the fire insurance companies.

The breakdown of manufacturing, commerce and banking in turn drags down mining, farming and transportation, and there is your business depression, or better, your Industrial Cataclysm.

The most humorous (God save the mark!) aspect of Industrial Cataclysms is that they are not due to the acts of God, such as floods, earthquakes, insect pests, cyclones and tidal waves, but are due solely to the greed and imbecility of man. They are the logical and inevitable outcome of the war between empty pocketbooks and full storehouses. Their chief characteristic is the lack of everything that man wants in the midst of a superabundance of everything he has created to satisfy his wants. And all this is due, let me repeat, to the inability of the producers to purchase with their income the major portion of their products.

Nor is the present business depression just a mere flurry that soon will pass. It is by far the most serious economic catastrophe that has hit the capitalist order. It is world-wide. It has already lasted longer and wrought more havoc than any panic preceding it. It has wiped out a large section of the middle class, and reduced millions of farmers to the position of land slaves and wage earners.

The reduction of populations into propertyless masses, offered by hired retainers, all working for a rapidly diminishing number of owners, as predicted by the foremost economists of the last century is no longer a bad dream. It's here! In the case of the farmers, for instance, it is very much to be doubted that their total possession of land and chattels equals the total amount of their mortgaged indebtedness. As far as productive property is concerned, the wage earners are of course out of the picture, and the same holds good with the overwhelming majority of our professional classes.

On top of all that comes the displacement of men by machinery, followed by increased competition for jobs, followed by lower wages—diminished purchasing power in the face of increasing output and consequently bigger and better panic, until—

But why join the prophets of evil when it is so much more pleasant and popular to cure (?) these evils by joining our knee-breeches industrialists and diaper statesmen in reciting:

"Every day in every way, It's getting better, better and better."

Indeed he most appalling thing in the present situation is the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of leadership. It really seems that the big boys on top actually believed that they could make or maintain prosperity by smiling hopefully at newspaper men and talking encouragingly over the radio.

Now that their pretty soap-bubble has burst, as it always must, in accordance with its own laws, they are running around like Hottentot medicine men who have lost their magic wand.

But mercy me, I'm getting serious. Worse still, I'm getting mad. And if I go mad too, that will just about make it unanimous.

Industry and exploits the world; on the other hand, reproducing the features of our time, depicting and criticizing it, he enlists as a propagandist and a defender of the revolutionary idea, with those who are fighting for their share of the goods of the world and for a rational social organization of life."

## 200 Strikers Arrested in Philadelphia

### Union Signs Aberle Co. —Police Aiding Apex Strikebreaking

PHILADELPHIA — (FP) — Wholesale arrest of pickets continues in the Philadelphia hosiery workers' strike. More than 200 arrests were made in one day after magistrates had discharged ninety from custody.

Most of the arrests were at the Schletter and Zander mill and at the Strahand mill. Eleven men and ten women were arrested at the Strahand mill charged with picketing in violation of a police order. Several of these had previously been arrested and discharged. The union has reached an agreement with the H. C. Aberle Co., whose mill last year was the scene of a bitter fight in the hosiery industry, in Philadelphia.

### Boss Gets Injunction

Despite the yellow dog contract which is in effect among all the 2,000 employees of the Apex Hosiery Co. and despite the claim of former U. S. Sen. George Wharton Pepper, Apex counsel, that there is no strike at this plant, the Common Pleas Court has given the union the right to ten pickets at the mill.

As many as 300 police have been surrounding the Apex plant, forming a solid wall at some points, absolutely preventing all pickets from approaching the shop. Now, with an injunction handed down, the union is given the right to post two pickets at each of the five entrances to this largest of Philadelphia's non-union hosiery mills. The strike against all non-union mills continues.

The hearing on the injunction application was significant. The court recognized that a strike is actually in existence at the mill despite the fact that a small proportion of the force walked out and despite the fact that yellow dog contract has been in force here since 1926.

### Vigilance Necessary To Protect Ballot Rights, Says Senior

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
CHICAGO.—Pointing out that a determined Socialist group from Baltimore had succeeded in obtaining an adverse committee report on the Maryland bill to establish exorbitant filing fees as a means of disqualifying Socialist candidates, Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, has called on party organizations throughout the country to keep a vigilant lookout against bills of similar nature in other states.

"Efforts are now being made in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, as well as in Maryland, to pass laws that will make it difficult if not impossible for minority parties to find a place on the ballot," Senior said. "Such a law has already been passed in Ohio, with the result that we are now seriously handicapped in that state."

"Members in other states should watch for similar measures. They will often be introduced by so-called 'reform' groups acting as cats-paws for the reactionary parties, under the plea of simplifying the ballot. If any election reform law is proposed in any state or city, Socialist local officers should immediately obtain a copy of the proposed measure and forward it to National Headquarters, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

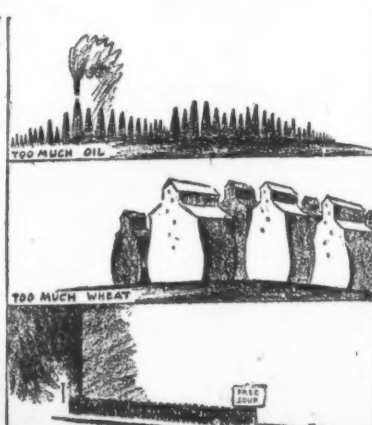
"When we know of such measures early enough, it is usually possible to start successful agitation that will protect democratic processes. The danger is that such laws will be slipped in unawares."

It is the great error of reformers and philanthropists in our time to nibble at the consequences of unjust power, instead of redressing the injustice itself.—J. S. MILL.

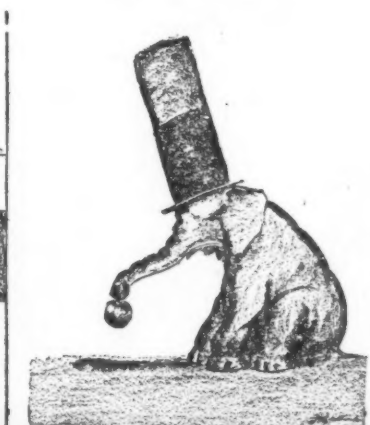
## Fitzpatrick Looks at the Industrial Depression



Strange bench-fellows



"What do you make of it, Watson?"



Ready for the handicap race

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch