

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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HOOVER MOCKS THE HUNGRY

President Asks Starving and Homeless To Cease Their Hoarding

By James Oneal

SO YOU have been hoarding millions of cash and thus tried to put the blame for this breakdown of capitalism on Herbert Hoover, have you?

Well, Hoover has found you out. Can't fool him.

So out with your hoarded money, put it into circulation, and get that chicken in the pot for every family.

This is the bright idea of the great man in the White House. Our jobs are gone. Homes are lost. We cannot pay the rent. Our debts are piling up. We are patching the old trousers and wearing the mouldy shoes discovered in the closet. We cannot borrow because our friends have nothing to lend. We are in the breadlines receiving Hoover's doles.

The great man arises from a nourishing lunch to meet other eminent minds of the republic. Something dramatic is about to happen. Hush! The solemn moment has come. He speaks.

OUT WITH THAT MONEY!

"I want you to enlist in the war against hoarding!"

The words are flashed throughout the republic and the press makes them vivid in the headlines.

The assumption is that money is held back through fear or sheer cussedness. There isn't a dollar in hiding that would not come out into the open if Hoover could show how it could be invested. In real estate? Values have touched bottom. In textiles, in steel, in railroads, in building? No prospects for the profiteering gentry.

What of the workman and the farmer? They haven't the dollar to spend. The first is either working part time or he is in the Hoover breadlines. The farmer has been reduced to barter in some regions because he hasn't a dime in his possession.

"I want you to enlist in the war against hoarding."

HOOVER SELLS HIS CATTLE

Those who have the money will not invest it unless they can sweat dividends out of labor and those who do not have it are mocked by the well-fed man in the White House.

We urge another war, a war upon the politics President Hoover represents, a war against the capitalist system, a war for a Socialist world.

He represents the bankers and the capitalist masters of the system that has almost collapsed. They have received a two billion dollar dole from the government upon his recommendation.

A majority of the starving masses supported him and he induced Congress to support the fat boys who rule the republic. He has not betrayed the starving voters. They delivered themselves in 1928 into the hands of the class that robs them.

Now we have poverty-stricken serfs and locked-out wage slaves. We have villages of outcasts in the large cities. Human beings living in boxes, in shacks



From the (N. Y.) Daily News.

Hoover: "I want you to enlist in a war on hoarding."

of old boards, old tin and tar paper. From these they crawl to the breadlines for the Hoover dole.

Out in the countryside are millions reduced to serfage. Mountains of wheat and corn but rags and no cash. Vast quantities of cotton and hunger stalks in every pine cabin and rickety shack.

A voice. "I want you to enlist in the war against hoarding!"

ENLIST IN THE WAR FOR JUSTICE!

Our answer. Workingmen and women of the United States! We want you to enlist in the Socialist Party for the abolition of the system that has failed to guarantee us what the Negro bondman was assured of in the days of southern chatteldom.

Organize the jobless and the homeless. Enlist in the war against capitalism in the coming elections. Prepare to send representatives of your class into the seats of public power. Be resolute. Hoard your votes and then hurl them against the parties of this dying capitalist system.

The Socialist Party is your fighting organization for liberation from this hell of insecurity, uncertainty, and hunger. Away with this revolting system and help build the cooperative democracy of Socialism where unmerited poverty and unearned riches will be no more!

NEW LEADER

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

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Our Eighth Anniversary

WITH this issue The New Leader publishes its Eighth Anniversary number. Few of our friends will ever know the bleak years of discouragement through which their paper passed or the acute problems that were faced by comrades a few years ago to keep the paper alive. The depression years have also brought new problems and drastic economies have been effected to anticipate any emergency that may come. With this issue we greet the loyal workers in the field who have helped and are still helping to extend the influence and circulation of the national organ of the party. With their continued aid we look forward to the coming years with the hope that The New Leader will be a power in a period of chaotic ideas and programs when knowledge of the fundamentals of capitalism is so essential to build a powerful movement of the workers.

Abraham Lincoln

LINCOLN'S birthday brings the vocal patriots out with the customary eulogies. Lincoln became President when northern capitalism entered its final struggle with the slave oligarchy. The two social orders could no longer live under the same government. The slave system was destroyed; capitalism reigned throughout the republic.

Lincoln, however, did not represent northern capitalism. In the North both the Democratic and Republican parties had their eastern capitalistic wings and their western small farmers, mechanics and laborers who distrusted eastern capitalism. Lincoln's social philosophy was based upon these western groups which, in his first inaugural, he called the "mixed class." He wanted to keep economic opportunities open for this class and he frankly stated this view.

In the years since Lincoln died the capitalist class has acquired complete control of both parties and of the government. The "mixed class" has been conquered by the economics of the higher capitalism and the workers face the necessity of ousting the ruling class and replacing capitalism with a Socialist commonwealth. Lincoln's social ideal has been destroyed by the very silk hat crowd who today pay homage to the man and his work.

Who Are "We"?

YOU will be interested to know that "our stake" in investments abroad amounts to eighteen billion dollars. "We" have big stakes in foreign enterprises and bonds and other nice things. Considering "our" holdings "we" should be a happy people.

When you know who "we" are you will concede that we are happy. "We" are the bankers and the big capitalists of the United States. When they have rich pickings abroad it is customary to refer to them as "our stake." This identifies the jobless and the starving with the gentlemen who do not starve.

It is the use of such "blessed words" that conceals the class character of capitalistic society. "Our stake" may be in danger some time so that it will be necessary to send soldiers and marines to protect it. In that case it is important that conscripts should believe that it is "our stake" that is in danger. The only real stake workers have is the conquest of capitalism itself and when that is accomplished our silk hat gentry will pass into history with the dinosaurs.

A Socialist View of the Week

The Hunger March Of the A. F. of L.

APPEALING to President Hoover and Congress for the unemployed, the American Federation of Labor declared that a "real national emergency has been reached." The number of the jobless is increasing, many are facing starvation, cities can no longer meet the problem, and Federal aid is necessary. The document rightly contrasts the financial relief extended to bankers and capitalists with practically nothing done for the starving. The situation is "shocking" and "drastic measures" are imperative.

The demands include approval of the LaFollette-Costigan bill for an appropriation of \$375,000,000 for direct relief; the five-day week in private and public employment; no more wage cuts; keep boys and girls in school; create more jobs in industry; enact the Norris anti-injunction bill; payment of the prevailing rate of wages by government contractors; development of public works; regulation of the coal and the oil industry; higher taxation of incomes and inheritances, and Federal aid to states enacting old age pension legislation.

It is a good program as far as it goes. What is meant by deportation of alien seamen we are not certain and there will be some disagreement as to whether modification of the Volstead Act will help. It is reported that in the A. F. of L. conference it was decided to eliminate the statement that "labor is opposed to the state either for capital or for labor" and that Tobin of the Teamsters said: "Call it a dole or call it what you will, something must be done to relieve conditions." The document declares that direct Federal relief to the starving is not a "dole."

The fact is that the "individualist philosophy" of Woll and others has run counter to gigantic facts and that "philosophy" is now as poverty-stricken as millions of workers to whom it has brought disaster. A few more months of capitalistic disease and it will be buried.

A fight is also being made against confirming Hoover's appointment of Judge Wilkerson to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. It was this judge who issued the injunction against the railway shopmen in the strike of 1922, a decree that made it illegal to do anything but sleep.

The A. F. of L. conference also decided that the executives of the international unions meet in Chicago on the eve of the conventions of the capitalist parties and present their demands to these parties. It will test the skill of the platform builders to promise something and say nothing. Only the Socialist party will squarely meet the needs of the working class.

The Enlarging Economic Hell

NEWS from the American front indicates that so many will be so weak of hunger next November that they will be unable to go to the polls. In New Jersey 250 million dollars a year is needed to prevent starvation and 225,000 have no jobs. Josephine Baker, director of child health in New York City recently told a Senate committee in Washington that babies are now faced with conditions "more serious than any ever faced" before in this country. Industrial Commissioner Perkins of New York State warns against a cut in the social services of the state that is urged by business Babbitts. The city of Detroit gets access to the money bags of New York bankers but the latter dictate the discharge of some city employees and a reduction in wages. Avella, a coal town in Pennsylvania, is kept on the map by the charity of farmers who provide food and home-made soup to starving miners and their families. Out in the corn belt where farmers find money as rare as white elephants they have resorted to barter. The American Legion starts a war on the depression by broadcasting pollyanna pleas over the radio. Speaking for the manufacturers junta at Washington, J. A. Emery opposes direct Federal relief for the starving because it "lessens their sense of responsibility, checks their action, and reduces them to mendicant provinces awaiting Federal philanthropy."

Is a Socialist movement necessary in

this country? Observe the ever enlarging economic hell that yawns before us the empty minds that make the headlines, the stupid drift at Washington and the state capitals and draw your own conclusion.

Troubles in the British Isles

IN Great Britain a new wave of depression this week causing a decline in industrial and railway stocks while sterling slumped on all foreign exchanges. The number of the jobless has increased over 200,000 since December and in Bristol 2,000 workers fought the police in a protest against a cut in relief benefits. The government of all the bourgeois talents organized by MacDonald is being deflated as its promises become no more substantial than the smoke from a Tommy's pipe.

Next week the Irish will go to the polls with 152 seats in the Dail to be filled. The workers have a weak movement and yet they have twelve members. The old party representation was as follows: the Government party, including the farmers, 71; Fianna Fail, de Valera's group, 56; Independents, 13; Labor, 10; Independent Labor, 2. The main fight among the Irish is still the struggle between Cosgrave and de Valera.

The A. F. of L. And World Action

SINCE the year 1919 the American Federation of Labor has not been affiliated with the Trade Union International and all negotiations to resume official relations have failed of their purpose. Last week the Executive Council declined an invitation to participate in an International Economic Conference received from the International. The council decided, "in view of world conditions now prevailing, that no good purpose could be served through the attendance of representatives" of the A. F. of L. It declared its "sympathy" with the conference but added that the time is inopportune to hold it.

One wonders when the time will be opportune for American workers to share in responsibility for the plight that faces the working class of all countries. The original objection was that the Germans would be present and the A. F. of L. would not sit with them. That prejudice has been liquidated. American trade unions later responded to the appeal of German trade unions for financial aid and the International extended important assistance to the Mexican workers at the time of the De la Huerta revolt. The International rendered this assistance upon the urgent request of the A. F. of L.

The need of international solidarity of workers in all countries was never more urgent than now and a parochial attitude in this hour of working class distress serves neither the American workers nor the workers of other countries.

The Fight for Disarmament

WHILE Japan, our beloved "associate" in the "war for democracy," seizes Manchuria and trains her guns against Shanghai, the diplomats have pussy-footed in their obligation to take action in the name of the League. While the guns roared outside the gates of Shanghai some ten million men and women in all nations presented petitions at the Gneva Conference for the Reduction of Armaments last week. Nine speakers were heard and hundreds of letters and telegrams poured into the conference from all over the world. Besides the petitions the International Cooperative Alliance, representing seventy million families, some fifty million religious folks and many other organizations joined in what is probably the greatest peace and anti-armament movement in the history of the world.

Impressive as the demonstration was, one wonders how many of the petitioners will keep their heads should the war-makers start another march hellward. Then how many of them realize that modern wars have their roots deeply in the capitalist system and that while it is essential to scale down arms it is more essential to abolish capitalism itself. It is the task of the Socialist movement to emphasize this and to get the workers into it.

Restless Latin-American Workers

THE standard of living of the workers in the Latin-American nations is low in normal periods and in the depression era it has declined even lower. Because of economic discontent there have been a number of revolutions in the past year which have ousted dictators. The working masses have played an important role in these affairs and in Uruguay, San Salvador and Nicaragua the pot has boiled in recent weeks. In Nicaragua the rebel movement is directed against American rule through marines and native puppets.

Nearly two weeks ago there was a rising in the North of Uruguay and the Montevideo police closed the Communist daily, "Justice," and the Communist Deputy, Lasarraga, was arrested at a street meeting but was immediately released. There has not been a revolution in Uruguay for thirty years. In Ecuador there are two Communist Deputies in Congress and in Costa Rica the Communist party was prohibited from participating in the presidential election next month. In Salvador there was a recent attempted revolt said to be Communist in character in which capitalists and sympathizers with the government were attacked in a number of towns. In all these skirmishes resentment is directed against American capitalist holdings and a strike will be given the Communist label. Workers in these little nations suffer from the backwash of the world depression and physical force is no unusual thing in these countries.

The Political Brokerage Houses

ALFRED EMANUEL SMITH tossed his derby in the ring by the side of Governor Roosevelt's hat and the wise chaps of politics are forecasting a fight in the Democratic convention. In 1928 Roosevelt nominated "Al" as the "Pathfinder on the Road of Humanity" while McNabb of California said the same thing of Hoover at Kansas City. Whatever happens in the two brokerage concerns of capitalist politics next June will be of as much interest to the working masses as the next thing in the style of men's shoes. If the Republican wing of capitalism is stupid in the face of a declining capitalism the Democratic wing is in a coma. An independent political war by a party of the working people against both is the crying need of the hour. Join the Socialist party!

Regarding the Russian Soviets

EVERYBODY knows about Russia and nobody knows. If one can find two persons who agree on this matter it would be unique. The first fifty years after the adoption of the United States Constitution we were considered the great "experiment." Europeans came here and wrote books which varied as widely as the books now written on the Russian "experiment." To one observer Americans were barbarians, the government was a farce, our social life was vulgar, and we were a "menace" to the rest of the world. To another we were civilized, had a workable democracy, life was generally wholesome and other nations might well imitate us. The public libraries are filled with these volumes and it might be well to consult them by way of stabilizing judgment of the Russian "experiment."

The New York Times Moscow correspondent, Walter Duranty, appears to many to give the "real dope" regarding Russia. Very often his work appears to be objective. Then there is a note of satire and occasionally we are treated to a lecture on Marxism which is amusing. Is he reliable? We do not know. During the imperialist invasions of Russia he was the worst offender in retelling the absurd stories of the Czarist refugees in Paris and against the Soviets. Since his residence in Moscow his work is the reverse of this. Was he honest before? Is he honest now?

At any rate, we shall try the sorry task from week to week to digest the news of Russia in addition to the occasional article that appears. We expect to satisfy no one but we shall at least keep in mind that we are not Communists, liberals, reactionaries or sentimentalists.

'You Would Break Up the Home'

Stupid Predictions of Socialism's Horrors Come True—In Capitalist America

IT is in a period of industrial panic that all the absurdities and contradictions of the capitalist system become glaring. They rise like ghosts to haunt its defenders. Not only do its own claims become drivel; what it charges against its enemies become its own failures and crimes.

Tell us now, gentlemen of the capitalist system, that we Socialists would break up the home. Instruct your editorial police to warn the masses that Socialism would produce the communal family where two and three families of all sexes and ages will merge into one.

Yea, tell your stupid politicians that still others will have no homes at all when the Socialist movement strips the possessing classes of their power. Go into the streets of American cities and inform the homeless thousands of the homeless fate that awaits them when your order is no more.

THE "DULL DEAD LEVEL"

Carry this message to the millions who never had a home to own and who are being evicted because they cannot pay the rent. Include those who owned homes and who have lost or are losing them because they cannot meet the installments on mortgages and taxes.

Do not neglect to tell the millions in the breadlines that Socialism will reduce them all to a "dull dead level." Tell them that Socialism will deprive them of opportunities, of initiative, and thrift. While you observe the lock-step of men in the breadlines tell them of the uniformity of prison life that will be their lot in the collective industries of Socialism.

While you are about it, do not neglect to expound the glorious liberty of the individual that capitalism preserves and Socialism destroys. Note the freedom of the jobless man who accepts your dole of soup. Observe his care-free and proud bearing as he shambles forward to receive your charity. Glorify this creation of your blessed "order." Observe this two-fisted American he-man and the "liberty" that has come to him by shunning these "furrin" Socialists. Socialism would degrade him, of course, deprive him of the human attributes which he now displays.

WE ARE "DIVIDING UP"

Then there is one count in the indictment against us that you should not overlook. What about "dividing up wealth?" That has been a weapon in your armory which you have used with much effect. Why this silence now? We have not heard it for years, not since the great division began with the collapse in October, 1929.

Go into the regions of desolation with that idiocy of yours now. Send your retainers into the cotton kingdom and tell the millions of wretches there of how much they will have to divide with the Socialists. Send them to the wheat and corn belts and warn them of the peril of being compelled to divide up.

While you are about it, look up the millions of workmen whom the owning class have locked out of the industries. Tell them that their accumulations of wealth will be taken from them by the Socialists. Look up those who have abandoned small shops and stores all over the nation and whose incomes are no longer available.

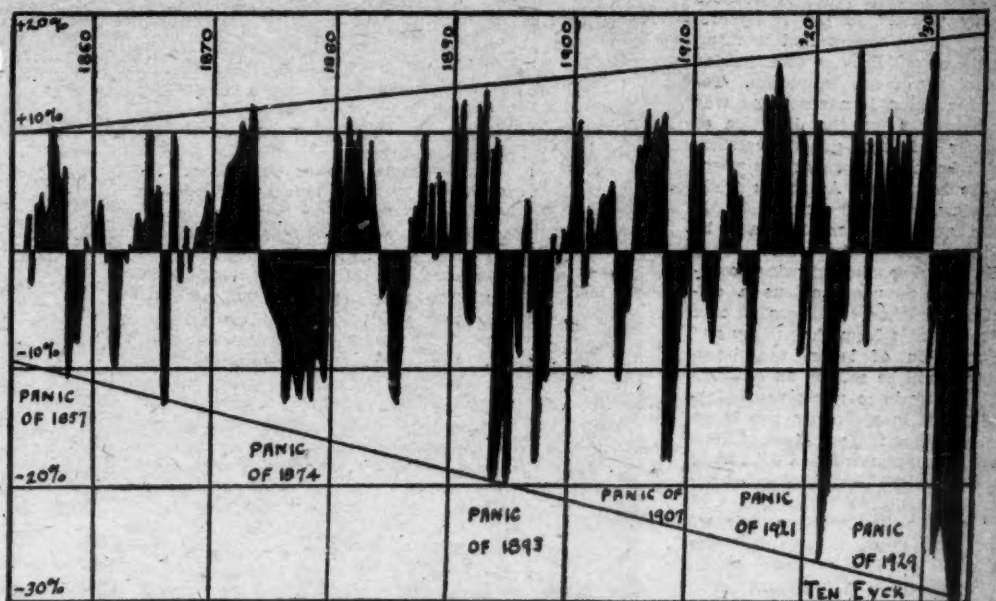
THE STARVATION ROUTE

What has become of the wages and the incomes? What mysterious division has taken place? Explain this mystery to them. Perhaps you can in some way make them understand that the Socialists came like a thief in the night just to prove that you were correct. At any rate, they have "divided up." Somebody now has what they should have if your economics is what you have advertised it to be.

We are pointing an accusing finger at you and we demand that you give an answer. Millions have not only "divided up"; they have been robbed. Who are the robbers? Will you answer?

Moreover, while these millions have been stripped

"The American System Is Everlasting" — Governor Roosevelt



BIGGER AND BETTER PANICS. "It is enough," wrote Karl Marx more than eighty years ago, "to mention the commercial crises that by their periodic return put on trial, EACH TIME MORE THREATENINGLY, the existence of the entire capitalist society."

The above chart is a graphical illustration of the accuracy of this scientific prophecy. With an almost machine-like periodicity the "AMERICAN SYSTEM" has been infected by recurring and progressively more severe epidemics of poverty and starvation. In the panic of 1857 industrial activity dropped off one-fifth from its previous peak; in 1893 it dropped off one-third; and in 1932 it has dropped off one-half.

As the wild lack of control of capitalist anarchy makes each successive major swing toward economic chaos successively worse a larger and larger number of the wage workers and a larger

and larger portion of the population get it in the neck. In the panic of 1857 perhaps one million workers were without employment; in the crisis of 1932 about ten million wage earners and twenty-five million dependents, through no fault of their own except their passive acceptance of capitalist evils, are tortured by the injustice of unemployment; and another fifty million persons are, by the reduction in wage rates and working hours, cruelly impoverished.

If the American workers and their dependents, making up the large majority of the population of THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD do not by political association and action, control these wild swings by bringing about a planned economy under the social ownership of industry, they will be trampled on in the future as they have in the past. The first necessary step is a workers' political party; and the Socialist party represents the working masses!

of their incomes the possessing classes have become fatter with wealth. Is it possible that those at the top have compelled those in the pit to "divide up" and in the process the latter have been beggared? It is for you, gentlemen of the capitalist system, to explain this.

One bromide has always served you. You say that Socialism cannot be reconciled with "human nature." No? How long do you think that "human nature" will stand the privation, the hunger and destitution which your rule has brought to many millions of the workers? Are you sure that you can estimate the limit of its endurance or forecast what may happen when you stock the social pit with desperate and jobless men?

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE

Let us admit for the moment that we cannot change "human nature." Will the admission save your system from destruction? Hardly. Let us take an example and we will use one of your own class as an exhibit.

Assume that one of you, accustomed to nourishing meals, a luxurious home, and flunkies to gratify every wish and whim, is cast adrift at sea on a raft with a dozen others drawn from various layers of society. You drift for days. The food is exhausted and there is no more water to satisfy your thirst. More days pass and death faces the castaways.

An interesting transformation occurs. Eyes become bloodshot and men waste away of hunger. You will not be immune from the elemental conditions that face all. Civilized as you are your thoughts will turn to cannibalism!

Dreadful, isn't it? Has "human nature" changed? Not at all. It is the same human nature expressing itself under entirely different conditions. Those conditions lead to one type of conduct just as other conditions lead to another. All the knowledge, the customs, habits, beliefs and prejudices these castaways had before, they still have, but the material conditions

underlying their lives have been changed. That makes all the difference in the world.

BLIND AS BATS

"Human nature" may not have changed or you may say that it has changed. We do not care how you interpret it. The fact is that human beings tend to act in response to a changing environment and this force is so powerful that some civilized men may even think of eating their fellows under certain circumstances.

So that is all there is to your hackneyed and stupid statement. You never thought it out. You rarely think out anything. Sitting on your mountains of dollars you gaze into the pit below and take comfort in the stupidity that we cannot "change human nature." Like other ruling classes before you, you never learn anything new and you forget nothing old.

Your system is shot full of absurdities and contradictions. Do you think that "human nature" is a barrier protecting you against your miserable and colossal failure? Not at all. That "human nature" is just as capable of breaking under the strain of intolerable conditions as the "human nature" of the castaways at sea.

THIS SEA OF MISERY

And here we are adrift on a sea of misery. Our homes are breaking up, family life is being destroyed, we have been locked out of the industries, we have been forced to "divide up."

You tried to place all these as illegitimate children upon our doorstep. They belong to you. They are your progeny and every intelligent human being knows it.

And Socialism is the heir of your bankrupt capitalist system. When its victims awaken to their power they will end it and with it will go your silly claims and the questions you have addressed to us before the collapse placed you in the public pillory.

The Dressmakers on the March Again

35,000 Workers to Give Battle to Greed

By Edward Levinson

THE dressmakers of New York are the first group of workers to cry "Halt!" to the two-years' onslaught on wages and working conditions which have compounded the misery of the depression. Today the union is a converted war headquarters for the direction of another of the general strikes which have written glorious pages in the history of American trade unionism. Next week, the 35,000 dress and waist makers will be in the midst of the strike.

In defying the growing arrogance of as unscrupulous a collection of labor exploiters as ever coined profits from the misery and degradation of labor, the dressmakers will be setting an example which may have great psychological effect in stiffening the backs of two other huge groups of New York workers now faced with wage cut demands. The building tradesmen are being asked to take a 25 per cent reduction; the printers are being asked to give up from 20 to 30 per cent of their wages.

Increases Are Sought

The dressmakers are fighting not against a wage reduction, but at the moment for an increase in wages. The wage reductions are already accomplished. In the past two years the manufacturers have used every opportunity to cut wages. Largely a piece work industry, wages have been slashed 10, 20 and 30 per cent.

Disregard of decent standards of employment have been of a piece with the wage-slashing. Under the eyes of the benevolent Tammany administration whose insiders have made an exceedingly good thing of the indifference of the mass of the voters, the old sweatshop conditions have returned. Hours of work now reach 50 and 60, with no extra pay for overtime. Careful work by union investigators, supplemented by verified complaints brought to union headquarters, reveal that the old sweatshop district in the lower East Side is now in full swing with its traditional evils—long hours, low pay, unchecked speed-up, filthy and dark work-rooms.

Division street, the Bowery, Canal street, Ludlow street, Suffolk street and Allen street, to mention a few of the many, once again house the sweat-shops which have been thought a thing of the past.

What the Bosses Want

With the greed characteristic of the employers in the ladies' garment industry, the employing factors have had the brazenness to seek agreements with the union recognizing the existing conditions as acceptable to the workers. In many cases they have even tried to worsen these conditions. The contractors in the industry—middlemen between the workers and the manufacturers—presented no less than 47 demands on the union, 27 of them being requests for changes in clauses of the existing agreement all touching upon fundamental labor safeguards. The manufacturers association contented itself with some 12 demands.

Chief among the employers' demands is one for a further general reduction of wage rates. They also ask that over-time work be left to the discretion of themselves with no extra pay to the workers for such overtime. Legal recognition of Saturday work is also asked. The employers did not stop with these. They asked for the right to hire an unlimited number of apprentices, at miserably low wages, of course; for "free discharge," which would mean the right to fire a worker for any cause or none at all at any time; and for the right to "reorganize

10 per cent of the working force," at least once a year—which would mean the right to weed out active union workers wholesale.

To offset these demands, the union set forth its program. It asked that all piece work rates be fixed at definite rates of pay for all fundamental parts of the garments and all other parts which can possibly be classified. Minimum scales are to be fixed in the agreement by a group of experts chosen by the union and the employers. In this way it is hoped the starvation wages of \$15 a week and upwards can be outlawed. The union asks also for extra pay for overtime piece workers; for the strict abolition of Saturday work, —and, finally, for the creation of a system of unemployment insurance.

Negotiations Fail

Inconclusive negotiations resulted from the efforts peacefully to reach a new agreement in place of that which expired December 31st.

The union immediately planned for the general strike. The temper of the workers was revealed last week when more than 12,000 of them stormed Mecca Temple and vicinity in response to a "mobilization call" from the union. Jewish and Italian workers, native born and Negro workers, Spanish and a mixture of other nationalities responded in a demonstration that jammed 4,000 into the main hall, filled another hall with 2,000 and left many thousands more outside clamoring for admittance so that they might register their approval of the proposed strike.

From the platform, Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Julius Hochman, general manager of the joint board, Jacob Panken of the Socialist party and others sounded the battle cries which have led the dressmakers into many strikes, not one of which has ever been lost.

The stage is set for a swift and victorious strike. If the last few weeks are any indication of the fighting spirit of the dressmakers, victory will again be theirs. This will be a strike that will tax the full resources of the union and test the friendship of Socialists and workers in other trades. All aid to the dressmakers in labor's first counter-offensive of the Hoover

panic!



Forward Photo

UNANIMOUS FOR STRIKE

A section of the huge audience at Mecca Temple which unanimously voted a general strike of New York dressmakers.

In the West Virginia Hills

Stricken Coal Industry Takes Daily Toll in Lives and Health of Miners' Families

By Murray Baron

THE gradual and steady decline of the coal industry is reflected in any competent set of statistics on the subject. Its impending or virtual bankruptcy antedates the present widespread depression by several years. The post-war contraction of the industry resulted from the introduction of substitutes for coal as a source of energy, the national readjustment to post-war market requirements after a period of a highly exaggerated stimulation of production for the insatiable consumer, war and the attendant introduction of small marginal entrepreneurs—these conditions were further aggravated and intensified by factors peculiar to Southern West Virginia—a disadvantageous differential in transportation costs—the non-existence of a union from 1924 to 1931.

Thus we find King Coal—in 1929—suffering from double pneumonia, heart disease and infantile paralysis and about October, 1929, a hereditary disease asserts itself and a further complication sets in—cyclical depression. And a ghastly toll it takes. The following are instances of human misery and tragedy visited upon the lives of a splendid and frightfully exploited section of the American working class—the coal diggers. These are individual cases—the translation of cold statistical analysis and observations of calloused economists and welfare workers in actualities of the class-war in West Virginia.

An Evicted Miner

J. S.—An evicted union miner—living in the tent colony of Clydeville, just below Ward—named to honor the generous and sympathetic Mrs. Ethel Clyde of New York. He is a fighter whose ideas of pragmatic unionism have made no little impression on company thugs and guards—confides in me that his wife was pregnant and would need care. "How many kids have you got, J. S.?" "Eight"—

boastfully and pointing to a boy—"My oldest 13 years of age." He had, several weeks back, sheepishly rejected proffered birth control advice as being sinful.

Charles and Ed Hanshaw both devoted unionists—brothers. They attended a meeting at Ward one night at which I spoke. Both had come two miles. Their faces were of a deadly pallor. We drove the Hanshaws home after the meeting. Their story:

Charles—28 years old—two children and wife—a failing heart—I looked at his lips—blue—his eyes—glassy. The company doctor rejected him—incapable of working in the mines anymore—parenthetically—one or two days' work a week—pay \$1.50 to \$2.50—this in scrip!

His brother Ed—about 32—wife and three children—a heart-rending story—unable to find work as a miner after the recent strike—because active unionist—black-listed—got a job on the Kanawha River locks. One day a crash—several men crushed to death, one injured—Hanshaw—broken back—ribs crushed—one rib puncturing the abdomen.

A Miner's Death

As Ed recounted the story—he thumped his chest—or what I thought was his chest—it was a steel cast. I shall never forget the hollow sound of his knuckles knocking against the steel plate. He doubted the doctors when they told him he'd be well in four or five years—and later his brother whispered to me—Charles will not live another month—that Charles vomits a pool of blood almost every morning. Both families live in a dilapidated shack hard by the state road—on the compensation Charles gets—\$1 a day!

I met Ed Price one night at a union local meeting at Whitesville—about 50 years of age—a good Socialist—loyal union man—came twenty miles to the meeting. He was working two or three days a

week at the only closed-shop mine in Southern West Virginia. Several days later in the Charleston headquarters of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union—I learned of the death of Ed Price—killed by falling slate. I am told that accidents occur more often now—miners, driven by desperation and poverty, try to mine as much coal as humanly possible—they must allow for cheating by the company check weighman—in order to earn as high as \$3 a day—are not as careful as might be—compensation for widow Price and several children—\$30 a month.

The Grip of Death

One last case—poignant humor—16-year-old Proctor lives in Clydeville tent city—we drive him home—on the way I ask the usual question—"How do you get along for food and things?" In the inimitable dialect of the mountaineers—"Relief sends us clothing and we grub the food."—A sudden curse—"That damn sheriff done owe my pap \$2."—"How come?"—"When they was evictin' us from our house the sheriff need help to bring out the furniture—and seep' as he hadn't none he asked pap and me to help promisin' to pay us \$2—three months and we haven't seen a lick of him."

As I view these West Virginia Mountains there is something deceiving and ominous in their serenity—for these men have said—"We'll not let our kids starve." And I recall Logan and Mingo Counties—the miners' armed march of 1920 and 1921—the history of a state wracked by the class-wars of other days.

And so in the deep winter of the worst depression in the history of capitalist civilization a dying economic system is crushing in its grip a whole generation—nay two generations—for the squalor, privation and poverty imposed upon innocent and hapless children must leave in its wake ignorance and disease—mental and physical stultification.

Japan's Young Labor Movement

Peasants Are Better Organized Than Industrial Workers in Far Eastern Nation

By Paul Porter

THE working-class movement in Japan is of comparatively recent origin. The development of the factory system has progressed rapidly since the outbreak of the World War, and in its footsteps has come a labor movement of left-wing tendencies, still small and disunited, but a factor of potentially great importance in the future of Japan and all of Pacific Asia. Coincidental with the rise of a militant industrial working-class has been an upsurge of rebelliousness on the part of the peasants who are even better organized than the workers.

The total population of Japan is now approximately 65 million, and 27 million of these are counted in the official census of 1930 as gainfully employed. Forty-eight percent of these are engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, while approximately 23% are industrial workers or artisans. Government statistics listed 4,983,000 in this class in 1929, although the 1930 figures revealed a drop, because of unemployment, to 4,774,000.

The Trade Unions

The organized workers are members of 542 unions; 241 of these with a total membership of 152,885 belong to 46 different federations. The remaining 301 unions are independent. Three of the largest federations are now planning to establish a Far Eastern Secretariat of the Intl. Federation of Trade Unions. They are the Japanese Seamen's Union, an industrial union with 88,172 members, the Federation of Naval workers with about 42,000 members, and the Japanese Federation of Labor, comprising 46 affiliated unions, with a membership of approximately 39,000. The first of these federations is affiliated with the Intl. Transport Workers Union.

A fourth federation is the Natl. League of Trade Unions, founded in 1930 with a membership of 41,690, which is more strictly Marxist in its philosophy than the above-named groups.

A number of underground Communist-led groups are affiliated with the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions, which is in turn affiliated to the Red Intl. of Labor Unions, but because of their illegality membership in them is unknown.

Greatest progress has been made in the transport and metal in-

dustries and in the public utilities, where from one-fourth to one-half of the workers are in unions. The mining industry, however, with a total of 300,000 workers, has only 6,000 organized, and the textile industry, employing more than a million, has only 20,000 organized. Strikes have been increasing during the panic, mounting from 1,420 in 1929 to 2,389 in 1930, and to 1,719 during the first six months of 1931.

Militancy among the peasants is probably more advanced in Japan than in any other country. They are more revolutionary than their left-wing brothers engaged in manufacture and transport. This is due in part, of course, to their desperate plight as tenants on estates frequently owned by absentee landlords, but partly responsible also is the fact that the peasants live in villages, and the villages themselves are close together, which makes intercourse and solidarity easy. The total area of Japan is less than that of the state of California, and only one acre out of six of this can be cultivated because of the mountains. The average peasant family tills less than three acres of depleted land. Hunger among them is great. Signs of malnutrition in the rural districts are everywhere in evidence, and infant mortality is high. Riots directed against landlords are frequent.

The Political Parties

Like the industrial and peasant unions, the proletarian political parties are in constant flux and are not yet united nationally. The dominant party, organized in July, 1931, as a merger of various groups, is the Natl. Workers and Peasants Masses Party. Ideologically it is comparable to the Independent Labor Party of England. The Social-Democratic Party has the support of the moderate unions, though it has been losing membership to the newly-organized party. Farthest to the left among the legal parties is the Labor-Peasant Party. The workers, after vigorous agitation, won universal male suffrage in 1926. Four proletarian parties participated in the next national election in 1928 and returned eight members to the Diet. This representation was cut to five in the election of 1930 because labor candidates ran against each other, though the total vote increased. It reached 504,000 or approximately 5% of all votes cast.



Forward Photo

"NOT REALLY A WAR!"—But photographs from Shanghai reveal the dead and wounded in Japan's attack on Chinese city.

Reparations and War Debts

The Socialist Movement in Other Lands

[At its meeting in Cologne on Jan. 24 and 25 the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International unanimously passed the following resolution:]

UNEMPLOYMENT and wage reductions are being aggravated throughout the capitalist world by the international credit crisis. This crisis cannot be overcome unless the world economic system is relieved from the pressure of political debts, unless tariff wars, which are being intensified, are stopped, and unless there is international co-operation with a view to the re-establishment of stable currencies.

In view of this situation the Bureau of the L. S. I. declares:

1. That even the governments of the countries directly concerned recognize that under present conditions Germany is incapable of fulfilling the obligations which she has assumed under the Young Plan.

On the other hand, the countries which have to pay war debts to the United States of America would be placed in an intolerable financial situation if they did not receive any payments from Germany and yet were obliged to continue their payments to the United States.

2. That there can be no question, on the one hand, of a unilateral renunciation of international contracts, or, on the other hand, of recourse to constraint or force, the disastrous consequences of which for the world as a whole have been shown by the occupation of the Ruhr, and against which the L. S. I. would unanimously protest.

For Socialist Pressure

3. That the questions of disarmament, reparations and war debts, the cancellation of which has always been demanded by the L. S. I., are too closely connected financially and politically for a final settlement to be possible without a general settlement.

The European Socialist parties affiliated to the L. S. I. should continue to bring pressure to bear upon the governments and Parliaments of their respective countries, with a view to a European agreement on a plan of economic reconstruction and on the joint action to be taken to curtail protectionism, co-operate in the permanent stabilization of currencies, and secure the cancellation of war debts.

It will only be possible to achieve such a solution if the Socialist parties succeed in using the forthcoming elections to stop the

advance of the nationalist wave in Germany and to defeat the nationalist reaction in France, since an entente between Germany and France, in agreement with Great Britain, remains the most important condition for removing, not only the greatest dangers to world peace but also the most serious obstacles to the restoration of world trade.

Violence in the New Spain

MUCH space was given in the press to the recent clash between workers and members of the Civil Guard in Castilblanco when four members of the Civil Guard were killed. But less has been heard of other incidents in which the victims have been workers.

The General Union of Workers in Spain, with the complete agreement of the Socialist Party, has published an energetic protest with regard to the intervention of the Civil Guard in industrial disputes, and particularly the dispute in Arnedo.

In Arnedo in the Province of Logrono a shoe manufacturer called Felipe Muro refused to re-engage a number of workers whom he had dismissed for not voting monarchist in the general election. After all attempts at a settlement had failed a general strike was declared, with successful results. When the workers were demonstrating on January 5th, after the settlement had been reached, they were fired upon by a detachment of the Civil Guard, although no provocation had been given. Within a few seconds, four people were killed, and more than 30 wounded, some seriously. The victims included women and children.

In the protest of the General Union of Workers, it is affirmed that the Union "cannot avoid expressing its displeasure at the violent incidents which are happening with excessive frequency, and causing victims among the workers. The working class of our country contributed towards effecting the revolution and cannot see its generous sacrifice repaid by ingratitude." Referring to the "painful and impressive incidents at Castilblanco," the protest points out "at 'before we have recovered from the painful impression produced by those incidents we are overtaken by those of Arnedo. * * * The same sorrow must be felt in the case of Castilblanco as

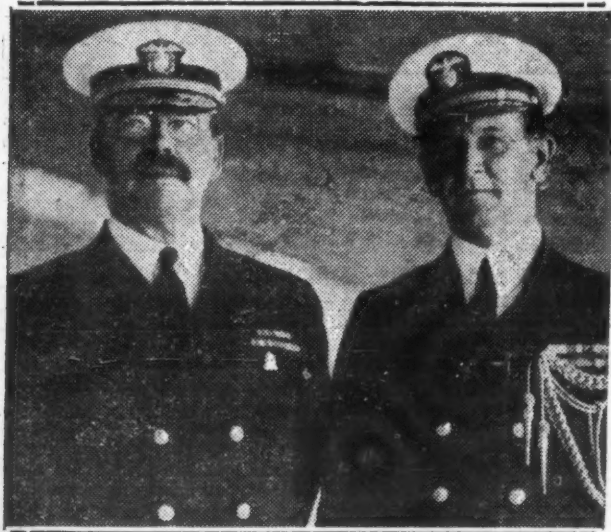
in that of Arnedo. In the former Civil Guards were killed; in Arnedo it was workers, women and children. But the authorities must be equable and serene in their action; it is their duty to guarantee the lives of the citizens and they have no right to neglect this duty. It must be remembered that social problems cannot be solved with bullets. Hungry people must be given bread. * * *

The Socialist Parliamentary Group has opened a subscription for the victims, to which the three Socialist Ministers and all the deputies will contribute fixed amounts. Contributions will also be given by the General Union of Workers and the Socialist Party. Moreover, a commission of enquiry representing the General Union, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Parliamentary Group has been sent to Arnedo to investigate the incidents on the spot.

Socialists Advance in the Argentine

The Argentine Socialist Party, which had 12,000 members when the present military government seized power, reports that six new branches of the party have been formed and 709 new members enrolled. This is in addition to the 17 new branches and 863 new members reported in November. In view of the Socialist success in the recent Argentine elections there is every likelihood that this welcome growth will continue.

Of the latest batch of new members 386 are from the Federal Capital, 148 from the Province of Buenos Aires, while the others are drawn from other Provinces.



Federated Pictures

U. S. "OBSERVERS" IN SHANGHAI—Admiral Montgomery M. Taylor (left), and Capt. F. J. Fletcher, his aide, lead the U. S. naval forces in Shanghai where one hot-headed command to fire may throw the whole world into chaos. Taylor has plenty of ships to take away the 5,000 Americans—and more military than civilian Americans are at Shanghai.

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Mobilizing the Jobless for Action

Unemployed Unions Should Be Formed to Fight Hunger and Disaster

By James Oneal

TRAVELING to and returning from the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the party I made inquiries in the cities where I spoke and on trains, in hotels and at lunch counters regarding the homeless and the jobless workers. It is no exaggeration to say that the conditions are much worse than we surmise and that they are becoming more grave each day. One becomes sick listening to the stories of destitution.

There is actual hunger in many cities; and the number of the starving is on the increase. Quite a number of cities are abandoning aid for the destitute as they approach bankruptcy. Everywhere private and public agencies complain that they are unable to meet the situation, that their resources become less as the need of relief becomes greater. Hoover's "American system" of doles is a crying shame and an insult to millions.

In a number of cities Socialist organizations have taken the initiative in organizing the unemployed: Ashtabula, Ohio; Marion, Terre Haute and Indianapolis in Indiana; but except in the first named city this work has not developed on the scale that the situation requires. In Ashtabula comrades with many years experience in party work are doing an inspiring job. Within six weeks after organizing an Unemployed Union they had 500 members. In addition to this they had four local trade unions affiliated and were fairly certain of getting the remainder to affiliate.

The "American Dole"

The day before I arrived there one canvasser brought in 200 applications for membership in the Unemployed Union! They have 60 canvassers who are taking a census of the city regarding unemployment. When they are through they will know the situation facing every working class family and they will no doubt have an organization of the unemployed not equalled by any other city. But, treasured with a powerful organization and equipped with detailed knowledge of the actual situation the Unemployed Union will be able to confront the local Hoover dolers with the starvation that runs current with their miserable "relief." Mass meetings and demonstrations will follow in support of the Socialist program of relief.

Incidentally, Ashtabula has a city manager form of government such as our bourgeois reformers desire in New York City. It is a type of administration that suits capitalists and bankers. They get cheaper government for their class and as might be expected the "relief" given the starving does not differ from the "relief" programs in corruptly governed cities.

Offal Given Hungry

The "relief" in practically all cities is insufficient in quantity. The food rations doled out are so small that human beings cannot survive on them for many months. In some cases, as in Indianapolis, there are jobless who work two days for a basket of food. Money contributions to jobless families range from \$1.50 to \$3 per week.

The quality of the food in some instances is revolting. Comrades in Ashtabula and Indianapolis relate tales on this score that are sickening. It appears that decayed foods collected at hotels and other places are mixed with other foods and doled to the starving. An ulcerous portion of beef was served one Indianapolis family and rotten squash to another in Ashtabula.

Then there is the policy of serving the cheapest foods, which are

mainly the starches. Eating these rations day after day undermines the health and brings on diseases. In Indianapolis oatmeal was served for weeks to children till nausea became acute and they were unable to eat it. In the meantime physicians warned the authorities that 10,000 children were in danger of toxic poisoning! The uniformity of other rations served from day to day is just as harmful to health. On the score of the uniformity of the foods served to the starving there is a fearful indictment of Hoover's "American system." Even slave owners sufficiently varied the diet of their slaves to avoid undermining their health.

In almost every city there are from three to a half-dozen relief agencies working more or less independently of each other where one efficient central organization would be more serviceable. Duplication of offices and overhead expenses consume more funds than is necessary. One central organization making wholesale purchases would also make the relief funds go a third farther than they do now.

Jobless Given "Run-Around"

The number of relief agencies also enables some of the dolers to shift jobless applicants from one agency to another. Complicated red tape accompanied with some trivial reason sends the starving from one "relief" station to another. In Indianapolis I was told that workers having automobiles were denied aid. Where the worker has no money to pay car fares while looking for work the car is useful as a little gas will carry him farther than the five or ten-cent fare. Even the possession of a radio in that city makes the worker a suspect when applying for help!

In short, the whole system is a damnable outrage. It conflicts humiliation on the jobless, provides them with insufficient and questionable food, denies some even this minimum aid, endangers the health of men, women and children, is likely to produce an epidemic of diseases, is administered at an unnecessary expense, and it cannot cope with the problem.

In fact, the system is breaking down throughout the country as cities become bankrupt. Even the pollyannas no longer talk of a returning "prosperity" by way of consoling the hungry. Before the end of the year some of the states may be hoisting the distress signal, thus following the cities into bankruptcy.

It is an extraordinary situation

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Unemployed Union of.....

I, the undersigned, a victim of the industrial depression, believing that it is essential for the working people to organize the homeless and the unemployed to protect their families from the ravages of the depression and to obtain more satisfactory relief than is afforded by existing agencies, hereby make application for membership in the Unemployed Union of..... I pledge myself to cooperate with the Union in realizing this aim.

Signed..... Address.....
Canvasser..... Date.....

THE JOBLESS' PLEDGE

Suggested Form of Application Blank in Organizing Unions of the Unemployed.

The reverse side of the proposed application blank should contain questions like those suggested below.

CENSUS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

By the Unemployed Union of.....

Name..... Address.....
Number in family..... Men.... Women.... Children....
How long family head unemployed..... Occupation.....
Funds on hand..... Part time employed?.....
If so, what income..... Rent paid?..... If not,
how long in arrears?..... Do you receive aid?.....
If so, who from?..... Is aid satisfactory?.....
If not, why?..... Any members sick?.....
If so, how many?..... Indebtedness.....
Canvassed by..... Date.....

be requested to sign after his economic status has been recorded. A sample of this membership application is also printed above as a suggestion.

The name of these local organizations, readers will observe, is Unemployed Union instead of Unemployed Council. As Communists have used the latter name it is important that our local organization should be distinguished from theirs. Changes in the census card may be made if necessary to adapt them to local conditions.

We are so rapidly drifting to a crisis that it is important in each city for the comrades to link with them every organization of workers capable of intelligent and loyal cooperation. They should go even to the conservative unions and central bodies and place the situation before them, impressing them with the fact that we are drifting to disaster and that they cannot escape responsibility for what may happen. Either they will cooperate or by their inaction they may become unwitting accomplices to wild food riots or something worse.

Forming the Union

This work of canvassing the jobless and organizing them into Unemployed Unions should not be delayed. It appears to be a race with disaster. In addition to our program for a large appropriation by Congress for direct relief, unemployment insurance, etc., the character of the "relief" given in each city should be investigated. Where any of the evils mentioned above

exist they should be exposed in mass meetings and through publicity.

In canvassing the jobless it is essential that each canvasser should announce that he does not represent any of the existing agencies. There is an increasing resentment against the "American system" and workers should be informed that the Unemployed Union consists mainly of workers who propose to look after their own relief.

Arrangements should be made for a publicity service to serve the newspapers with news of the work. Sympathetic lawyers should be enlisted to provide free legal aid for the jobless. Demand should be made for the public schools and other available public buildings as meeting places for the union. Empty stores and buildings should be obtained for sheltering the homeless. Possibly many can be used by insisting that the taxes of such buildings shall be remitted while they are occupied by the jobless.

The preliminaries of this work such as printing of census and organization cards, letterheads, etc., may be met by an initial fund contributed by sympathetic persons and organizations. Once a plan of intelligent work is outlined and such an appeal for funds is made it is likely that it will bring in the sum required to get a start. Then comes the job of enlisting canvassers for the work of learning the real situation in each city and getting members for the Unemployed Union. Further details as to program can be obtained from the national office of the Socialist party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.

Every canvasser will also carry literature, distributing it among those who are canvassed. Education will correlate with organization. Farmers will help and are helping with grain and vegetables in many of the states. While we are educating the masses for our own program we will at the same time do our best to have the Unemployed Unions bring order, system and efficiency into the relief systems, eliminating the abominations that are now rife in them, and making the unions and the party the chief agencies for policy. To the extent that they can, the unions should even forge to the headship in all this work so that the working class will acquire confidence in its own initiative, power and ability to handle the problems that affect the workers.

THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932



Drawn by Cornelia Barno.

"That Will Teach Them Their Place."

Unemployment in the Soviet Union

Soviet Figures Are Held to Be Wrong

By David Shub

(Continued From Last Week)

THE situation has not changed in this respect since Stalin delivered this address, as can be seen from the article of S. Kossior, leader of the Communist Youth organization, published in the Moscow Pravda of August 21, 1931. "Many members of the collectives," writes Kossior, "who work in the Donbas explain their return to the villages on the ground that they must help in the harvesting of the grain. In truth, however, they desert not so much for this reason, as to share in the receipts of the collective. They are afraid lest their families be discriminated against in their absence. At the same time there are scores of cases where individual collectives in Ukraine, White Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union, which supply labor to the Donbas, recall their members on various pretexts. Furthermore, the executives of many collectives place obstacles in the way of their members who desire to find work in industry."

Kossior relates further that "in the villages of the Donetz basin, there are enormous reserves of skilled miners who were previously employed in the mine industry," and who now refuse to work there. Why? Because the workers in the mine live under very difficult conditions, he explains. "Meat is not brought there regularly," writes Kossior, "and the miner for several consecutive days receives none whatsoever. After that he receives rations for five or six days. Under this kind of management it often happens that some portion of the meat must be thrown away."

"There was an excellent vegetable crop last year in the Ukraine. The miners in the Donetz basin, notwithstanding, fail to receive vegetables. The public feeding in the Donetz basin, is very poorly managed. More products are supplied to the public kitchens this year, than last year. But what is the result? The dishes cooked are impossible to eat. And then the filth! It is exceptional to find a public kitchen where a sufficient quantity of food is served; where the dishes are well cooked and the kitchen kept clean. In the majority of the public kitchens the food is bad, and the same menu is served daily. Often, macaroni, impossible to stomach, serves as the sole dish which is offered to the miners for days on end. The filth is horrifying. The flies literally eat up the humans. But what makes one's eyes pop out of one's head is the utter helplessness of the people who manage these public kitchens. When you complain to them of the flies, they answer, 'What can we do about it? They don't stand still. They fly around.'"

In the Kuzbas Region

"I must say," concludes Kossior, "that the present situation in the factory kitchens is a disgrace to the party committee and the entire region. One can adduce scores of facts showing the rough handling accorded people who come to buy in stores and kitchens; how they are compelled to wait for dinner for an hour or more; and often they completely refuse to serve a customer."

The correspondent of the Moscow "Za Industrializatsiyu" writes on Oct. 22, 1931, of the conditions in the famous Kuzbas (Kuznets Basin) where some 80,000 workers are employed:

"Very little attention is paid to the Kuznets worker as a human being who desires, according to Comrade Stalin, to have all his material and cultural needs satisfied. In the Kuzbas there can be no talk



SOVIET SCIENTISTS BLAZE NEW TRAIL—These Russian scientists are said to have blazed a trail no other human being has ever trod when they went into the Pamir Mountains in Central Asia. The extreme cold is indicated.

even of satisfying all the requirements of the worker. That goal is far distant. Very little, moreover, has been accomplished which could have been and should have been accomplished. As far as building houses for the workers is concerned, very little has been done. On Oct. 1, there were to have been constructed 112 new buildings, for 300 people in each, thus creating housing facilities for more than 30,000. At the end of September, however, only ten houses were completed. Of these ten houses only three were begun this year, the remainder having been started last year. Twenty-five additional houses are now in the process of construction. These will in all probability be completed in November. At the highest, fifty houses will be completed by Jan. 1, 1932. The ten houses already erected are stone boxes which give one the oppressive feeling of military barracks. There is no plumbing and no provision for sewerage in the houses. Close to the houses, toilets have been fashioned from wood, in the village manner. No provision is made in the houses for common kitchens, children's nurseries, or cultural assemblies. The houses, as the expression is, are built on 'word of honor.' Some require repairs two months after erection. During the period of my stay, the wind one night pulled off the iron roof of one house. The next morning, the roof peacefully reposed on the ground between two structures. That is how the 'Socialist city' looks.

Housing of Workers

"The majority of the laborers live in barracks. But even of barracks there is a lack. Sixty-nine additional barracks were scheduled to be built in the month of August. Actually, not a single barracks was erected. In the meantime the workers are packed in the barracks like sardines, 150 in each. More barracks could have been built and should have been built, had the entire matter received proper attention. Here, too, it is not a question of quantity but of quality. The barracks are built so flimsily, that they hardly stand up. Rain pours in from the rooms and the residents freeze. The walls are falling in. They are constantly in need of repairs, which they do not always receive. As for cleanliness, there is much to be said on that score. And if that were not enough, there is the fact that men and women are herded together, the married and the unmarried alike.

"But all the workers of the Kuzbas reside in barracks. A portion of them live in tents. Some live in the surrounding villages, which are quite distant from the construction

works. A smaller group live in caves. There at least it is warm and clean, and 150 people do not have to live together. This 'subterranean city' is growing rapidly. An Aug. 1, 8,000 resided in caves; on Sept. 15, their number had increased to 32,000. At the outset, the establishment of these 'cities' was forbidden. Later, it was permitted. More recently, the authorities actually demanded that the workers build these 'domiciles.'"

Such are the conditions under which the workers of the Kuznets Basin live. Small wonder that 35.5 per cent of them deserted in the course of a single month, according to a report which appeared in the same issue of "Za Industrializatsiyu."

Dearth of Workers

I could cite many additional examples from the Soviet press which reveal succinctly why the workers desert the Soviet factories and mines. Summarized, it may be stated that the dearth of workers in the Soviet Union is due to the following:

1. A great proportion of the skilled workers have left the factories to become party or government officials.

2. A large number of workers left the factories in 1930 when Stalin announced his collectivization program in order to return to the villages.

3. The collectives prevent their members from going to the cities to work.

4. Such bad working and living conditions prevail in the Soviet factories and mines that even the peasants whom the Soviet agents succeed in recruiting desert soon after they arrive.

The present shortage of workers in Russia is a result of the revolution, or, more accurately stated, the counter-revolution, which Stalin carried out in the villages in 1928-1930, taking away from the peasants the land they received in 1917 and driving them into the collectives. The labor shortage has very little relation to the development of industry. Any comparison of Russia with other countries in the matter of unemployment is, therefore, ridiculous. In the United States, England or Germany, the unemployed cannot escape to the village from the town, as is possible in Russia. Neither in England nor in Germany can the government force the peasants to feed the unemployed, instead of subventioning them from the public treasury. Nor can the United States government nor any other civilized government send unemployed into the lumber camps in desolate regions, or assign them to other hard labor, without pay, as Stalin dis-

posed of 2,000,000 "Kulaks," Nepmen and other "undesirable elements" who, at present, "build Socialism" in the dense woods of Mursansk, Archangel, Solevetaki Islands, or in the Siberian mines. Only Bolshevism can solve the problems of unemployment in such fashion! The unemployed millions in the United States, Germany or England must remain in the cities. In Russia, the 10,000,000 "excess mouths" who remain at present in the village, are swallowed up in the vast peasant sea. But their actual living conditions are much worse than those of the unemployed in the capitalistic countries. As soon as the collectives begin to conduct themselves more efficiently, those millions of "excess mouths" will sharply stand out again.

Other Countries

The economic situation in the United States and in the European countries is unquestionably very serious. Nowhere, however, is the situation as tragic as it was in Russia, in the years 1919-1921, when more people succumbed to the Communistic experiment than to the World War. At the present time, the position of the Russian people is much worse than in all other countries. Russia, like other countries, is experiencing a crisis, but of a different character. The crisis in America, Germany, and England is a result of "overproduction." Soviet Russia has thus far not yet solved the very first problem of producing even a small proportion of commodities necessary for home consumption. In the United States, the crisis is the result of technological progress. In Soviet Russia, it is the result of woeful backwardness. As poorly organized as was Russian capitalism before the revolution, it was better able to assure the populace of living necessities than is the Soviet government.

It is a mistake to believe that with the completion of the Five-Year Plan the situation will improve. As the Five-Year Plan progresses, we are treated to the spectacle of increasing hunger and need in the country, while the enslavement of the population grows. The land is becoming more impoverished daily. The Five-Year Plan sucks the marrow from the bones of the entire Russian people and transforms the worker into a virtual slave. The worker is not only compelled to contribute his work at a price determined by the government, but he must work in such regions, in such enterprises, and at those tasks required under the autocratic plan. The trade unions, who have always and everywhere been the medium for

"Solution" of the Problem Is Challenged

the protection of the interests of the working class, protect, in Russia, the interests of the State-Employer, according to a statement of the President of the All-Russian Central Committee of the Trade Unions, Shvernik, at the last Communist Congress. "The trade unions in the U. S. S. R.," said Shvernik, "exist not to represent the interests of the workers before the employer, the state, but in order to draw the workers into the socialist construction work." (Pravda, July 14, 1930).

In order that the trade unions might better fulfil this function, it was decided, in February, 1931, to split them up into smaller units. In March, 1931, the Council of the Peoples Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party published a decree prohibiting all workers from leaving their places of employment. The workers must be workers only, the decree declared. All workers must discharge their duties, as long as they are not ill. "He who does not work shall not eat." This biblical edict is literally translated in the Soviet Union.

Labor and Bread Cards

By the decree of the Commissariat of Labor, Oct. 11, 1930, all its departments were instructed to cease paying unemployment benefit, and to provide, instead, work for the unemployed. If no openings were available for the unemployed in their own field, they were to be sent to a field of labor where skill was not required, the decree ordered. The principle of forced labor, which is inherent in this decree, was two months later proclaimed in the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of Peoples Commissars issued Dec. 15, 1930. The edict provided "that the labor forces are to be apportioned according to a plan order," that the workers dare not of their own volition leave their posts; that they may be compelled to transfer from less important branches of industry to more important industries and enterprises, located in other regions; that an individual who gives up his position without authorization, forfeits his right to work for several months. In Soviet Russia, this latter punishment is bound up with forfeiting the right to a bread card, which entitles him to food rations.

If the giant factories now in progress of construction are ever completed, they will have a very small market. A great industry requires, first of all, large domestic consumption. The peasants, however, and the workers, who are being deprived of their last mouthfuls, in order to complete the Five-Year Plan, to maintain a large army and an enormous bureaucracy, will not be in a position to purchase the goods produced by Soviet industries.

What good will it do to have built plans capable of producing hundreds of thousands of automobiles annually if there will be none to purchase this output? When the Five-Year Plan is completed, a real and terrible unemployment situation will arise in Soviet Russia. No sooner will these plants be built than many of them will be compelled to cease operations, for they will have no internal market. If in the third year of the Five-Year Plan the peasants are now so ruined that they require the aid of the government, it stands to reason that their position will grow progressively worse in the succeeding two years.

Capitalism, it is true, has not solved the problem of unemployment. Still less, however, has Russian Bolshevism contributed to its solution.

A Dissenting View on Jobless Insurance

By Joseph W. Sharts
Ohio Member of the National
Executive Committee

Socialist National Convention Urged to Reconsider the Problem; The Adequacy of Our Political System

TWO problems seem to me to call for special consideration at the coming national convention of the Socialist party:

1. The unfitness of the present American political system as a vehicle for political action.

2. The lack of a constructive position by the Socialist party on unemployment relief.

Under our complicated American scheme of government all popular victories at the polls, so far as regards practical results, end in futility. Elections can get the working class practically nowhere. We have 48 sets of state government and a super-government perched on top. Each of the 49 has some powers of national sovereignty but lacks others. These 49 half-governments were all formed on a now exploded theory that "liberty" depends on splitting up and isolating the legislative, executive and judicial departments.

So now each branch of government in each of the 49 varieties can block the other branches. Nothing can be accomplished without the consent of all. It is a bewildering labyrinth of "checks and balances." A conservative minority in one department—or even one part of one department—can paralyze all political action. It is organized political paralysis.

Political parties, after years of triumphs at the polls, are unable to carry out campaign pledges. Any measure which encounters real opposition is certain to be lost somewhere along the labyrinth. Nineteenth of American history is a record of political deadlock; it is a record of abortive efforts by one or other of the major political parties after victory at the polls, to reach political action. As those parties are both conservative, not seeking to get anywhere in particular except into office and to

maintain the status quo, this plan of government by deadlock suits them. But we would capture office under a different mandate, with a different obligation. We would have to make good and soon.

Shall the working class, if it finally throws its support to independent political action, find itself condemned to the Sisyphean task of repeatedly rolling its stone of legislation uphill, only to see the stone roll back again, until strength and hope vanish? That is the present political system. No wonder millions of Americans are growing anti-political minded, disgusted with "politics" and "politicians." The only "political action" they have ever known is this mockery, which is not political action at all but a mirage. What will be our fate as a political party if in a desperate social crisis—such as may be just ahead—with private enterprise crumbling on every side and unemployed millions hungry, we should be pushed into political office? Our will to achieve real results would be defeated at every turn by "checks and balances." The people's disillusionment would be visited upon us.

Our first objective must be to achieve a governmental apparatus capable of registering the will of the people in prompt political action. I am for placing at the head of our program a demand for a constitutional convention as in 1787 to eliminate "checks and balances" and substitute a fusion of legislative, executive and judicial powers. Who does not admire the efficient prompt way in which, by a three weeks' campaign, the entire administration of Great Britain was recently submitted to the British electorate, and a new government substituted to meet what was declared to be a crisis! That

coordinated system, copied by France, Germany and other modern republics, centers power upon the popular branch of the legislature, which in turn selects the executive and must constantly approve the acts of the administration or submit at once to the verdict of the people. Responsibility for failure to accomplish political action is fixed, and promptly punished. That is something like real democratic and representative government. Ours is neither.

Once a coordinated political vehicle is established in the United States, the day of political action will dawn. Political parties will have to make good. The Socialist party will then grow rapidly into power, as in Europe, by the law of survival of the fittest, or disappear from the political stage. Our first essential, then, is a constitutional convention.

Our second plank should be a constructive program of unemployment relief based on Socialist principles. We must quit pretending to be a radical or revolutionary movement or more than a middle-class reformist movement, if all we contribute to the present unemployment crisis is approval of unemployment insurance and bonds for extension of "public works."

Unemployment insurance is a middle-class expedient which even the A. F. of L. repudiates. It has sincere and vigorous advocates among "progressive" Republicans and Democrats. Mr. Wiggin of the Chase National Bank urges it. It was introduced in Great Britain by the Conservative party in 1911. Is that the best we can do—imitate the British Conservatives of twenty years ago?

Nor is there anything Socialist in advocating extensive "public works" to employ persons at ex-

ploited wage-labor in building roads, bridges and other forms of non-competitive activity that will not encroach on private enterprise and will increase the future velocity of the exploitation system. Republican and Democratic politicians are shouting loudly for that sort of "relief." So are public contractors and material men.

Such plans are emanations of the psychosis of capitalism. They presuppose there is no escape from unemployment except in creating jobs of exploited wage-labor. They assume the present depression will pass and the present system of private enterprise continue indefinitely. They are crutches to sustain the tottering steps of capitalism, props for the wage system.

As for unemployment insurance, it ignores the "iron law of wages." During the pseudo prosperity which collapsed in October, 1929, it was fashionable to talk lightly of the "iron law of wages" as though it had been disproved by events. We forgot that neither Lasalle nor other exponents of this economic law claimed it did not allow of considerable periods, during rapid expansion of markets, when large sections of the working class, and in fact almost whole nations, peculiarly favored economically, might attain higher standards of living. Fewer champions will come forward now to attack the iron law. This economic law puts the brand of final failure, in advance, upon all such reformist schemes as unemployment insurance for ameliorating the condition of the working class as a whole under capitalism.

The Socialist party should adopt a constructive plan, not an adjustment of the wage system of exploitation, but independent of that limitation and capable of surviving

a collapse of the wage system. Let us again inscribe on our banners the old revolutionary slogan: "Abolition of the Wage System!" It is the only true path of escape from unemployment.

Let us insist that the city and state guarantee work and that this work be unexploited. It would have the unemployed taught to see that any plan which keeps them in enforced idleness waiting for the shops of their exploiters to open for them again, is a snare. I would have them taught to demand work, I would force the municipality and state to organize them for producing and exchanging among themselves the necessities and comforts of life in self-help associations. To see insurmountable difficulties in the way of such mutual aid exchanges is ridiculous in view of the fact that our grandparents practiced all domestic arts necessary to produce their own food, clothing and shelter, and did it with tools far more primitive than would now be available.

Such a program would be in line with Socialist principles. It would be in line also with the healthy instinct of the working class that demand "work" and not a supported idleness. Above all, it seems to be demanded by the situation. For already municipalities are breaking under the burden of supporting in idleness millions of unemployed; they are shouting to state and national governments for help; all organized private charity agencies are in despair. As for unemployment insurance, we have the promising results in Great Britain and Europe as a warning before our eyes—huge and growing deficits, budgets that cannot be balanced, and an ever increasing load of idle people to carry. Let us be warned by their example and demand mutual aid exchanges—not as a substitute for unemployment insurance but as a more substantial and sure relief for the unem-

From Our Mailbag

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

Marxism and a Program— "Left" Groups — For More "Yipsel" News

MARXISM AND PRAGMATISM

By Allan Flexer

Regarding Marxism, I observe a great deal of straight thinking and prognostication but little action. David Berenberg takes a disparaging attitude of the party's so-called opportunistic tactics but if he has a better program I am sure we would all like to hear it. He says that the Socialist Party should be predicated on Marxian fundamentals and I agree with him. But from a pragmatic point he offers us the class struggle, surplus value, etc., as a program with which to win the proletariat. I maintain that this is entirely inadequate for a political party. Again, on the subject of Soviet Russia the Marxists of whom one would expect at least an attitude of decided sympathies for the proletarian aims of the Russian experiment we found a marked antipathy. Some observers say that it is no more an experiment but an enduring fact—but this aside.

At least here we have a country without unemployment, an attempt at a working class culture, a negation of the profit motive; the only place in the entire world where there is a positive, constructive philosophy behind the theory of government. We have but to hold Russia up as an example for purposes of comparison with the countries of capitalism with its attendant evils and its sliding into the mire—more and more, to realize the meaning of the Soviet experiment for us.

I ask how far is Marxian opposition going to take us. Because Comrade Berenberg does not see Russia as a Marxian experiment he anathematizes it. But in spite of Berenberg's reading of Marx it is a successful proletarian experiment whether you deride it by labelling it Leninism or opportunism.

I think if we believe in Socialism at all we ought to hail Soviet Russia. It stands as the only spot of hope, vision and an affirmative philosophy of a new day in contradistinction to the rest of the so-called civilized world of despair, war, unemployment, insecurity, corruption, the bankruptcy of ideals and the frustration of hope. From a humanitarian point of view

we can do nothing else but hail Russia, be we Marxists or otherwise.

Although I observe a lack of any concerted program on the part of the militants I welcome the spirit behind their criticism. There is certainly room for an appraisal of the dangers of merely pragmatic action without a clear orientation and fundamental valuation of Socialist principles and well grounded and thoughtful philosophy. A great many of our socialists have not an historic understanding and mission of the working class. As a result the average voter can hardly distinguish them from a liberal and consequently sees no great distinction between a so-called liberal and a socialist. On this I am inclined to agree with Berenberg but he is so long on talk and so short on action. I notice further that Comrades Lee, Oneal and Hillquit do not see eye to eye with Thomas on municipal action and yet on the international field they are prone to agree with the very same tactics of our foreign comrades. I am merely giving this as an observation. Further, that Maxton of the I. L. P. seems to be the outstanding Labor member who has a program and the ability to lead the Labor opposition in the House of Commons although he was elected without the help of the Labor Party.

Time and again we allow the active communists in this country to steal our thunder. In a time like this when the situation calls for every conceivable form of action on our part to arouse the masses and officials to a realization of the urgency and gravity of the industrial plight we content ourselves in the main, as a party, with nostrums and discussions.

I would suggest that in view of the nearness of the National Socialist Convention we concentrate more on graphic demonstrations such as parades, etc., than on talk, so that when the convention does come we will have stirred up a considerable interest among the people in our platform and candidates to withstand the onslaughts of the old line parties against us with their attempts at a last minute psychological stampede of the masses into their ranks.

I observe that such excellent com-

rades as Charles Solomon and others in spite of their abilities as speakers and debaters are not well acquainted with the significance of certain momentous world events and issues of the day. I would in all humility recommend that they give more heed to the relevancy of the criticisms of such periodicals as the British New Leader and some of the new books on Russia.

In conclusion I wish to say that I have presented these observations not in a spirit of partisanship but in a spirit desirous of having the Socialist Party take advantage and make the most of its opportunities; a heightened consciousness of the dangers and opportunities facing us.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

LEFT WING GROUPS

By Samuel Toimach

It may be somewhat bold of me to take up the cudgels against so eminent a person in the movement as Morris Hillquit, yet, in his letter in rejoinder to Murray Baron he shows some arguments which are to me slightly g-a-g-a. It may be rather presumptuous of me, a mere Yipsel, to criticize the dicta of a man who has graced the party with "forty years of service" as Comrade Solomon was once good enough to inform me, but even fools may teach the wise.

When Comrade Hillquit exalts the right wing Socialist and Labor parties at the expense of the left wing groups, he makes a very serious error. He characterizes the British Independent Labor Party and the Polish Bund as an "insignificant opposition." This statement is really surprising. Is Comrade Hillquit aware of the fact that the I. L. P. is the only steady and ideologically sane (from the Socialist viewpoint) part of the British Labor Party; that, whereas the Labor Party has put Socialism into its manifestoes, it does its best to discard the Socialist program once it is in office (else why did it not heed the miners' request to nationalize the mines?) The I. L. P. has steadily advocated Socialism and has always opposed any deviation from the Socialist program that the Labor Party has indulged in. Does Comrade Hillquit believe that the I. L. P. would have tolerated a

person like J. H. Thomas in its ranks? The I. L. P. was clear-sighted enough to detect MacDonald's deviation at least a year before he besmirched the name of the Socialist parties of the world.

The same night he said of all the other "insignificant" left groups. If Comrade Hillquit will recall, the disarmament resolution was advocated almost solely by the left-wing groups—even our right-wing delegates taking the liberty of trying to wreck the decision of the party members here in the United States by attempting to smother the resolution—as Comrade Hillquit himself will testify. It is the new left-wing Socialist party of Germany (the Workers' Socialist Party) which has made the Social-Democratic party realize the futility of its "toleration" policy.

Which of the Socialist parties have done most for the Socialist programs? In Vienna, a very left-wing Socialist party has done some glorious work. In Spain an extremely left-wing party (and I can quote sources) has done work that has made us sit up and take notice, despite the meager space that the New Leader gives it. In Germany, a Social-Democratic (right wing) party has caused a situation where disillusioned workers are steadily leaving it; toleration—of what? In Great Britain a Labor Party, not heeding its left minority, has helped to retard the progress of Socialism by giving the bourgeois parties some "leaders" and much campaign talk—as the campaigns in Reading, Pa., and Australia show.

Comrade Hillquit also tries to rouse the Red Bogy by characterizing certain action as "Communist." Granting with perfect ease that this group contains the greatest number of rampant madmen per square foot, still we might learn some things from them. There might be some method in their madness.

In conclusion, I don't want this to be treated as an "attack." Valuing party unity above all things, I don't like to see Comrade Hillquit vent his spleen on a group which has been plaguing him of late because of a very, very lamented affair.

Has Comrade Hillquit already for-

gotten that in 1920 (or was it 1919?) the Socialist Party of the United States, declared in a resolution of the convention of that year against rejoining the German Social-Democratic Party in the same Internationale, because of the stand that party had taken toward the war—of which defection the American Socialist Party (thank Heaven!) had no taint, as also the "insignificant" I. L. P. of Great Britain, in the days before the death of Ramsay MacDonald. Comrade Hillquit, whose mental lapses are very, very rare, may also remember that in 1919 the American Socialist Party applied for membership in the Third Internationale, although rightly I believe, it would not acquiesce to the almost impossible demands of that body. Finally, does Comrade Hillquit recall the reason for the formation of the "second and a half" or Vienna, Internationale? He should, having been one of my teachers.

MORE YIPSEL NEWS

By Howard J. Kahn
In the past and at present the Y. P. S. L. have done their utmost to advance the cause of Socialism. Not a few of our members, candidates for public office, waged effective campaigns. Funds and clothing have been collected for striking miners and textile workers. Some of our speakers have aided trade unions such as the Hebrew Butchers workers and the bakers in strikes. In Harlem, the Y. P. S. L. with no or little co-operation from the party held street meetings twice a week and distributed 5,000 pieces of literature.

Despite the importance of such work very little space and effort are devoted to the youth movement of the Socialist Party by the New Leader. I believe an entire page should be devoted to the Y. P. S. L. Under the present policy very little space is devoted to the Y. P. S. L. and some times it is omitted entirely.

Why can't we have stories, articles, activities in different cities, lessons in Socialism, etc., for and by members of the Young People's Socialist League. Remember, many of the leaders and organizers in the movement come from the Y. P. S. L.

Those Congressional Blues

THE Costigan-LaFollette bill calling for direct relief for the unemployed to be paid out of the Federal Treasury, is of course, a liberal version of what Socialists have been demanding ever since the big breadlines started. It's better than nothing and if something of the sort isn't done mighty soon, the workers may turn to a new war for relief from the ugly business of going to pieces in body, mind and spirit. We must get together in numbers as we got together in New York last week, when those splendid demonstrations against war were so effectively made, and once more voice our insistence that before there is any more starvation, the government gets into action with direct relief.

It was expected by all the Washington correspondents that the Costigan-LaFollette bill would be speedily slain. A powerful opposition taking its cue from President Hoover was yawping to high heaven about the dole and how a "dangerous precedent" would be established if a great government gave men, women and children enough to keep alive. Then something unexpected happened. Somewhere, somehow, a tremendous sentiment developed in favor of the bill. It came by mail and telegram and in the shape of resolutions from all sorts of bodies, as was divulged in the course of the debates on the bill. The opposition made one bad break when they announced that there was really no need for the sort of relief contemplated in the bill, that "the emergency was greatly exaggerated" and that local funds could take care of all those who were "temporarily" out of luck. But a number of stubborn folks out in the sticks couldn't get it through their heads why the government could fish up the jack to subsidize insurance companies, railroads and banks and not find enough to give starving people bread and coffee. So they sat down and spit on their pencils and the mail to Washington must have been pretty hot, for the Fat Boys, we hear are suffering from jitters more than ever.

That's why we tie up demonstrations against war and unemployment, for as sure as shooting if the Shanghai business gets worse it will be no more trouble to whistle up an army from the despairing workless than to spear fish in a barrel.

What Do You Mean, Neglect?

For my part, I am growing a bit wearied over the criticism so frequently levelled against the Socialists, criticism having its inspiration in Communist sources, that we are doing so little about unemployment. It begins to seem to me as though I, together with every other Socialist speaker I know, have been talking about unemployment and making such definite proposals for its ending as we could, since we first went on the platforms.

As long ago as 1916, Meyer London introduced into Congress a resolution for a system of national unemployment insurance. The subject was constantly on the lips and in the heart of Eugene Victor Debs. The first social insurance bill aimed at the softening of the cruel blows of unemployment in New York State was introduced by Louis Waldman, when he was in the Assembly. The Socialism under which I was brought up always stressed the fact that unemployment was part and parcel of the cruelties of the competitive system and that a certain amount of it was necessary to maintain an exploited capitalist "labor market." So while we are glad to see that progressives and liberals are recognizing these self-evident facts, it is a bit of a headache to hear at this date that we are ignoring unemployment. Of course, this will be at the spearhead of our attack on the capitalists in this coming Presidential campaign, just as it has been in every campaign since 1929.

To switch the subject, we rise to congratulate the Cooperative League of the United States in securing the competent services of Oscar W. Cooley of New York City, as successor to the late Cedric Long, whose death last Autumn was a genuine tragedy. Mr. Cooley in his acceptance of job as the league's secretary shows that he understands the real economic bases of the Cooperative movement.

We wish Mr. Cooley all the luck in the world on his new job. He comes to the cooperative movement at a crucial time in its history. Like the trade unionists, cooperators must realize that as Ameringer has said: "We are all in the same boat, and that boat is sinking; so that there is nothing left, but all hands to the pumps, so that all may reach the shore."

Rockefeller Not Depressed

We can work up but the mildest interest in what John D. Rockefeller does or says. But we did flicker an eyelid when we read that he now believes that "prosperity" is coming right back bang, and that as he gave out this statement, he looked happily across the sunlit landscape and sang a hymn. We suppose the hymn was "Oily in the Morning" or "Depression's Big Horses, They Can't Run Over Me." Anyhow isn't it nice to think that the dear old man, at his age and all, can feel so happy about the state of the nation? Somehow we have the hunch that we too could sing hymns and beam approvingly upon the landscape if we had but one one-hundredth million of Mr. Rockefeller's income. But then there are compensations. We may look funny in knickers, but never could we look exactly like John D. on the golf course and in spite of what the capitalist system has done to us we still have some hair left and can manage to eat our three squares a day—that is when we can get them. McAllister Coleman.



Drawn by Novak.

REWARD FOR SERVICE. Boss: "To show what we think of your faithfulness in serving the company without complaint for 30 years and not complaining about that wage cut, we have decided to give you the extra responsibilities of shipping clerk and night watchman in addition to your present duties."

Chasing the Blues

Sex as a Sedative for Unrest Offered Hungry Jobless

By Joseph T. Shipley

WORRY is the mental state for most of us, these days. The job either gone or likely to go—and if we hold it, wages cut till we bleed. The winter is settling down for its chilling stay, with conditions in general showing no signs of improvement, with strikes and lock-outs large and small, with families hungry, men growing desperate.

What can come into a man's mind instead of his hunger? What can make the stomach muscles stop contracting? What, in repeated doses, can warm him against cold, and exposure, starvation's chill, and the crusting snow of revolutionary propaganda? What more than—sex!

Down to the workers, then, come the lures of sex. The sophisticated has always had his satisfactions. Statistics of kept women we cannot gather; but the various "Follies" and "Vanities" and "Scandals" have always shed their beams; the deft "New Yorker" magazine and its like seldom fail in their suggestiveness. This has to be brought down to a less literate level. The figures of current prostitution would probably reveal the trend; but the increased number of burlesque shows in the past year points how some of the unfortunate are trying to forget their burdens. If we may understand art as "the quickest way out of the Bronx," we must recognize that the burlesque show is the highest form of art some of our citizens are capable of enjoying, that they find in it good fun, and temporary release and forgetfulness. The tabloid in sex appears now, too; and "Broadway Brevities" approaches sixty thousand circulation, shouting louder (and louder) than Walter Winchell. Not to speak of the many "Art" publications of semi-nudity, of the "Snappy" series that put "Paris" or "French" in their titles, or of the imitations—"Hooley," "Hullabaloo," "Tickle Me Too," "Aw Nerts" (all of which have actually appeared on our newsstands): the pride of them all, the bouncing "Ballyhoo," leers at some two million readers. In all

these magazines the reader follows the motto: Look for my point, it's naughty! And usually he doesn't have to look far!

Reputable publishers are issuing books, like "The Sex Factor in Marriage," for readers a bit more educated, which give suggestive instructions in case either partner is not readily roused to amatory pitch. (While this widened appeal the sellers of sex are making extends their reach to other groups—such as children of high school age—it is not my present purpose to examine these incidental effects. I am concerned now with the fact that sex is one hunger which, when roused, may for a time counterbalance belly hunger; that sex may for a time take a man's mind off his troubles, may give him a brief joy and sense of well-being, may turn his attention from too serious thought about what he ought to do in these times when the lesson is as plain as the nose on Hoover's face—may keep him from studying Hoover's face.

Why has the censor grown lax? Have the supporters of our Vice Suppression Societies lost all their money; are they thrown from their jobs in factory and mine, so that they can no longer pay Mr. Sumner to keep the rest of us pure? Alas for our evil days! (But who said Mr. Sumner's supporters were the workers? The workers' morals are usually unaffected, natural; it's rather the ones with filthy minds of their own that pay to keep other folks' clean. They are heavy with their original sin.)

Let us assume, then, that the fairly wealthy, who have kept Mr. Sumner as their purity watch-dog, are still giving him a biscuit or two. Shall we also assume that there is a general feeling, a sort of unspoken, unadmitted but pretty clear sense, that it's just as well to let sex become important now, to have it get the mind excited and the body warm, to help keep unemployment from rising too prominently into the workers' consciousness, to set him alone with his fancies instead of organized with his fellows—in short, is sex being accepted as another weapon to keep the worker uncomplaining in his place?

The Chatterbox

HERB HOOVER and his flute make a merry sight these days, trying to entice some eighteen hundred million dollars out of vaults, stockings and tin boxes. The Burgomasters of Wall street have great need of this non-interest bearing money. Did you ever hear of such a thing? It is just nasty heresy, and lowdown stupidity, to allow so much dough to lie around without yeasting itself with interest, rent and profit.

It is a pretty tune they're playing. "Get this money into industry, into banks, into stocks and bonds, and help end the depression. Idle money is unpatriotic money . . . Toodle, dee, toodle, dee too . . ." What a song to lure sacred ducats back to a crazy banking system!

Matter of fact, a good deal of this hoarded money is rich man's fat, kept in preserve jars against the lean years. Most of it represents the unholy profits out of the 1929 slaughter of the innocents. Billions were lost by the public, and billions were made and hidden away to escape income tax and sundry other charges. It comes out of hiding every now and then, when some tax exempt issue of government or state bonds is offered. "Tax exempt . . ." That's the "open sesame" to the wealth vaults of Ali Baba Capital and his forty thousand thieves . . . Say these magic words, Herb, instead of "toodle dee too," and you need no song or fife or wizardry of any kind to get the money rats scurrying forth into the light.

There Was a Piper

Once a lot of poor people had some of this money. Savings banks had it in small amounts. Thirty million separate savings accounts. None of that phoney stuff we have now, where one big plute has a hundred or five hundred bank books of five to ten thousand dollars each in savings banks all over the land.

These accounts I speak of averaged from two hundred to five hundred dollars each, and were pieced together by weekly mites from bitterly earned wages. Somebody (was it Cal the Colossal or Schwab the Celestial Seer) started whistling "You Can't Sell America Short . . .?"

It wasn't long before the shop, the office and the poor church mice (including several bishops who weren't so poor) started the fatal march down to the River of Lost Doubloons.

Quite a number of lazy, big fat fellows went along to the golden promise of earthly paradise and ease that seemed to linger in that song . . . Well, why rub a fresh sore . . .?

A slogan like "Idle money is unpatriotic" could move these people into action. Alas, they heard nothing these days, but hopelessness, fear and poverty.

Somehow or other, the Wall street fellows hit it right when they say "Money shouldn't belong to poor people . . ." And they have fixed the machinery so that that it never sticks for long with most of us.

The way they unloaded their watered and frozen securities on the people during the Coolidge-Hoover Boom while they just walked away with bank balances and savings of thirty million folks is a lesson in wholesale public relief . . . The way in which they bought it all back for twenty cents on the dollar makes commonplace out of the miraculous "Abracadabra, hocus pocus, presto changeo, you had it once, we've got it now . . ." Just as easy as that.

There Is a Way to Get It Back

This hidden money that greedy profiters and stock jobbers have hidden away in fear that the government may tax a great part of it away could be unearthed and placed into circulation. A Socialist Senate and Congress would abolish the old forms of currency and issue a new one. It would be used merely in the exchange of necessities for socially useful labor and service performed and by the performers only.

If this hideous depression keeps up, we will be forced off the gold standard in concert with those nations who have already abandoned it, and those who have hoarded gold will become bewildered and disgorge the yellow stuff. And as the crazy card house tumbles down, the printing presses will get busy and print dollars as fast as Europe printed roubles, marks and kronen right after the Armistice . . . And then the hidden packs of green and yellow backs will go begging by the bale. That's one way of having the trick done without Socialism . . . There will be a terrible amount of confusion while this goes on. And general suffering to an extreme.

If we turned money back into its ordained ways of merely being a practical method of exchanging material for labor, or goods for other products, stripping it of all its present day magic to produce of itself, profit, rent and interest, much of this greed and fear and miserdom would disappear from human conduct . . . And Herb Hoover the Pled Piper of Washington would have no need of tootling so foolishly for hoarded billions that refuse to be fooled into the light of day . . .

And if only to give a sense of dignity to the Presidency of this land, Socialism would be definitely worthwhile.

S. A. De Witt

THE CRITICISM AND PROMISE OF THE

By Charles Solomon

IN the Declaration of Independence it is written that among our inalienable rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people, it is their duty, to alter or to abolish it, and to constitute new government to effectuate these ends.

Now, of course, there can be no life without the means of life—food, shelter, clothing—and there can be no food, shelter, clothing, for the overwhelming mass of the people, without wages; and there are no wages without jobs. In the main, and increasingly, jobs are identified with the large scale means of production and distribution, which are in turn the property of a decreasing few—the capitalist class. And since this class owns the jobs upon which depend the wages without which there can be no means of life for the increasing many, it follows that in a very real sense this owning class dominates the lives of ever larger numbers of Americans. Something, by the way, which the framers of the Declaration of Independence probably never anticipated.

Today's Ruling Class

Today, as in all past history, this class which owns the basic means of life, is economically and politically dominant—a ruling class. Its mastery rests upon the same foundation as that upon which the dominance of ruling classes has always been predicated—ownership of the economic foundations of society.

Ultimately, Socialism stands for the socialization of these; for the social ownership and democratic control of the socially necessary means of life; for planned production for use in the interest of all instead of anarchic, competitive production for private profit.

To accomplish this end, the Socialist movement throughout the world is organized politically and economically and since the class most directly affected by the situation I have been describing—capitalism—is the working class, the Socialists seek first to organize the workers along the lines I have indicated and for the ends I have stated. But while the Socialist movement is essentially a movement of the workers of hand and brain, it is not exclusively that and there are in its ranks non-proletarian elements who, because of moral, ethical, or for intellectual reasons, cooperate with the workers in achieving the Socialist goal.

The Socialists believe in democ-

racy and they utilize the agencies afforded by our democratic institutions to realize their objective. This does not mean that Socialists regard contemporary democratic institutions as the last word as far as avenues for the accomplishment of social change and the administration of social relations are concerned.

The Socialists are evolutionists. They regard society as an evolving organism and when they speak of a Socialist society they have in mind a stage in social evolution, made necessary by the development of the productive forces.

Since the history of society is the history of class struggles, of the social conquest of one class by another—witness in the modern period the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, the business class—the Socialists look primarily to the workers to accomplish the change from capitalism to Socialism. However, the ascendancy of the working class will result in abolishing all class divisions and antagonisms by eliminating the soil in which these are rooted—private ownership of the social means of life. The Socialist society will be a classless society.

The Inevitable Unemployment

Capitalism produces certain characteristic manifestations and among these is the modern phenomenon of unemployment. There are in New York City tonight close to one million unemployed; and estimates as to the number in the nation run as high as ten millions. These jobless men and women, of whom hundreds of thousands in our own city are in acute distress, include increasingly and as never before, a class that was comparatively immune from the effects of previous crisis—the so-called white-collar workers: clerks, engineers, teachers, architects, artists, doctors, lawyers, displaced small business men. I have among my papers an appeal recently sent out by the Brooklyn Bar Association through its committee appointed to relieve distress among lawyers, in which it is stated that many of them "are very anxious to get an opportunity of some sort to earn money rather than to borrow it or accept donations" and that "some of the younger men will accept any sort of employment . . ." This is illustrative.

Even in so-called normal times about 7 per cent of our wage earners are unemployed—a total of more than two million. The effect of technological changes on the problem is reflected in the statement in "Recent Economic Changes" that a minimum of 650,000 more workers were unemployed because of technological and other changes in 1927 than in 1920. The last annual report of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor points out that

The Clashing Philosophies of Socialism, Capitalism, and Liberalism Had Their Innings Recently When Prominent Representatives of All These Viewpoints gathered at the Round Table Conference of the Better Citizenship Association, Inc., at the Hotel Biltmore, in New York City.

The Radio Carried the Addresses of the Speakers to a Far-Flung Audience. Charles Solomon Spoke for Socialism; George W. Wickersham and Rudolph Spreckles for the Opposing Viewpoints. Here is the Address for Socialism Delivered by Mr. Solomon.

in 1927 there were 85,523 less manufacturing establishments in the United States than in 1919 with 639,000 less wage earners employed in them. This statement is significant not only for its testimony as to the net increase in industrial unemployment but for the light it sheds on the elimination of the middle-class and the concentration of ownership and control of our economic resources.

The Farm Revolution

Technological changes are not confined to manufacture. In the October, 1931, Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, we read of the astonishing progress of technological displacement in farming—the citadel and backbone of American individualism. There we are informed:

"It is likely that within the next few years practically all wheat produced in this country will be grown . . . on large farms, with big hook-ups of the most modern machinery, a maximum of mechanical power and a minimum of man labor."

From the same source, we learn that a machine has been invented which promises to largely eliminate the Negro cotton picker from the Southland since it will enable one man to do in less than three hours the work that used to require 77. These are just two striking illustrations of the technological invasion of agriculture.

Stuart Chase tells us that in the automobile industry 30 workers were doing in 1925 as much as 100 in 1914, and that at the present rate of mechanization 30 out of every 70 workers will lose their jobs in the next 35 years. Decreasing employment opportunities on the one hand. Increasing numbers of propertyless and dependent wage earners on the other.

Are breadlines, relief drives, emergency employment, the answer to this problem? These millions are out of work and starving, or facing starvation, not because they will not work—thank heaven that is one illusion the current crisis has liquidated—not because there isn't enough; but in spite of the fact that they are ready, able and willing to work, literally beg for jobs; in spite of the fact that there is actual or potential abundance. These millions are jobless and desperate in the richest nation in all history because they cannot be em-

ployed at a profit; and the factory doors will remain closed, the consequences to society and these millions notwithstanding, until profit making opportunities present themselves. In the meantime, let the jobless millions beg, borrow, steal or starve.

Needless Hunger

In past ages, people hungered because of scarcity. There wasn't enough. We can understand that. Want naturally follows scarcity. But who can give an intelligent reason for want in the midst of abundance? Who will deny it is inexcusable? Proof conclusive of miserable mismanagement of our unprecedented resources? The harder we work, the sooner we bring upon ourselves joblessness and all its dire consequences; the more we produce the sooner and the longer we are likely to be in desperate need. That's capitalism. A system that breaks down in recurrent depressions. That presents for the first time in history the spectacle of extreme and widespread suffering in the midst of unparalleled plenty. Want because there is too much. Need because there is superabundance. Capitalism has made of our planet the lunatic asylum of the universe.

America is no longer the land of individualism, rugged or otherwise. Reconcile "rugged individualism," if you can, with the two billion dollar Finance Reconstruction Corporation. With the doctrine that the government should keep its hands off business. With the clamour against the dole. Is not this latest enterprise a wholesale dole, as it were, primarily for the business classes of the country? But, there must be no direct federal relief for the millions of desperate unemployed.

We have grown since 1789 from a population of 3 millions, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, of whom more than 90 per cent were independent tillers of the soil, to 120 millions spread over a mighty continent, depending for a livelihood primarily and increasingly on manufacture.

In the beginning, we were a nation of small farmers. Industry was conducted with simple handcraft tools in homes scattered throughout the land. When the Constitution was adopted there wasn't a railroad or a steamship

in the country. About four per cent of the people were employed in manufacture. When Jefferson died, the Industrial Revolution, which changed all this, was just beginning to make itself felt in the United States.

Modern America

This America has passed into the limbo of history. To speak its language and think its thought today with respect to our problem is like using tallow candles and stage coaches in an age of electricity and aeroplanes.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, President of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and author of "Concentration in American Industry," tells us:

One corporate system controls three fourths of the nation's telephones.

One corporation does about three fourths of the nation's telegraph business.

One corporation owns more than one half the iron resources of the country.

One corporation controls over 90 per cent of the nickel resources of the world.

One corporation controls over nine tenths of the nation's beautiful raw material used in the production of domestic aluminum.

Four great concerns control the major part of the country's copper.

Eight concerns, closely allied with the railroads, own about 80 per cent of our anthracite coal.

In 1930, two automobile manufacturing units turned out 74 per cent of the motor vehicles produced in the United States.

Two corporations handle over 50 per cent of meat entering interstate commerce.

In the field of food supplies we have such giant organizations as General Foods, National Dairy Products, Standard Brands; in the food retailing field, one corporation, in its more than 16,000 stores, has an annual turnover of over a billion dollars.

This centralization of ownership and control has been furthered through interlocking directorates. Albert H. Wiggins, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chase National Bank, is or was a member of nearly a half hundred public utility, manufacturing and financial concerns; Samuel Insull, in 1930, was serving on over 80 boards; Richard B. Mellon, brother of the secretary of the Treasury, on nearly 50; William W. Mellon, on 38; P. A. Rockefeller on 68; and so on.

Good-bye to Individualism

In the banking field, recently, one per cent of the banks of the country held resources almost equal to the other 99. Mergers have been particularly noteworthy, and are especially significant, in this field. Toward the close of last year, the Merger of National City and Bank of America gave us an institution with resources of over \$2,300,000,000.

And yet, in the face of these facts, people in high places will persist in talking of "rugged individualism," in employing the language and conceptions of 18th century America. Particularly is this true in the field of politics where there no longer remain any substantial distinctions between the major parties. They are like two peas in a pod; two bottles with the same contents but with different labels. The contest between them is almost altogether a race for place.

There is still another indictment I must bring against Capitalism—its responsibility for modern wars. The basic cause of war today is



Forward Photo.

NO MORE WAR." A section of the throng at one of two big Socialist peace demonstrations held in New York City last week-end.

THE MODERN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

of national capitalisms for markets, investment opportunities and sources of raw materials. This was the real cause of the World War. It is the ultimate explanation of what is taking place in the Far East today. Less than a century ago, Japan was a feudal power. Opened to Occidental commerce by American battleships, the Japanese, observing the futility of resistance, took to imitating. They have built up one of the great imperialisms of our time. Since capitalism makes the world over in its own image, Japan today is confronted with all the major problems which ride the great western powers — unemployment, strikes, revolutionary working class organizations, and the necessity for imperialist expansion. All of which brings her into conflict with her imperialist rivals and threatens the peace of the world.

In the century between 1815 and 1914, the period of greatest capitalist development, we had thirteen large scale wars. An average of one every eight years.

The Road Backwards

Each and every one of our major social problems arises out of capitalism—the private ownership by the decreasing few, and the exploitation by them for private profit, of the economic resources without which modern civilized life is impossible. These socially necessary means of life must be socially owned and democratically controlled for the good of all. We cannot go back to yesterday, to the small, primitive and inexpensive handicraft tool, to the almost unlimited free land and the nation of small, independent farmers. We must face the problems of today and plan for tomorrow with an adequate social philosophy and program.

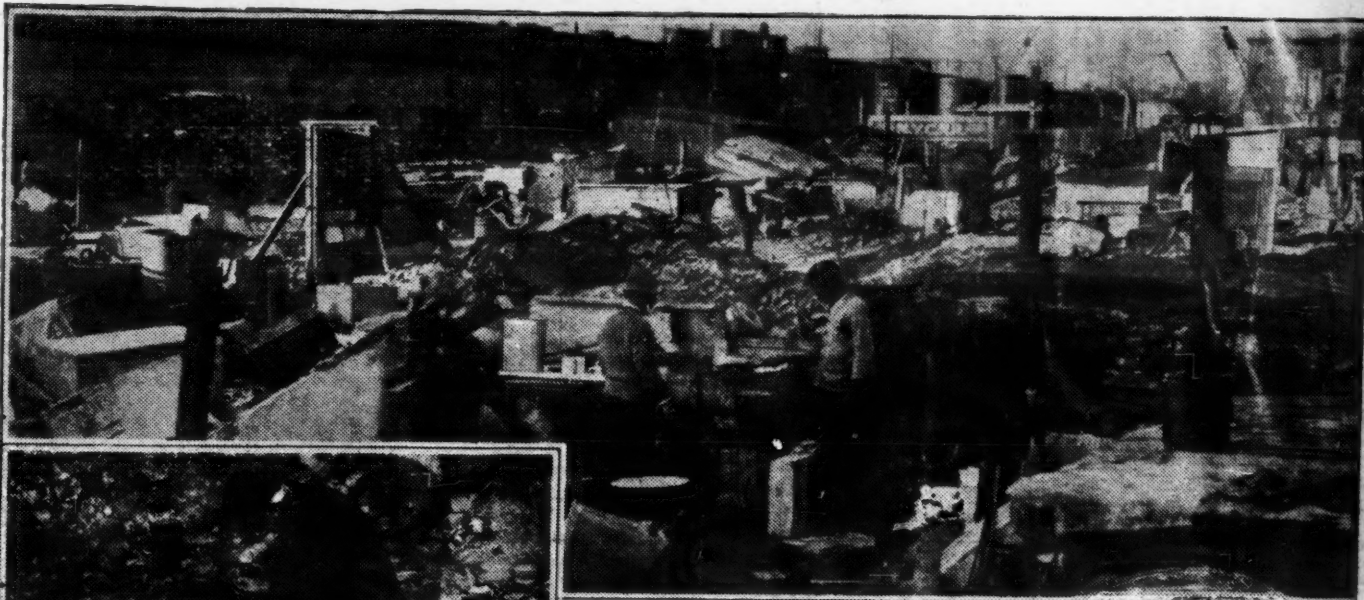
Our social system can and must be changed. It is dangerous to all but the few who own and rule, and even they are not immune. The distress and hunger of millions, the uncertainty and insecurity that hang like a Damoclean sword over the heads of increasing numbers, unemployment, recurrent crises, war and the threat of war—these are the inevitable fruits of capitalism. Our political democracy frequently serves to conceal the fact of an economic autocracy which dominates the lives of increasing numbers. These will never be truly free until industrial democracy is established, until the people are sovereign in the economic sphere, as they are, in theory at least, in the political.

No "Everlasting" System

Barriers have grown up between what a few have and the rest cannot do without. These can be summed up in a single generalization: private capitalist ownership, and exploitation for profit, of the social means of life, be the social consequences what they may.

No social system, no class relationship, is eternal. These have come upon the stage of human affairs, played their respective parts, made their individual contributions, and made way inevitably for their successors. As with its predecessors, capitalism has played its historic part and has become an impediment in the way of progress and human happiness. Bear in mind that by capitalism I mean not the instrumentalities of wealth production and distribution, but a given social relationship with respect to these.

The process of social unfoldment raised up the bourgeoisie, the forerunner of the modern business classes, to clear feudalism out of the way and rear the capitalist order. The same process, and by the same token, has brought forward the modern working class whose historic mission it is to replace capitalism with a social system which all the people will be truly free for the first time in history to use they will own and con-



Forward Photo.

WHILE HOOVER URGES the workers to stop hoarding, penniless and homeless unemployed starve and freeze in packing-box caves. Most every city has its "Hooverville." Here is a view of the city of the "hoarders" set up by jobless workers at West and Canal streets, New York City. To the left is one of its residents, broke, homeless and hopeless—capitalism's perfect product.

ON GUARD FOR PEACE

"No More War" Is Rallying Call Sent Out by Two Socialist Peace Demonstrations

ON GUARD for peace amid the growing danger of a spark in the Far East setting the entire world in a new conflagration of war, New York Socialists held two impressive demonstrations last week.

Saturday at Madison Square Park and Sunday at the Brooklyn Academy of Music more than 5,000 men and women cheered Socialist leaders as they voiced demands for peace. Saturday a parade of more than 1,000 young and veteran Socialists flaunted striking peace banners in the air as they marched from Madison Square to Fifth avenue and 45th street, the center of the city, and finally disbanded with cheers for peace in front of the Army and Navy Club on 44th street and Madison avenue.

The demonstrations and the parade were supplemented by the issuing of a new Socialist anti-war leaflet which was off the press Friday and distributed by the thousands during the week-end. A call from the party to several hundred unions and peace groups for a general anti-war conference was sent out early this week.

At the Eternal Light

Norman Thomas was the principal speaker at the Saturday rally. Speaking from the base of the Eternal Light, a monument erected as a pledge of "lasting peace," Thomas declared that only an alert working class, organized and disciplined, can assure peace. He denounced Japanese imperialism in Japan, but said it was of a piece with the imperialism of other world powers. At all costs, the United States must not be permitted to embroil its workers in another war as the price for pulling the American bankers' chestnuts out of the fire. Thomas bespoke the demands of the Socialist and advanced labor movements for action instead of promises as the result of the current Geneva conference on arms reduction.

Thomas' plea was echoed by others Saturday. Edward Levinson, who presided, presented McAlister Coleman, Mary Hillyer, Paul Harris, Frederick V. Field and August Claessens who made telling points in the argument for peace. The parade which followed was orderly and impressive. It stretched for more than seven blocks behind a band which played

The strains of "The International" and "Solidarity Forever" were heard for the first time by many thousands of shoppers and passers-by who crowded the sidewalks on Madison and Fifth avenues.

2,000 in Brooklyn

Sunday's demonstration brought more than 2,000 to the Academy of Music. Here Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, was the principal speaker. He was preceded by Algernon Lee, who presided, J. B. Matthews, who assailed the activities of unscrupulous jingo newspapers in fomenting war hysteria, Jessie Wallace Hughan, B. C. Vladeck, Chih Meng, who voiced the protests of Chinese against the Japanese invasion, and T. S. Miyakawa, who called on Socialists and other lovers of peace to fight imperialism which is the mother of all wars.

Hillquit told the audience that if war resulted from the present Far Eastern imbroglio it would be

a grim and ghastly joke on the occidental nations, for Japan, he said, is merely applying the lessons taught her by the so-called advanced capitalist nations Japan, he said, was eager to be left alone, but was forced into the stream of Western capitalism by the United States, and learned her lesson too well.

"We are here," he said, "to voice the warning of the Socialist movement to the people and especially the workers of the world that the United States is in imminent danger of being embroiled in the Sino-Japanese situation. And if that war eventuates it will excel in every way the ghastly catastrophe of 1914-1918. The danger is terribly real. Our capitalist class has very important investments in China, and experience has taught us that when capitalists consider their investments in danger they never hesitate to sacrifice the lives of their people to protect them.

Out of the Depression?

"To them a war may even seem to be a measure of relief from the depression from which we are suffering. There are those in the munitions and the allied industries who see a chance to rehabilitate their business by a new war. Such is our insane capitalist system that we cannot produce goods in peaceful industry unless one catastrophe succeeds another.

"A war may be considered by our capitalists as a relief from the evils of unemployment. The Federal Farm Board, for example, suggested to the farmers that all who have more than ten cows kill one out of ten. And there is a greater surplus of workers than there is of cows, a situation that could be remedied by a good, active war. There are plenty of babies who need milk, but their mothers are out of work and cannot buy it. That is why it is suggested that cows be killed. There are many men out of work, and some people see in the prospect of a war a way out.

"Then," continued Hillquit, "we still have our militarist class, which has been suffering from the depression since 1918. They have their slogan all ready. Japan, they say, is our hereditary enemy. Why should that be so, except that capitalist nations always consider their neighbors their enemies?

"But the most serious danger of all is in the fact that the people of a country have no say in making war or keeping peace. A small group has it in its power to create a situation out of which a war cannot help but result. Then we can expect to read the tales of horror, outrages against white men and women and children, and here and there an outrage that will demand vengeance. Then every servant of Christ and of Jehovah in the churches and synagogues will begin to preach the necessity of making war.

"Then every middle-class peace society will pause to take in just one more war!

"While there is yet time," Hillquit declared, "before the minds of the people are poisoned with hate and unreason, while we may yet express our opinions we can

JOBLESS UNIONS IN NEW YORK

BASED on plans of the Emergency Conference on Unemployment, unemployed unions to rally the jobless of New York City are being organized in the Bronx, Manhattan and Queens. Before long it is expected that every district where there is a live Socialist branch will have an Unemployed Union.

In the Bronx a committee of the Amalgamated Cooperative branch has invited the following organizations to participate: the Upper 8th A. D. branch, Workmen's Circle branches, the Women's Club, the Administrative Committee of the Amalgamated Houses and representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Printers, Bakers, Waiters, Pocket Book Workers, Ladies Sweater Workers and other unions whose members live in the district. The committee is working on plans to hold a mass meeting of the unemployed at the De Witt Clinton High School.

Over in Queens the Sunnyside, Astoria and Elmhurst branches of the Socialist Party have organized

Conference for West Queens and are making arrangements for a meeting Feb. 26 in a public school in Woodside, L. I. Circulars will be distributed to workers at the Labor Temple, employment agencies and elsewhere, and homes will be canvassed to make contacts and to notify the jobless of the meeting. Committees will be sent to local labor fraternal organizations and to unions asking them to elect delegates to the conference. The Flushing branch is arranging a meeting in two weeks at Odd Fellows Hall, College Point. Posters announcing the meeting will be displayed and circulars distributed. The fact that the American Hard Rubber Company's factory has shut down and the considerable amount of advertising which will be given to this meeting is expected to attract large numbers of workers. The meeting will be used to organize the Unemployed Union in that section.

The 14th, 15th and 16th A. D. branch, Manhattan, has elected a committee to cooperate with the Emergency Conference on Unemployment in forming a union in

Unemployed Summoned to Fight for Aid

Phila. Jobless Called to Fight Moore Policies

Socialists and Laborites Call Mass Meeting for Feb. 18

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialist Party has issued a call for a mass meeting Thursday, February 18th, at 8 P. M., at the Labor Institute to protest Mayor Moore's attitude on unemployment relief.

The call has been sent to all unions and working class fraternal organizations. A permanent council on Unemployment Relief will be formed. The slogan of "Work or Food" will be raised throughout the entire city.

Speakers at the meeting are to be Emil Rieve, president of the Hsiery Union; David Braginsky, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Dr. Arnold Dresden of Swarthmore College; Rabbi Julian Feibleman and Andrew J. Biemiller of the League for Industrial Democracy. Franz Daniel, organizer of the Socialist Party, will be chairman of the meeting.

In the call, the Socialist Party points to the growing distress and the utter callousness of the city officials. "During 1931, \$7,400,000 was spent in Philadelphia for relief. Four millions came from private subscriptions and \$3,400,000 from city appropriations. This sum was doled out in inadequate \$5 weekly grocery orders. There were two periods of two weeks each when not a single penny of relief was disbursed. This year the city has refused to contribute a single penny for relief. Mayor Moore has publicly announced that no money will be appropriated by the city. He bases this stand on a statement made to the Union League after a 'personal survey' that 'no one is starving in Philadelphia.' Moore maintains there is little need for relief in Philly and is fighting federal relief as well as city appropriations.

Call Moore "Liar"

"The records of the charity organizations show that Moore is an unmitigated liar. In December 1st there were about 250,000 unemployed men and women in the city, and 65,000 families drawing the miserable \$5 a week grocery order doled out by the charity agencies.

"To continue this dole the Committee of Unemployment Relief has only \$5,000,000 available. Mr. Horatio Gates Lloyd admits that this sum will be exhausted by the end of May, and there are many indications that it will have disappeared by the end of April.

"This challenge from Moore and his capitalist supporters must be met by a mighty protest from Philadelphia workers. Workers must demand adequate relief in this crisis or they will not get it.

"Demand relief! Come to the mass meeting on February 18th! Demonstrate against Moore's lies! 'Work or Food' is the cry that must be raised."

L. I. D. Luncheon to Discuss Far Eastern War Danger

The League for Industrial Democracy will hold another luncheon at the Hotel Woodstock, N. Y. C., Saturday, Feb. 1st, at 1 p. m. The subject for discussion will be, "No More War! China-Japan-World Peace." The following will take part: Jennie Lee, former British Labor M.P.; B. C. Vladeck, manager, Jewish Daily Forward, and Harriet Stanton Blatch. McAllister

Yipsels to Debate N.Y.U. on Socialism At Brooklyn Forum

The Socialist party will have the opportunity of witnessing the manner in which the youngsters of the movement carry themselves "under fire" when the debating team of the New York City Young People's Socialist League meets the well-trained team of New York University, Sunday evening, Feb. 14, at 8:30 p. m., in the Brooklyn Academy of Music. The subject is, "Resolved, That Socialism Has More to Offer to Society Than Capitalism."

Next Sunday evening, B. Charney Vladeck and Rabbi Alexander Lyons will debate on religion. The last event on the program of the Brooklyn Socialist Forum will be held Feb. 28, when Morris Hillquit and Matthew Woll will debate the question, "Should American Workers Form a Political Party of Their Own?"

New Home Booms Detroit Socialism

Movement Proud of Headquarters Housing Many Labor Groups

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT.—Michigan Socialists have finished their "six month plan" in five months.

Last fall a few of the more daring of the eighteen members of Local Wayne County, Branch No. 1, announced "a visionary plan" whereby a home for Socialism free from debt would be a fact at the end of six months.

A three-story building at 69 Erskine street, in the heart of downtown Detroit, was leased. Space was rented to a local of the Carpenters Union. A labor college was formed. Other small organization, searching for a home, found it at the Socialist center. Soon comrades were busy with mop, broom, hammer and saw. Book shelves and cupboards were built. Cooking utensils, crockery and chairs were bought, and furniture, fixtures, equipment and books, donated by members and sympathizers, began to arrive.

The progress was almost miraculous. The membership of Branch No. 1 doubled the first month. The second month it more than tripled. Today it stands at well over a hundred and every weekly meeting sees new members admitted. Besides the branch, the building houses the State office, the County Central, a Yipsel group, the Italian Federation, a German study group, the Labor College, and the Carpenters Union. An L. I. D. chapter also holds meetings in the hall. A Socialist library containing over 400 books, magazines, newspapers, etc., has been built up, and the society now owns everything necessary to hold meetings, dinners and dances in their hall.

The actual property which the society has acquired inventories over \$1,000. The improvement in the morale of local Socialists cannot be calculated in dollars but is many times more valuable than the property. The old familiar saying "you can't get people to do anything for nothing," has been buried. A visit to the building any evening discloses a group of energetic volunteers busy at some of the innumerable tasks which an active Socialist movement requires. The feeling of hopelessness

30 Millions Asked to Aid N. Y. Jobless

Emergency Conference Demands Public Hearing Be Held

DECLARING that the City of New York must appropriate another thirty million dollars to be spent at the rate of six million dollars a month in the next five months, the Emergency Conference on Unemployment, representing 250,000 New York City workers organized in trade unions and the Socialist Party, in a letter to Mayor Walker charges that over 100,000 families in distress are receiving no unemployment relief because available unemployment relief funds are inadequate. The letter pointed out how this money could be obtained without any additional charge to the taxpayer by cutting salaries above \$5,000 a year and by eliminating the graft and waste of the condemnation racket.

The postponement of more than 300 million dollars of city improvements, which would deny at least 150,000 men the opportunity for full time employment is severely criticized. Before retrenching, the letter asserted, the city ought, in view of the Democratic Party's strength in the state legislature, to wage a determined fight for heavier income and inheritance taxes to be distributed to local governments. It declared that an additional 40 million dollars raised in this fashion would furnish a base for borrowing 600 million dollars with which to finance this program of public construction.

The letter concluded with a request for a public hearing before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment as soon as possible at which time the representatives of the Emergency Conference on Unemployment could present their program in detail.

The officers of the conference are as follows: Chairman, A. I. Shiplacoff; vice-chairman, Fred Gaa, Sidney Hillman, Morris Hillquit, A. J. Kennedy, Henry R. Linville, Benjamin Schlesinger, Norman Thomas, Max Zaritsky; treasurer, B. C. Vladeck; executive secretary, Leonard Bright; recording secretary, Lawrence Rogin.

Thomas to Speak in Yonkers Wednesday

Norman Thomas will speak in Manhattan Hall, 63 Main street, near Getty Square, Yonkers, at 8:30 p. m., Wednesday, Feb. 17. His topic is "The Industrial Depression and a Way Out." Thomas, former Socialist candidate for President, well-known writer and publicist, is an able speaker and informing teacher. The public is invited. Admission free.

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N. Y. Socialists Picket Courts In Protest Against Evictions

MEMBERS of the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League are now picketing the Municipal Courts of New York City, the judges of which have been responsible for an enormous number of dispossessiones for non-payment of rent. The Socialists are carrying on agitation to prevent the tragedy of eviction now facing unemployed workers and their dependents.

The first demonstration took place on Monday afternoon at the Second Municipal Court, Clinton and Madison streets, on the lower East Side. The picket line carried placards demanding "Justice for Unemployed Workers," "Stop Evictions — Convict the Grafters," "Don't Evict the Jobless," "Park Avenue for Shirkers — Park Benches for Workers" and similar slogans. Rev. Elliot White led the line with a quotation from Isaiah: "This is a people spoiled and a Me Robbed."

For an hour the pickets were undisturbed as they marched back and forth outside the court. Police began to gather but the parade continued. Finally the marchers were told to spread out over the block as the picketing in front of the court constituted an attempt to influence the judges. Finally the police demanded that the pickets move to the next street. Dr. White

continued to pace up and down in front of the court but no arrest was made.

A meeting on the nearest corner to the court was then started. A large throng gathered. The pickets explained the significance of the demonstration. It was pointed out that the workers must organize in unions and on the political field to win for themselves security against the tragedy of unemployment, evictions and broken homes. Dr. White explained how the capitalist system was founded on robbery and how it is being maintained by exploitation.

"The world belongs to you," he said. "It has been stolen from you and (pointing to the policeman) they are here to see that you do not take it back. But by uniting you can win back for yourselves what is rightfully yours."

The picketing will be continued. The work of the pickets is arousing thoughtful consideration on the part of those who observe it. Many applications and requests for information have been received from both employed workers and tenants facing eviction.

NEARING AT LABOR TEMPLE

"Can We Prevent Hard Times" will be the subject of the third lecture of the course that Scott Nearing is giving at the Labor Temple, Feb. 16 at 8 p. m.

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Reading Names Hofses to Run For Congress

Mrs. Wilson and Hoopes Renominated for Legislative Seats

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—In a meeting which bristled with enthusiasm, 500 members of Local Berks who braved a downpour of rain to crowd Red Men's Hall, named a full ticket for the coming congressional and legislative campaign.

Raymond S. Hofses, editor of the Labor Advocate and at present a member of the School Board, was the selection for Congress. In the city Darlington, Hoopes and Mrs. Lilith Wilson, present Socialist members of the General Assembly, were renominated without opposition for the offices they now hold.

The county nominations were: For State Senator, Miles Williams, 18th Ward, Reading.

For General Assembly, Second District, Howard Moser, Cumru Township; Third District, John Reifsnnyder, Wernersville; Fourth District, George Geary, Laureldale.

Unity House to Hold Gala Reunion Feb. 28

I. L. G. W. U. members, their families and friends, Unity House guests, artists and lecturers, will get together on Sunday, Feb. 28, 1932, for an afternoon of genuine friendship.

Tickets—at one dollar each—can be obtained from the Unity House office, I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street. Telephone—CHelsea 3-2148.

BLANSHARD IN PHILADELPHIA SUNDAY

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Paul Blanshard and Dr. Karl Scholz will discuss economic planning at the Labor Institute Forum on Sunday, Feb. 14th. The topic is to be "The Possibility of a Planned Economy Under Capitalism." The forum, which meets at 810 Locust street, starts promptly at 3:30 P. M.

BLUMENBERG IN NORWALK

NORWALK, Conn.—The forum held by Newark Socialists at 60 Main street, will be addressed by Ben Blumenberg, Sunday, Feb. 14th at 3 p. m. At 8 p. m. he will speak under the auspices of Stamford Socialists in Pythian Hall, Forest street.

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Solomon, Nearing Clash on Socialism vs. Communism

FACING an audience that packed the Academy of Music in Brooklyn last Sunday night, Charles Solomon, representing the Socialist Party, and Scott Nearing, representing Communism, debated the merits of the two movements. Nearing declared that we are facing an unprecedented economic crisis which is increasing the mastery of the ruling classes and weakening the middle and professional classes, while the workers may expect lower standards of living. While capitalism declines the Soviet Union continues to build. These facts, he contended, indicate certain policies and methods to be followed.

He contended that German Socialists were solely concerned with saving the Reich and the British with saving the pound while the Communist International struggles for the immediate destruction of capitalism. In colonial policy and war Socialists are compromising while Communists are uncompromising. The five year plan is a first step toward Socialism and yet Socialists engage in "sniping" at the Bolsheviks and follow a policy of "class collaboration."

Solomon declared that Nearing promised to present tactics and policies for this country and then ignored the promise. If Russia is building an industrial apparatus we already have this apparatus here and on a larger scale than there. Socialists are not opposed to the Soviet Union but favor trade relations, recognition and oppose intervention but we reserve the right to criticize.

Solomon Quotes Nearing

Solomon denied that saving the German Reich and the British would adequately characterized Socialist policies and as Nearing relied on mere assertion he would wait till Nearing gave evidence. He quoted from a recent Nearing pamphlet which showed Nearing saying one thing of the British Labor Party in the debate and another in the pamphlet. On class collaboration Solomon also quoted from a Communist pamphlet in which it advised the mobilization of farmers and "petty bourgeoisie." He also mentioned the pact between Russia and "bloody Finland," the Finland that had drowned revolting Socialists in blood, which brought a big ovation.

We also want a planned economy for the workers, said Solomon, but what are we to do between now and the realization of this aim?

In his rejoinder Nearing wondered if Socialists had forgotten the favorable attitude of certain capitalist publications in the last city election. He also asserted that Norman Thomas had defended class collaboration in a debate with him. "Where are Socialists being put in jail?" he asked. Voices, "Austria, Hungary, Poland." He condemned the British Labor Party's policy in the general strike and in India.

Communists and Voting

In his rejoinder Solomon said that Nearing had not debated but was seeking information. The further away Nearing got from the United States the easier was it for him to answer embarrassing questions. If the capitalist press gave us support and ours was a capitalist party why did we receive but one-third of the vote?

Solomon read from Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" in which the author approved of compromise and collaboration in grave situations but this is called a "strategic retreat." Where others follow this policy it is denounced as a "betrayal" and a "sell out." It all depends upon whose feet are pinched, said Solomon. Lenin had even approved compromising with bourgeois parties and the N. E. P. policy was also a compromise with

capitalism, according to Lenin, and he had approved it.

Nearing in his final speech returned to the "sniping" theme and insisted that Solomon had not taken up the points he had raised. However, it was obvious to the audience that Nearing had simply ignored the telling points Solomon had made by quoting Nearing's pamphlet and other Communist pamphlets.

Nebraska Socialists to Meet Feb. 28

Hoan May Address Convention—Drive Is on for 750 Signatures

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

OMAHA, Neb. — The Socialists of the state have begun a campaign to place the candidates of the Socialist national ticket on the ballot. Under the existing elections laws, 750 signatures are required to place the Socialist candidates for president and vice-president on the ballot under the Socialist heading. All of these names must be obtained at a convention.

Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party, has just returned from a conference with the secretary of state in Lincoln where the details of the nominating law was gone into. A meeting of Omaha Socialists has been held at the Castle Hotel with fully 50 persons present, all determined to put the campaign for a convention of 750 over. Ten new members were signed up at the meeting. S. Lerner, tireless and devoted Socialist worker, presided at the meeting. Among the new members enrolled were several young comrades.

The Socialists have hired Odd Fellows Hall, in Omaha, for Feb. 28th for the holding of the convention. March 3 is the nominating "deadline." Senior has left for Milwaukee to make an effort to get Mayor Hoan to address the convention, which would ensure its success. Whether Hoan can make the meeting or not, the efforts to get 750 signatures at the convention will be pushed to a successful conclusion.

Debate on Arms

A capacity audience crowded Carnegie Hall last Monday night to hear Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise denounce armaments in a debate on preparedness in which Gen. Amos A. Fries and Admiral Bradley A. Fiske upheld the militarist viewpoint. Prof. John Dewey presided. The debate was organized by The New History Society.

PIONEER YOUTH BULLETIN

Pioneer Youth of America has begun publication of a Pioneer Youth Bulletin. The first issue contains, among other articles, one on peace education by Reinhold Niebuhr, and a statement of the Bulletin's aims by Dr. Henry Linville, president of the Teachers' Union. The second issue of the Bulletin will appear in May.

Lecture on Music

On Friday, February 19th, at 8 p. m., Adele T. Katz, musicologist, will lecture in the Rand School on Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde."

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Friday Evening, Feb. 12th

DR. RICHARD McKEON
"William of Ockham: Experience
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Sunday Evening, Feb. 14th

DR. HOUSTON PETERSON
"Types of Victorian Agnosticism:
John Tyndall"

Tuesday Evening, Feb. 16th

DR. NICHOLAS KOPELOFF
"Builders of Bacteriology: Master
Builders: The Pioneers"

At Muhlenberg Library

200 West 23rd Street

At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday Evening, Feb. 18th

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Saturday Feb. 13th, at 1:00 P. M.

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OTHER EVENTS

Feb. 21—DEBATE—B. C. Vladeck vs.

Rabbi Alex Lyons.

Sunday, Feb. 28—Morris Hillquit,

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Printers Fight Wage Slash Proposals

Baldwin Spies Fight Defense In Ky. Trials

Miners' Advocate Issues Emergency Call to Workers for Funds

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PNEVILLE, Ky. — Obstacles thrown up by the Coal Operators Association of the Harlan field are making difficult the task of Capt. Ben Golden, who, on a retainer from the General Defense Committee, is defending the striking Harlan miners, held for conspiracy to murder in connection with the clash between miners and deputy sheriffs at Evarts last May. In preparing the cases of the 40 men, either in jail at Winchester or Harlan, or out on bond, and who are yet to be tried, the picturesque Cumberland mountain attorney is meeting the interference of Baldwin Feltz spies who are working under the direction of Sheriff John Henry Blair at Harlan.

The cases of the miners held to the court of Judge D. C. Jones, the corporation controlled jurist at Harlan, are set for the March term, while the Winchester cases will come up in April. The time in which the defense must finish its preparation for their trials is short, and the principal handicap is lack of funds with which to employ intelligent investigators.

The bankroll of the coal operators is at the disposal of Joseph B. Snyder, coal company lawyer, who calls himself the "boss of the prosecution" in both the Harlan and the Winchester cases. His office is directly across the street from that of Sheriff Blair and almost daily conferences between the two make it certain that the Baldwin Feltz men, and Blair's more than 150 other, coal company deputies, who glory in the title of "Harlan gun thugs," are doing a fine job for the coal barons.

Leaders in Jail

Meanwhile, William Hightower, the 77-year-old president of the Evarts local, and W. B. Jones, the secretary, are still in jail at Mt. Sterling, under life sentences in the penitentiary for a crime at which neither of them, according to the government's testimony in the recent trials, was present. The same difficulties, which their attorney is facing with reference to the trials of the remaining miner defendants hold good with reference to the appeals of these men, pending before the state appellate court at Frankfort.

"The entire labor and liberal movements of the United States must get behind the defense of these men if they are to be freed of the outrageous charges brought against them by the coal operators," declares Capt. Golden in his request for funds to be sent to the General Defense Committee.

"I appeal, as their attorney, for the help of every man and woman in the United States, who believes in justice, and who is opposed in principle to the merciless methods of the coal barons. Please send your dollars to the General Defense Committee, 555 West Lake street, Chicago, Illinois."

Brownsville Lyceum Holds Bazaar March 25 to April 3

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum will hold its annual bazaar March 25 to April 3. Labor and Socialist organizations are asked to join in celebrating this affair. It is hoped that no conflicting affairs will be arranged by other sections of the movement.

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Bosses Trying to Break Agreement Now in Force

Contracts of Local Unions Have Until Fall to Run

THE dispute between the workers and their employers in the book and job industry in New York City was not due for several months. But it has suddenly been precipitated by the demand of the master printers that the unions accept 20 and 30 per cent cuts beginning March 1, although the agreements do not expire until the fall.

Although the employing printers are found in a single organization the employees face them with several local unions. The employers are organized as the New York Employing Printers Association, but not all of them have contractual relations with the unions. Those who deal with the unions belong to the Printers League Section of the general association. It is this league which has proposed the wage reductions. The Printers League came into existence as a result of the 1906 strike for the forty-eight-hour week, when those employers who wanted to operate their plants on a union basis organized themselves. Later the league became an autonomous section of the New York Employing Printers Association. The unions with which the league has agreements belong to three international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor: Typographical Union No. 6, made up of the compositors, and Mailers' Union No. 6 are part of the International Typographical Union. Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, Printing Press Assistants' Union No. 23 and Paper Handlers' and Sheet Straighteners' Union No. 1 are in the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, while Paper Cutters' Union No. 119 is affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. The actual bookbinders at present have no agreement with the league. Altogether some 15,000 printers are involved in the present difficulty. Of these 6,500 alone are in Typographical Union No. 6, referred to as "Big Six," 3,500 are in Pressmen's Union No. 51, 3,000 in Press Assistants' Union No. 23, 1,000 in the Paper Cutters', 800 in the Paper Handlers' and 600 in the Mailers'.

Hewson Hits Analogy

The request for wage cuts came in the form of a communication to the various unions from George T. Lord, chairman of the composing room conference committee of the Printers League. He argued that the depression called for a readjustment of wages and made a special point of what he considered a precedent set in 1917, when the union caused the reopening of the contract in order to increase wages to keep up with the rising cost of living.

President Austin Hewson of "Big Six" immediately voiced the sentiment of his organization as being opposed to any wage cuts. He attacked the analogy between the 1917 situation and the present. During the war it was necessary to advance wages in order to make it possible for workers to support their families. This was subsequently recognized by the War Labor Board when it granted wage increases to the printers. At the present time the workers' earnings

have been decreased by unemployment and still further depressed by the employers' closing of their plants without pay on the Saturday half-day. The employers profited during the war and post-war period and committed themselves to heavy overhead expenses, especially in the form of exorbitant rentals. The union has borne the cost of unemployment relief itself. In the last year and a half Typographical Union No. 6 has paid out two and a half million dollars to help jobless members. To ask the printers to take wage reductions now is unjustified, particularly since the agreements do not expire until the autumn.

The workers in the printing trades are on the whole better paid than those in other occupations because of their skill and their better degree of unionization. The basic weekly wage for compositors and pressmen, for example, is at present \$60, that of the paper cutters \$50, that of the press assistants \$48.50, that of the mailers \$47 and that of the paper handlers \$40. Those on the night and third shifts earn even more. Towards the close of the last year the Printers League asked that the union members waive their right to the one dollar increase that was due them on January 1, 1932, under the contract. The workers overwhelmingly rejected this proposition. The present move of the employers is to bring about the same result by negotiations. They have, therefore, asked for 20 per cent reductions in the wages of the compositors and the pressmen and 30 per cent in the case of the other unions.

Big Six the Leader

Usually in wage controversies "Big Six" has set the example for the other printing trades' unions. By virtue of its size, its strength and its strategic position in the industry it has come to be looked upon as a leader, although Pressmen's Union No. 51 has sought supremacy. The employers have learned to take advantage of the separateness of the unions. For example, in the last big negotiations in 1927, when "Big Six" obtained the present five-year agreement calling for a dollar a year increase, which expires on September 30 of this year, the employers negotiated separate agreements with the compositors and the pressmen and put the membership of the two unions in a position where both felt advisable to accept the agreed terms. The pressmen and the press assistants were then balanced against one another on the question of the ratio of each to be required on the presses. Bindery Women's Local No. 43, not being strong enough itself to bring the employers to terms, was refused a contract by the employers, while the other printing trades unions looked on with apparent unconcern.

At the present juncture "Big Six" is beset with other difficulties besides that of resisting wage reductions in the book and job line. Not only must it face problems of unemployment relief, the arrival of printers from out-of-town seeking work and the movement of plants from the city but it is confronted with wage negotiations in the newspaper branch of the industry also. The three-year contract with the newspaper publishers expired on June 30, 1929, and because of differences of views a

new agreement has not been signed at this late date. The old provisions by mutual consent have been continued until such time as

new terms are reached. The union is at present busily engaged in formulating new demands upon the newspaper owners.

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Mooney Rally In New York Set for Feb. 24

Demonstrations All Over Nation Will Take Place That Day

THE Tom Mooney Pardon Conference calls upon New York workers to register their demand that Mooney be immediately pardoned at a mass meeting Wednesday, Feb. 24th, at 8 P. M., in the Engineering Auditorium, 29 West 39th street.

Norman Thomas, C. B. Vladeck, Morris Feinstein, John Haynes Holmes and others will address the meeting.

February 24th was designated as Tom Mooney Day at a conference held at Washington, D. C., by representatives of labor, Socialist and fraternal organizations. This date, marking the fifteenth anniversary of Mooney's death sentence, is to be the occasion for a mighty nation-wide demand for his pardon.

The Tom Mooney Pardon Conference states that the challenge is at the door of the American workers. The workers must echo the statement made by United States Senator Nye of North Dakota, at the Washington meeting that "unless we have more Tom Mooneys—unless we have more men like him who dare stand up in their places and protest against the prevailing social order, we are destined to destruction."

The workers of New York, by attending the mass meeting at the Engineers Auditorium, will prove that Representative LaGuardia was mistaken when he emphasized that Mooney's continued imprisonment was partly due to the "inert attitude of even the hungry millions of unemployed workers toward their own wrongs at the hands of society."

The meetings and demonstrations on Feb. 24th are particularly significant at this time. With the help of his advisors Matt I. Sullivan and Lewis Byington, Governor Rolph, Jr., of California, is about to make his long-awaited decision on the appeal for Mooney's pardon.

Socialists of Bronx To Meet on Sunday

Members of the Bronx County Socialist party are urged to attend a most important general membership meeting this Sunday, Feb. 14, at 2 o'clock, at the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue. The members are requested to note that the date of the county ball has been changed from March 19 to March 12, and changes should be made on the tickets that had been distributed.

Rand School Activities

JENNY LEE TO SPEAK. On Friday evening, Feb. 12, at 8 p. m., the students will hold a mass meeting of all members of the Workers' Training Class and of the Rand School Fellowship. Jenny Lee, a former Labor member of Parliament, will speak on Workers' Education in England.

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N. Y. Women Socialists Plan Special Work-Units

By ESTHER FRIEDMAN

THE two old parties have organized numerous women's clubs throughout Greater New York and maintained them lavishly. They are held together on the classic basis of bread and circus in modern dress—banquets, balls, teas and bridge parties.

It is urgent that we Socialists strengthen our forces against this influence. Tammany has been especially active in this field. We have seen women displacing men at the polling places as a reward for their leadership of politically illiterate women.

The Republican party sees a chance this year, via the Seabury exposures of Tammany corruption, to break the grip of Tammany and itself, take the luscious prize of dominion which would also insure New York State for the Republican Presidential candidate. To insure this prize the Republican party has strengthened its women's clubs and is promoting new ones on a grander scale than Tammany has done.

1,000 Socialist Women

The Socialist party has about a 1,000 women members in Greater New York. But few of them are active. It is imperative that every woman in the party be stirred into service for Socialism. This is the object of the Socialist women's circuits or clubs which are being organized.

Through these clubs it is intended to draw every woman Socialist who has day-time leisure into activity and through her to reach her neighbors' friends and acquaintances.

We mean to write a friendly letter once every month to the enrolled non-party Socialist woman. We will invite her to our club meetings. After several months we shall call her to a grand meeting and make a bid for her membership. In this way we hope to develop channels through which our

literature, petitions, forum programs, demonstrations, plans and revenue entertainment may reach out to a wider audience.

Several clubs have already been organized. These are supplied with the party's unemployment leaflet and are already visiting neighbors to give them a little speech and get their signature. The West Bronx will take the lead with Midwood, Brighton Beach following close. Coney Island, Borough Park and Flatbush follow up with excellent promise of healthy growth.

The latest Socialist women's work-unit had its charter meeting in Brownsville on Tuesday, Feb. 9 at Minnie Weissberg's home. They have elected Sarah Rutus as chairman. The next meeting will take place on Feb. 23 at her home, 849 Lincoln boulevard.

All the Socialist work units are looking forward to the celebration of International Woman's Day, Sunday afternoon, March 6, at Debs' Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, New York City. Stirring rebel songs, folk dances, a few short speeches full of international flavor will delight a crowded audience. Admission will be free and every one is invited to enjoy the first big event of the Socialist women's work units.

Waldman to Discuss Bankers At West Side Forum Friday

Louis Waldman will speak on "The Role of the Bankers in the Present Social Order" at the West Side Social Forum, 100 West 72d street, on Friday night, Feb. 19th, at 8:30. There will be discussion after the lecture.

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A Tribute to The Memory of Max Freund

We, the members of the International Bakers' Union, Local 507, regret the sudden and early death of our beloved International official, Max Freund.

We express our warmest and sincerest sympathy to the family of the deceased and trust that they will have no more cause for sorrow.

The Members of Local 507, Morris Oberman, Chairman.
Resolution Committee

SAM. PARNIS
JOSEPH SHOR
ISIDORE YARMALOFKY
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THE NEW LEADER
On its Eighth Birthday

Convention Postponed To May 14

N. E. C. Votes Change —Jersey Socialists to Discuss Policies Sun- day

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has voted to postpone the national convention to May 14. It was discovered that conventions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Workmen's Circle, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union were all to be held on the second week end in May. Since all three of these organizations contain many Socialist party members, the convention was postponed.

New Jersey

One of the most important conferences held by Socialists of New Jersey will take place Sunday, Feb. 14, in Newark, with two sessions and a discussion luncheon at W. C. Lyceum Hall, 190 Belmont avenue, and a mass meeting at 8 P. M. in the St. Regis Hall, Park place and the Tube Station, with Jasper McLevy, almost mayor of Bridgeport, and other speakers as the attraction.

The occasion will be a state gathering of the Socialist Party, progressive labor groups, Workmen's Circles and other friendly organizations, to discuss the attitude of the party and labor groups toward Russia, economic organizations, a new political labor party, etc.

Those intending to sit at the discussion luncheon tables should send in their reservations at once to Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 Springfield avenue, Newark, as some outside counties have already taken as many as sixty plates, and the capacity is limited. Geo. H. Goebel will serve as toastmaster, with Morris Hillquit, Jasper McLevy, and other members of the national executive and state committee presenting their viewpoints, and perhaps being answered by McAlister Coleman and Jack Altman, presenting the viewpoint of "The Militants." The luncheon will be served at 1 o'clock noon, with no reservations to late comers, and will terminate at 2:30.

The sessions of the conference will be from 11 to 1, and 2:30 to 5:30.

TRENTON.—James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader, will lecture Friday evening, Feb. 12, at the Labor Lyceum, 159 Mercer street, on "Lincoln and the Modern Industrial Order." Admission free.

Arkansas

DENNING.—John C. Sherley is working in this coal mining community to organize a new local.

Michigan

FLINT.—J. L. Cocke, 215 East Bristol road, is secretary of a new local here, which has 20 charter members.

Washington

SPOKANE.—The party has been holding a series of meetings here for the unemployed and men who are working for the city two days a week. These meetings have been attended by from 200 to 400 workers every day.

Greetings to

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11 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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EVA DANN, Secretary

H. L. GREENBERG, Organizer

Large numbers of these men have registered as Socialists, and quite a few have joined the party and are distributing literature.

California

STATE CONVENTION.—A two-day convention of California Socialists opened at Los Angeles Saturday, Feb. 13.

LOS ANGELES.—For the last three months the party has been making astonishing progress. During February four new branches will be started, bringing the total number to 26, which does not include three young Socialist groups. Forty thousand pieces of literature will be distributed. Work will be started on Unemployment Insurance Initiative petitions. Four large open air meetings will be held. Forty-three regular neighborhood Socialist educational meetings will be held. Several special meetings have been held. Others to come are: before election day in November, which will make a total of 200 branches in the state.

West Virginia

A state convention of the party will be held at Clarksburg March 5 and 6. Each branch is to have one delegate and an additional delegate for each 20 members or major fraction thereof. It is important that every branch be represented. The branches should begin at once preparing resolutions to be considered. The agenda will include election of state officers; election of county committees and delegates to the national convention; action of the West Virginia Miners Workers Independent Labor Party; the Negro problem; attitude toward Russia; union activities; war and peace; unemployment relief and the seizure of workers' homes for delinquent taxes. The placing of a state ticket will be taken up, as will be the employment of a state organizer. The Clarksburg comrades are arranging to put up the delegates overnight. A banquet is being arranged for Saturday night. It is hoped to have a prominent national speaker. Send all communications to J. Higgins, state secretary, at Sioux City, W. Va.

Michigan

A survey of the political situation in Michigan indicates the Socialist Party position is very favorable. Candidates have more than an even chance of election in several districts and the Unemployment Compensation Amendment to the State Constitution is certain of approval by the voters if the initiative petitions now being circulated are filled in time.

FLINT.—Local Genesee County recently elected its permanent officers and is organizing for an active campaign. Membership is rapidly increasing.

STANTON.—A charter for a local in Montcalm County has been issued. Oscar Ameringer was the principal speaker at a meeting held in the County Court House here and a reactionary editor in Elmore, a nearby town, used the entire stock of printable vilifications in describing his speech and suggests that the Legion or V. F. W. would have stopped it if they had been present. The large number of applications for membership indicates, however, that he does not represent the attitude of most of the local citizens.

Rhode Island

PROVIDENCE.—Norman Thomas speaks in the Providence Plantations Club Auditorium, Weybosset street, at 4:30 P. M. Sunday, Feb. 14, on "What Price Power." This is one of a lecture series arranged through the League for Industrial Democracy and is held under the auspices of the Providence Economic Forum. The forum each Sunday afternoon has attracted large audiences. Sunday evening Thomas will speak in the Trinity Square Methodist Church, at 7:30 P. M. Thomas will meet members of the party and sympathizers at the close of this meeting in the vestibule of the church.

Party members and sympathizers belonging to fraternal and labor organizations are requested to get in touch with J. M. Coldwell, 1929 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., for the purpose of arranging Socialist educational meetings in their respective organizations.

Virginia

Publication of the "Southern Rebel" has again been temporarily held up. It may be out about March 1.

Locals and members-at-large are electing delegates to the state convention in Richmond, March 11-13. About 54 delegates will attend. The N. E. C. has increased our votes in the national convention from one to two. Ballots will be mailed out this week. We have been unable to employ Comrade Rice as special organizer yet, due to lack of funds. State Secretary George has written a number of comrades in unorganized sections to arrange meetings in February, March and April. Those willing to help should communicate with David George, Box 893, Richmond, Va.

Pennsylvania

NANTY-GLO.—All party members in Cambria county have been summoned to a general membership meeting at Nanty-Glo, Pa., Sunday, Feb. 14th, 2:30 P. M., at the Moose Hall. The call is addressed to Branches Nanty-Glo, Park Hill (J. S. F.), Krayn (J. S. F.) and the two branches just organized at Barnesboro and Johnstown. Plans are going forward

for a public rally for Socialists and their friends in the Slavish Hall, Nanty-Glo, on the evening of the 14th.

BARNESBORO comrades organized Feb. 5th at a meeting in the repair shop of A. Kunze, 902 Maple street. Communications should be addressed to Comrade Kunze. The branch will meet again Friday the 12th at the same address.

JOHNSTOWN applied for charter Feb. 7th following considerable work in rallying supporters old and new by Rixford Knight, 1307 Saylor street, Johnstown.

NEW CASTLE.—The address of Wm. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh Socialist, before the Peoples Forum was received with much favor. The forum drew over 600 people. Young members have declared their interest in reorganizing Socialist Party.

PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialist calendar for the week:

Sunday, Feb. 14—Strawberry Mansion Forum. Paul Blanshard, speaker, 3009 Ridge avenue, 8 p. m.

Monday, Feb. 15—County Central Committee, Philadelphia Local, 8 p. m. Room 309, Labor Institute.

Tuesday, Feb. 16—General membership meeting, Philadelphia Local, 8 p. m., Labor Institute.

Wednesday, Feb. 17—Strawberry Mansion Branch meeting, 8 p. m., 3009 Ridge avenue; Central City branch meeting, 8 p. m., 334 S. Camac street.

Thursday, Feb. 18—Mass meeting at the Labor Institute, on the question of Unemployment Relief.

Lecture Calendar

(All lectures start at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise indicated.)

SUNDAY, FEB. 14

Joseph Cannon versus A. J. Muste, debate, 11:00 a. m., "Resolved, that the Present Position of the Socialist Party Regarding Trade Unions is the Correct One." Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx. West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Henry J. Rosner, "Hoover's Dole to American Capital," 241 E. 84th street, Manhattan. Yorkville Branch, Socialist Party.

Prof. Addison T. Cutler, "The Russian Five Year Plan," 600 W. 181st street, room 10, Manhattan. Washington Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

McAlister Coleman, "A Socialist Looks at the World," 3109 Broadway, near 123rd street, Manhattan. Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Nature and Nurture," 4:00 p. m., 789 Elmsmere Place, Bronx. Y. P. S. L. Circle 4, Seniors.

August Claessens, "The Distribution of Wealth—Present and Future," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan, 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Debate, team of Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York versus New York University Varsity team, "Resolved, that Socialism has more to offer to Society than Capitalism." Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush Aves.

MONDAY, FEB. 15

Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Invention," New Hungarian Restaurant, Union street and Franklin avenue, Brooklyn. 11th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Psychic Factors in Race Prejudice," Workmen's Circle Center, 3820 Church avenue, Brooklyn. 18th A. D. Branch 2, Socialist Party.

Simon Berlin, "Moral Concepts—Individual and Social," Amalgamated Cooperative Houses, Bronx.

TUESDAY, FEB. 16

Leonard Bright, "Moulding Public Opinion," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn. Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

Tyrell Wilson, "Some Tests of True Democracy," 218 Van Sicklen avenue, Brooklyn. 22nd A. D. Branch 3, Socialist Party.

Henry J. Rosner, "The Socialist City of Vienna," 100 W. 72nd street, Manhattan. Upper West Side Branch, Socialist Party.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 17

Nathan Fine, "Why There is no Communist Movement in the United States," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23rd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

FRIDAY, FEB. 19

James Oneal, "Current Tendencies Within the Socialist Party," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23rd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Morris Hillquit, "The End of the Industrial Depression," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx. Labor Forum.

Alexander Fichandler, "Soviet Russia—An Experiment in Social Psychology," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Bronx. Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

Louis Yavner versus William Parsons, debate: "Resolved, that War Is Inevitable Under the Capitalist System," 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn. 21st A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Morris Gismet, "A Lawyer Tells the Truth," Workmen's Circle Center, 48 Ocean Place, Brooklyn. Brighton Beach Branch, Socialist Party.

Walter E. Peck, "Will British Labor Rise Again?" 327 East 9th street, Manhattan. 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature," Bohemian Hall, 2nd and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, Socialist Party Branch.

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CIRCLE

Branch 114

San Francisco, Calif.

H. EPSTEIN, Sec'y

Expect 10,000 To Attend the Forward Ball

Socialist Branches in City Active—Central Committee Next Wednesday

FORWARD BALL—More than 10,000 Socialists, sympathizers and their friends will gather at the annual reunion on Saturday evening, Feb. 20, at the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th street at Fourth avenue. Rudy Vallee and his orchestra will furnish the dance music. There will be hundreds of people in unique and interesting costumes depicting various phases of the Socialist struggle. There will be lots of color and merriment. Several prizes will be offered for the best costume and tableaux and someone in the crowd will be awarded the chief prize which consists of a trip to Europe with all expenses paid. Tickets are \$1 in advance and are sold at the following stations: every branch headquarters, city office, Rand School, Jewish Daily Forward and every labor lyceum. Also at the following stores: J. and L. Saffran, 54 Second avenue; Starks Cigar Store, 91 Avenue C, Harlem; Finnish Book Store, 2056 Fifth avenue; Chavkin's Drug Store, 2358 Second avenue. Bronx: M. Tulman, 481 Claremont parkway; Dr. H. Hurwitz, 1330 Wilkins avenue; Samuel J. Rosen, 860 Longwood avenue; United Cigar Agency, 29 West Mt. Eden avenue. Williamsburg: Herstein's Drug Store, 358 South Third street. J. Kaplowitz, 1800 Pitkin avenue. Midwood: S. Botwinik, 494 Avenue P.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE—A special meeting will be held Wednesday evening, Feb. 17, at 8:30 p. m. The business includes the budget and plan of activity for Local New York City for 1932 referred to the committee by the recent city convention.

WOMEN'S MEETINGS—Monday, Feb. 15, 2 p. m., East Side Socialist Women's Unit, meeting in 8th A. D. headquarters, 327 East Ninth street, New York City. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "Women in Politics." Tuesday, Feb. 16, 2 p. m., Midwood and Brighton Beach Socialist Women's Unit, 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "War with Japan." Wednesday, Feb. 17, 2 p. m., Bensonhurst Socialist Women's Unit. The women are requested to have their unemployment petitions filled out.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D.—The meeting Monday was well attended. Samuel E. Beardsley, Molly Weingart and G. August Gerber were elected to the city central committee. Another social evening and card party will be held this Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at 96 Avenue C. Sunday evening, Feb. 14, August Claessens will deliver the first of a series of eleven lectures on social problems, the social sciences and the Socialist philosophy.

8th A. D.—The Friday evening forum at 327 East Ninth street, is very successful. Last Friday with August Claessens as the lecturer, the room was jammed. Some were turned away. The membership is beginning to think about larger clubrooms.

UPPER WEST SIDE—A very important meeting will be held Tuesday, Feb. 16, at 8:30 p. m. Voting on delegates to the national convention will be held. Very important announcements about financial affairs will be reported. Henry J. Rosner will speak on "The Socialist City of Vienna." All comrades who have not paid their dues for January and February are requested to do so. It will also be an opportunity to welcome our comrades, Frank Chaiken and Ruth Lewis on their return from Mexico.

19-21st A. D.—William E. Bohn will speak on "Abraham Lincoln and Douglas" this Saturday, Feb. 13, at 8:30 p. m., in our headquarters, 2005 Seventh avenue. All comrades are invited.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS—A street meeting will be held in the 13-

19th A. D. on Saturday, Feb. 13, at noon, to advertise the unemployed council which will meet at 3100 Broadway, at 123rd street, on Tuesday, Feb. 16, at 8 p. m. Volunteers to speak on Saturday, please report to headquarters promptly at noon.

CHELSEA BRANCH—The Chelsea branch will meet in the Civic Club, 18 East Tenth street, Tuesday evening, Feb. 16, at 8:15. After a business session, Ben Fletcher of Philadelphia, will give a talk on "The Class Struggle of Today." The branch is planning a weekly forum to be held in Greenwich House. Voting on national convention delegates next week.

BRONX
1st A. D.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 16, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 615 East 140th street, at 8:30 p. m.

7th A. D.—The branch will hold an anti-war demonstration on Prospect and Tremont avenues, Saturday evening, Feb. 13. Speakers will be Samuel Orr, Aaron Levenstein, Winston Dancis, Morris Cohen, Alfred Breslaw and Herman Woskow. On Tuesday, Feb. 23, James Oneal will speak on "Early American Labor Philosophers," at the Workmen's Circle School, 789 Elamere place.

8th A. D.—The gypsy festival takes place this Saturday evening, Feb. 13, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues.

BROOKLYN
DOWNTOWN—The branch held its regular monthly business meeting at 123 Pierpoint street, Friday evening, Feb. 5. Tickets were distributed for the card party to be held at the Penny Bridge Inn, 108 Montague street, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at 9 p. m.

MIDWOOD—An enrolled voters' meeting at which August Claessens spoke brought several new members. During the past week we distributed 500 New Leaders to enrolled Socialists. Our St. Valentine's dance takes place at the headquarters, 1637 East 17th street, this Saturday night, Feb. 13. All comrades are urged to bring their wives and friends. Next Tuesday our forum will continue.

BORO PARK—The following Socialist party branches, the Boro Park, Boro Park Jewish Socialist Verband, Coney Island, Bensonhurst, Brighton Beach and Midwood, have combined to run a dance and concert on Saturday evening, March 5, at Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street, Brooklyn, for the benefit of the branches and Labor Lyceum. Each branch secretary has tickets for distribution and sale. Admission 50 cents.

11th A. D.—Monday, Feb. 15, the branch will hold its regular weekly meeting at the Hungarian Restaurant, Franklin avenue and Union street. Herbert M. Merrill, friend of the late Steinmetz, will lecture on "Socialism and Invention." We are also to decide

on new headquarters, and vote for delegates to the national convention.

18th A. D. BRANCH 2—A meeting will be held on Monday evening, Feb. 15, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 3620 Church avenue. Following the business meeting, there will be a lecture delivered by August Claessens.

21st A. D.—Friday, Feb. 5, A. C. Weinfeld, delivered a very interesting talk on unemployment insurance. On Friday, Feb. 12, the business meeting will be suspended for a social meeting. Refreshments will be served. Several of our comrades will entertain.

Singing by all. Friday, Feb. 19, Comrades William Parson and Abraham Kaufman will debate on the question: "Resolved: That War Is Inevitable Under the Capitalist System."

23rd A. D.—Socialist Sunday School. The Brownsville Socialist Sunday School is forced to add two teachers to its faculty. This merely indicates the sentiment of the parents along Socialist lines. On Sunday, Feb. 21, 1 p. m., the students will have an outing to the American Museum of Natural History. Socialists are urged to send their children so that they may receive the proper Socialist background. The comrades have undertaken to organize a Socialist orchestra that will serve the movement throughout the city. Some comrades capable along these lines have volunteered. Any Yipsey or party members who can play any musical instruments are urged to communicate immediately with Max Rosen, care of Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Phone Dickens 2-3237.

QUEENS
JAMAICA—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, Feb. 18, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard (163rd street), at 8:30 p. m.

ASTORIA—The branch meets every Friday evening in the Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, at 8:30 p. m. At 9 o'clock sharp, a lecturer and interesting topic is presented.

ELMHURST-CORONA—J. B. Matthews of the Fellowship for Reconciliation, gave a talk last night on Russia, the subject "Constructive Aspects of the Soviet Union," to a group from the Elmhurst-Corona branch, at the home of Bernard Korn, 41-38 67th street, Woodside. Twenty-five attended. On Jan. 30, the branch held a card party, about 35 were present.

FLUSHING—The branch is making plans to organize in College Point, and intends to start things going by holding a mass meeting there within the next two weeks. Any information that comrades can give about Socialist members or sympathizers at College Point, will be gratefully received. If you know any one there who could help us, please write to Gilbert Seckman, 144-25 Northern boulevard, Flushing.

Free Youth

A TWO weeks' organization tour, over a route of 2,500 miles, via the YIPSEL LIMITED, has just been completed for the national office of the Young People's Socialist League by Julius Umansky. Some of his notes follow:

PRICEDALE, PA.—Mining town. The young workers are receptive to Socialism, and ready for organization. Comrade Reini of the Pittsburgh local of the Socialist party, has been in charge of relief. The Pittsburgh Yipsels will be instructed to organize in that region, and in the neighboring steel town of Monaca.

ST. LOUIS—A new circle has been chartered, with Comrade Hillquit making the presentation speech, and Comrades Landau and Rief replying for the Yipsels. A special meeting was addressed by Umansky. A meeting place is still lacking. The mid-west office of the league will send an organizer down.

CHICAGO—An anti-war demonstration by the Yipsels in cooperation with other radical youth organizations was addressed by Umansky. A meeting was held by the Y. P. S. L., where the national situation was discussed. The Chicago units are under a city organization. Jack Jaffee is the city secretary.

DETROIT—Meta Prieman, appointed by the state executive committee of the Socialist party, has been guiding a group for several weeks. James Duffy, Jr., is the organizer. A charter has been applied for. Umansky presented suggestions for a membership drive. Cleveland and Chicago will send organizers to assist.

CLEVELAND—A city-wide meeting was arranged with Umansky explaining the action that had been taken by the national executive committee. The Cleveland Yipsels have gained 400 per cent in membership in one year, with seven circles now, instead of the two of last year. Milwaukee, Chicago and Cleveland are seriously considering submitting bids for the national convention of the Y. P. S. L. this July.

SYRACUSE—A youth rally has been arranged for Feb. 11 by Cyril Kleinman and Raymond Grossman. The circle is practically non-existent. Comrade Hy Fish, formerly of Cleveland, has been sent out as organizer.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE YIPSELS—Sol Larks and Julius Umansky were present at the sessions of the N. E. C. of the Socialist party to answer questions concerning the league, and to submit recommendations. The motion carried provides for the appointment of a national director of the Y. P. S. L. by the committee, whose salary would be paid by the party. The present N. E. C. of the Yipsels remains as is with its own national chairman. In Chicago, Gene McStroul of Milwaukee, Pearl Greenberg of Chicago, George Smerkin of Chicago and Julius Umansky of New York, all of the national executive committee, and Clarence Senior met informally to consider Yipsey matters.

READING, PA.—A city league hike will be held on Sunday, Feb. 14. Comrades meet at 1 p. m. at the Labor Lyceum. A general membership meeting will be held the same night with Erich Paul, former secretary of the Hamburg Socialist Youth Federation, as the speaker.

LINDEN, N. J.—Bob Parker addressed the group on problems of the Y. P. S. L. On Feb. 8. Regular meetings are held on Monday evenings at 17 Wood avenue.

NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE—All New Jersey Yipsels are urged to attend the Socialist party meet at the Workmen's Circle Hall in Newark this Sunday at 11 a. m. Speeches, discussions and a 50-cent lunch have been arranged.

NEW YORK CITY—Gus Tyler and Aaron Levenstein will represent the league at the debate with the varsity team of New York University at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette avenue, near Flatbush avenue, Sunday evening, Feb. 14, at 8:30 p. m. Circle Seven Seniors of Flatbush, Brooklyn, held a successful social and rally last Saturday night. Comrades Mollie Rosenfield, Bertha Gottlieb and Henry Margulies have been elected to the officers of the circle to the executive committee. The circle meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m., at 3620 Church avenue, near East 39th street, Brooklyn.

Circle Two, Queens, will meet at the home of Comrade Ruth Greenbaum this Friday evening at 8:30 p. m. Comrade Jeannette Glassner will address the group.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and FLEATERS' UNION, Local 68, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. E. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local No. 9. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stage 2-4231. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Bus. Agent; William Weingart, President; Al Bayle, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Sec'y, Corresponding Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local 234, A.M.O.B.W. of N.A., 7 East 15th St. Phone TCM 15. Union Sq. 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Samuel Sussman, Isidore Left, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local 174, A.M.O.B.W. of N.A. Office and Headquarters, 123 Second Ave. Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 a. m. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Local 1, 11-13 Union Sq. Phone 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Samuel Sussman, Isidore Left, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Local 1, 11-13 Union Sq. Phone 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Samuel Sussman, Isidore Left, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

CAPMAKERS—Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Office, 123 Second Ave. Phone Orchard 4-3360-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Herszkowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 123 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. 9 Jacobus St. Phone 6-0968. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 28 West 21st Street. Phone 6-7822. Meetings Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 3. International Fur Workers Union. Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Herberberg; Vice President, Sam. Groll; Business Agent, B. Kalnikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, H. Helb.

HERREW TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Drydock 4-8510. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Phone W. 7-9011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

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MARCH 7, 1932

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AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalfithone Bldg., 208 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4848; uptown office, 20 West 37th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Sam Hodas.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Chairman, Morris Kofler, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.

SEE THAT YOUR MILK MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local 6365, A. F. of L., 1123 Broadway, Chelsea 3-7249. Regular meetings first Monday of every month at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 16th Street. Gus Levine, President; A. Weisner, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Recording Secretary; A. L. Berger, Financial Secretary and Treasurer; William R. Chisling, Manager.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11018, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street. Phone Algonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular meetings every Wednesday Evening, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street. P. Wollensack, President; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA. District Council No. 8, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Tuesday evening, Office 62 East 23rd St. Tel. Gramercy 6-0500. O. A. Hoffman, Sec'y; Robert Seabrook, Fin. Sec'y - Treas.; L. Lefkowitz, Pres.

PAINTERS UNION, Local 261. Office, 62 East 106th Street. Tel. Lehigh 4-3144. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 810 E. 104th St. Sec'y - Treas., M. Greeninger, Recording Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD of Greater New York. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 West 15th St.; Tompkins Square 6-5400. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All locals meet every Wednesday. Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman Novodorf, Sec'y-Treas.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION. New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 52 West 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 6-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, No. 6. Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

WEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 West 15th Street; Phone, Tompkins Square 6-5400. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION. Local 1, 11 East 28th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-3107. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfield, Sec'y. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

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Eight Annual Dinner

MARCH 7, 1932

Make Reservations Now

Rice's Plays on the Boards and Between Them

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

RICE IN PRINT

"COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW," "LEFT BANK," By Elmer Rice. (Samuel French, N. Y. \$2 each).

The best time to read a play is after you have seen it; present appreciation builds on memory to a full impression. One can linger and return, over choice bits of dialogue, deft lifts of the veil over a man's nature or swift phrasings of slow-gathered wisdom; and at the same time light the movement with the players' and the scene's remembered charm or power.

Rice stands well under reading. The melodrama of his plots is less apparent; the fidelity of his portraits remains. If "Left Bank" seems still to tip the scales for America, it is fair enough that Rice should side with Sherwood Anderson, against spontaneous expatriates like T. S. Eliot and professional anti-Americans like Ludwig Lewisohn. In truth, John Shelby seems more human when we read of him than when watching Horace Braham make him a shallow pretender on the stage. And the second act, where the American revelers on July 14 began to fight over Horace and humanism—"illiterate journalists, who think the world was made by Sinclair Lewis"—is every bit as amusing and exciting to read.

The picture of the poor boy who became a famous barrister has less relation to real life, so far as plot is concerned; but as an "office scene," a gallery of clerks and clients, it is Rice at his inimitable best. A glimpse into two dozen lives, any one enough for a drama; and all, minor figures in a story that carries breathlessly on till Simon, free of the danger to his career, learns that birth is not the only—nor the most important—quality in a wife.

EVER AND ANON

"THROUGH THE YEARS." A romantic musical play. Book by Brian Hooker, lyrics by Edward Heyman, music by Vincent Youmans. At the Manhattan.

There are two sorts of entertainment that continue through the years. One is that offered by the great works of art, statues, symphonies, dramas, poems, that unchanging offer their potent beauty to every generation. The other is less demanding, and survives by always wearing new garments, but beneath the latest fashions persisting without change. There are,

in this type of work sixteen best-sellers written "by dictating the fifteenth" with the names changed. Tunes familiar enough to make no demand upon the intelligence; stories that our mothers knew in crinolines, we hear in today's svelt silks; jokes that tumbled Methuselah out of the cradle, that we can chuckle at in the rumble-seat; slapstick Aesop knew would never fail,—all these come "Through The Years." Brian Hooker could have done better; but Vincent Youmans is quite at home, and has given his romantic operetta elaborate adornment and stir, with Natalie Hall and other good singers, and a good comic in Charles Winniger. Those who liked the waltzes of the rag-time era, and find the Gershwins a bit too brassy, will probably enjoy the melodies Vincent Youmans is helping "Through The Years."

Germans in Yiddish Drama

Three stories of modern family life in the Ghetto, splendidly woven together, form the plot for Misha and Lucy German's new week-end play called "In a Tenement House," which this popular Yiddish stage pair brought to the Folks Theatre on Second avenue and 12th street the other night.

Lucy German plays the leading role opposite her husband, Misha German. Menashe Skulnick, Isadore Casher and Mark Schwed head the principal supporting cast that also includes Goldie Lubritzky, Evi Scooler, Motel Brandt, Celia Budkin, Emilia Adler and Irving Honigman. While this Yiddish drama is somewhat on the order of Broadway's "Street Scene," it is newer and different in every sense of the word.

GILBERT MILLER presents

Edna BEST Herbert MARSHALL in

There's Always Juliet

A Comedy by John Van Druten
Opening MON. EVE.,
Feb. 15th

SEATS NOW ON SALE
MAIL ORDERS NOW
EMPIRE THEATRE, Broadway
and 49th St.

Holds Over Again at the Cameo



A scene from the first Soviet sound film, "Road to Life," which tells of the wild and homeless waifs of Russia.

Maurice Schwartz to Tour RKO Theatres; Will Be at Franklin Starting Saturday

Maurice Schwartz, the distinguished character artist and director of the Yiddish Art Theatre, has signed to appear in RKO vaudeville for a limited engagement. His first engagement will be at the RKO Franklin Theatre, the Bronx, starting Saturday, February 13th, for a four-day stay. He will then appear at the RKO Jefferson for the remainder of the week.

Mr. Schwartz, who recently closed a Broadway engagement in "Bloody Laughter," returns to the RKO stages after an absence of over a year with a new dramatic playlet by Anton Chekov, entitled "The Life of an Actor."

MAX GORDON'S MUSICAL TRIUMPH

"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram

A Musical Love Story by
JEROME KERN and
OTTO HARBACH

GLOBE THEATRE, B'way & 46 St.
Evenings at 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

"Strange Interlude" At Riviera Theatre

For the week of Feb. 15th, by special permission of the Theatre Guild and Eugene O'Neill, "Strange Interlude" will be the offering at the Riviera Theatre.

This will be the only showing of this extraordinary drama prior to its revival by the Guild in "the heart of the city." Daily performances will commence at 5:30, there will be an hour's intermission for dinner at 7:30, and will resume again at 8:30.

Angna Enters in Recital

On Monday evening, February 15th, Angna will present her Episodes and Compositions in dance form at the American Woman's Association Auditorium. This is third in a series of "Five Memorable Mondays" which are now being given under the management of the Actor-Managers at the A. W. W. Clubhouse.

Leslie Howard

in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

"The Season's Most Gratifying Adventure."
Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune
STAGED BY GILBERT MILLER
BROADHURST Theatre, 44 St.
W. of B'way
Eves. 8:40; Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

GILBERT MILLER presents

HELEN HAYES

in MOLNAR'S New Comedy

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GOOD FAIRY
"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable, entertainments in town."
Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American
HENRY MILLER'S
Theat., 123 W. 43rd St.
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40

Exhibit Photographic Art at Little Carnegie

Lovers of art and expert craftsmanship will appreciate the announcement that the Irving Browning exhibition of unusual photographs will be on display in the foyer and lounge of the Little Carnegie Playhouse.

Browning is one of the leading cameramen in the motion picture industry and his exceptional work is also well known in publishing and art circles. Many of his photographs have appeared in "Architectural Forum" and in the "National Geographic Magazine."

The exceptional calibre of Browning's art was highly praised by those who saw the exhibition at the Motion Picture Club and this is the first opportunity for the public to view his work. Among the subjects on display are: "Hollywood," "Broadway," "Lubitch," "Opening Night," and The "Extra."

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

Martin Beck Theatre

45th St. and 8th Ave. PEnn. 6-6100

Evenings 8:40

Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy

"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

Composed of 3 plays presented on 1 day

'Homecoming' 'The Hunted'
'The Haunted'
Commencing at 5:30 sharp
Dinner intermission of one hour at 7.
No Matinees.

GUILD THEATRE, 322 Street,
West of Broadway

SAM H. HARRIS presents

"OF THEE I SING"

A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY

Book by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and MORRIS RYSKIND

Music by GEORGE GERSHWIN Lyrics by ISA GERSHWIN

with
William GAXTON . . . Lois MORAN . . . Victor MOORE

AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE OF 60 VOICES

MUSIC BOX THEATRE,
West 45th St. Eves. at 8:30
3 Mats. This Week—Thurs., Fri., Sat.

VINCENT YOUMANS presents THE MUSICAL PLAY

"THROUGH the YEARS"

with a Superb Cast headed by

Natalie HALL - Charles WINNINGER - Reginald OWEN
Nick LONG, Jr. - Joan Carter WADDELL - Michael Bariletti - Marion Ballou
Symphony Orchestra of 44

MANHATTAN THEATRE BROADWAY at 53rd St. Eves. 8:10 to 10:30
Tel. Col. 5-3823. Mats. Wed., Sat. 8:10 to 10:30



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CARNEGIE HALL, NEXT SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 14
FAREWELL RECITAL THIS SEASON
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Leslie Banks

Springtime for Henry

A Bright New Farce by Benn W. Levy
with HELEN CHANDLER
NIGEL DRUCE FRIEDA INESCORT

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George White's 1931 Scandals

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ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!!

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LAUGH PARADE
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LAWRENCE GRAY and others
"By far the best and still funniest
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—GARLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM

"There is fine material all through
it and writing of great sympathy
and humanity."
JOHN ANDERSON, Eve. Journal.

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The Devil Passes

"The interesting persons and insinuating circumstances of Mr. Levy's new play made sound entertainment, acted and manipulated keenly as they are by a discriminating cast at the Selwyn Theatre."

Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune
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Diana Wynard Cecilia Loftus
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Mats. Thurs.
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in the New Musical Hit
A LITTLE
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"Is a happy mixture of mirth and music . . . has lightness and gaiety, rhythm and rhyme, beauty, color and grace and a terrific pace . . . is a welcome addition to the Times Square diversions."—American.

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Reginald De Koven's
Eternally Favorite Romantic Opera

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THRIFT PRICES

Eves. 5:30 to 10:30, Wed. Mat. 5:30 to 10:30
Sat. Mats. 5:30 to 10:30
Hear: "Oh Promise Me"—"Brown
October Ale"—"Tinklers Chorus"

Novel Variety-Revue Offered by Lou Holtz at the Hollywood

Popular Star of Many "Road to Life" Wins Musicals Offers Great Favor From Press and Cast of Stars in Big Revue at the Hollywood Week at the Cameo

Lou Holtz, popular Broadway star, will bring his own vaudeville revue, a novel and hilarious idea in intimate entertainment, to the Warner Brothers' Hollywood Theatre on Monday evening, February 15th. Following the premiere performance, there will be daily matinees including Sunday. A special midnight show will be given every Saturday.

Concededly one of the biggest shows ever assembled from a standpoint of stellar luminaries, Lou Holtz has surrounded himself with what can safely be described as a veritable "who's who of the musical comedy stage." In addition to himself, the galaxy of stars includes Bobby Clark and Paul McCullough, Vincent Lopez and his Hotel St. Regis Orchestra, the Boswell Sisters, Lyda Roberti, Venita Gould, Jay Brennan, Colette Ryan, the Three Little Words, Earl (Snakehips) Tucker and Bessie Dudley, Benny Baker, Harold Arlen and a bevy of girls trained in the dance by Dave Gould.

Revolutionary as it is to bring so many talented performers into a single production, performers who have in past seasons singly carried entire shows by virtue of their names, even more revolutionary is the fact that Lou Holtz has decided to bring his novel variety-revue within the reach of all playgoers by inaugurating a drastic cut in the box office scale for extravaganzas of this high calibre. For best seats evenings, the price will be two dollars in the orchestra, with the scale ranging down to fifty cents. Good seats for the matinee performance will range from fifty cents to one dollar.

Holtz is best remembered as one of the stars of George White's "Scandals," "Manhattan Mary," and as the shining light last year of the collegiate musical comedy, "You Said It." Bobby Clark and Paul McCullough, who have won fame for their laughs as stars of the "Music Box Revue," "The Ramblers," "Strike Up the Band" and the movies, have a wealth of new material for the forthcoming musical extravaganza.

Seats for all performances can now be reserved at the box office of the Hollywood Theatre.

"Road to Life," the Soviet tale that tells the story of Russia's homeless waifs, continues to do a smashing business at the Cameo Theatre, holding over a third successive week. The picture, Russia's first attempt at making talking screen productions, has received more comment than anything that has come from Foreign Studios in many a moon.

Although produced entirely for distribution in the Soviet Union, the system of super-imposed titles worked out in this country has made the picture entirely understandable to all.

Although much discussion has been raised both pro and con concerning its technique, such personages as George Bernard Shaw, Maxim Gorki, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. John Dewey, Fannie Hurst, Egon Erwin Kisch have maintained that it is an outstanding and original masterpiece of the screen art.

Nikolai Ekk, director of the film, has overnight become a world-wide celebrity as a result of his first motion picture work, "Road to Life."

"A Waltz by Strauss" At the Little Carnegie Had Gala Premiere

One of the gala events of the cinema season was the American Premiere, at the Little Carnegie Playhouse on Wednesday last, of "A Waltz by Strauss," which has been the screen hit of the year in Vienna, Berlin, and London.

Among the notables who were present are the following:

Dr. Paul Schwarz, German consul; Frieda Hempel, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Hon. Julius Miller, Dr. Novak, Czech Consul General; Wilton Barret, Dr. O. H. Martens, Max Dreyfus, J. L. Beha, H. P. Sampers, Fritz Thorhauer, Walter Hart Blumenthal, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Simon, and Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink.

"I URGE ATTENDANCE!"

—John S. Cohen, Jr., Sun

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"THE MAN I KILLED"

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PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER, Conductor

Carnegie Hall, SUN. AFT. at 3:00

Soloist: HAROLD BAUER, Pianist

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Feb. 18, 8:45

Fri. Aft., Feb. 19, at 2:30

Soloist: YEHUDI MENUHIN, Violinist

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Feb. 20, at 8:45

Brooklyn Academy of Music

Sunday Aft., Feb. 21, at 3:15

Soloist: MYRA NISS, Pianist

In Little Carnegie's New Film



Gustav Froelich and Valerie Boothby in a scene from the new German film "Ein Walzer vom Strauss" ("A Waltz by Strauss") which will continue indefinitely at Leo Brecher's intimate playhouse on 57th street.

America Is Startled by First Soviet Talking Picture of Russia's

"Wild Children"

(With Titles in English)

"ROAD TO LIFE"

- "Unprecedented throngs."—N. Y. Times.
- "The whole picture is bursting with a vitality and animal spirit which makes most of our films seem pallid and hot-house enough."—N. Y. Herald Tribune.
- "One of 3 films to excel since dawn of year"—World Telegram.

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(EIN WALTZER VOM STRAUSS)

Featuring GUSTAV FROELICH

Little CARNEGIE 146 West 57th St. 35c to 1 P. M.

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PATRICIA BOWMAN

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1932 VAUDEVILLE REVUE

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Boswell Sisters - Lyda Roberti

Venita Gould - Jay Brennan

Harold Arlen - Colette Ryan

Lorraine Manners - 3 Little Words

Karl (Snake Lips) Rucker & Bessie

Dudley

Dave Gould's Dancing Chorus of

El Brendel and Ruth Roland in Person at the Fox Brooklyn; "Silent Witness" on the Screen

The personal appearance of two film stars, El Brendel and Ruth Roland on the stage of the Fox Brooklyn Theatre all this week, and Freddy Mack, a new master of ceremonies, serve as the lighter entertainment to the screen fare, "The Silent Witness."

"The Silent Witness" is a mystery melodrama in which Lionel Atwill plays the same role he did in the stage play of that name. Other important parts are taken by Weldon Heyburn, Mary Forbes, Helen Mack, Herbert Mundin, Billy Bevan, Lumsden Hare

El Brendel is teamed with his old vaudeville partner, Flo Bert, for this stage appearance and proves himself on familiar ground behind the footlights. Ruth Roland, Hollywood's daring daughter and heroine of hundreds of pictures, heads the Fanchon & Marco "Cozy Corner" Idea.

"High Pressure" on the Hip Screen; Vaughn De Leath Tops Stage Bill

Vaughn De Leath, who has gained the distinction of being literally the 'First Lady of Radioland,' is this week's vaudeville headliner at the RKO Hippodrome. The screen program features William Powell in "High Pressure," with Evelyn Brent and George Sidney.

The surrounding vaudeville attractions include Frank Conville, with Sunny Dale; "A Porcelain Romance," a spectacular dancing act direct from four weeks at the Palace, with the Ganjou Brothers and Louise Gay, assisted by Billy Hendricks and the Misses Fourniere and Devile; Mills and Robinson, Rogan and Trigger and Frosini, in melodies of today.

WARNER BROS. present

George ARLISS

in

"THE MAN WHO PLAYED GOD"

Mats. 2:45 50c to \$1

Eves. 8:45 50c to \$2

except Hol., Sat. & Sun.

Three Shows Sunday: 2:45, 6:00, 8:45

Warner Theatre

BROADWAY & 52nd ST.

"Robinson Stars"—News

EDW. G.

ROBINSON

in "THE

HATCHET MAN"

with LORETTA YOUNG

Winter Garden

BROADWAY & 50th ST.

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What those who know never tell—

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with PAT O'BRIEN - BETTE DAVIS

Also—Authentic Pictures of

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STRAND

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Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

**No War, No Imperialism—Direct Federal Aid
—A Capitalist's Plan—Al Smith Again
—For Socialist Party Planning**

NO PARTNERSHIP IN IMPERIALISM

WE want no war with Japan. We want to invite no dangerous "incident" at Shanghai by a grandiose but essentially useless display of military and naval force. We insist that no likely happening in the Far East can justify our participation in war.

But it is neither right nor necessary that to escape war with Japan we must cooperate with her imperialism by revising the Nine Power Treaty or joining her and other powers in "demilitarizing" Chinese ports, that is in dismembering China.

In the long run China can protect herself by the boycott and possibly guerrilla war. Still better Chinese and Japanese workers together may awake and cast off the militarists who rule them. America should have long ago helped by leading in a world economic pressure on Japan. Even now moral and economic pressure may be made to count. If the Hoover government cannot or will not act on this matter of partial embargo against Japan, and at this exciting moment such an embargo would be less wise and harder to impose than a few weeks ago, American citizens as individuals might start a reasonably effective form of pressure by refusing to buy Japanese goods.

Whatever happens let Socialists everywhere continue the anti-war demonstrations begun in New York, making it plain that we have nothing against the Japanese workers who have been coerced and fooled into this imperialist adventure.



NORMAN THOMAS

FOR DIRECT FEDERAL AID

IT is good that the A. F. of L. is actively pushing federal aid for the unemployed. Such aid to be useful even as a beginning must be (1) direct—not by loans which states can't easily repay; (2) elastic—according to need, not merely according to population; (3) immediate—not, that is, dependent on drawing up after a delay plans for public work. The LaFollette-Costigan bill, inadequate as it is in amount, meets these conditions as various substitutes proposed for it do not. The public works program should follow and should concentrate on housing. To both these measures should be added unemployment insurance supported by industry and by contributions from the state through income taxation, and we should have the five-day week. This is not a cure for unemployment—that requires socialization of industry. It is a step towards a cure. Above all it will give us healthier men and women in body and mind. And these we need for building the cooperative commonwealth.

HALTING PUBLIC WORKS

WHEN Comptroller Berry convinces the Board of Estimate of New York City that it must save the city's finances by stopping over two hundred million dollars' worth of public works in various stages of authorization he showed clearly the dilemma of all our capitalist saviors. They want to make more work in this crisis but they want to save money and reduce taxes. More money would be saved in New York by honest and efficient government. But there can be no great savings if public works are maintained or increased. And there can be no work for the unemployed if they are not.

The way out, of course, is through income taxes which the state can impose and allot to cities for direct use and for increasing the city's borrowing capacity. And this an owning class hates. By so much should the workers be for it.

A CAPITALIST'S PLAN

THE most breath-taking address from a supposedly enlightened capitalist that I have ever heard was delivered by Colonel Malcolm Rorty at a student conference. He calmly, dogmatically and without proof said that our low income taxes were near their maximum productivity! That is, you couldn't get more by tripling or quadrupling the taxes on the rich. Such a statement is simply not true. The only partial truth it might have would be if income taxation should take money necessary for plant equipment in a country where machinery was insufficient. In our country we have the plant. We don't need to encourage production but consumption.

But this capitalist who doesn't believe in more income or inheritance taxes had a plan. And what a plan! Let the government raise a billion dollars, mostly by consumption or sales taxes which fall on the poor. Then let it use this sum in bonuses to builders and manufacturers who will start some new private enterprise! In short put the government in business to aid the profit makers! And that's the way out—tax the workers as consumers to bribe the bosses to start work which may make jobs! Was there ever a better argument for the breakdown of "economic individualism" and the madness of capitalism? Our politicians may be bad enough but even they would not dare to try Colonel Rorty's plan.

SMITH AND THE MASSES

WHETHER Al Smith's hat is in the ring or only waiting for some friend to shove it in is a question of importance for Democratic politicians. His statement has given Hoover his first good break for years. It means nothing to the masses of farmers and workers. Al has no more program than the rest of them and he has been closely tied up with the duPonts and Raskob so that he is more conservative than ever before. The Democrats all along the line are playing safe. Business men matter more to them than the workers. They need campaign funds. If they're good the business men will give them funds and then they can fool the workers—maybe.

BEGIN SOCIALIST PLANNING

ALMOST everywhere I go I find increased interest in Socialism. Our enemies are more active against us, which is a good sign. But applause doesn't win elections or build a party.

What we need is a Four Year Plan for building Socialism and a party. We have not had it and despite fine individual work and good work by some locals we have largely wasted our opportunities since 1928. It mustn't happen again.

We can organize. Bridgeport, Conn., is proving it. Taylor and King and Bell are proving it in Detroit. Most and Barron are proving it through West Virginia. We must have a plan for organizing and a squad of organizers who can be sent two by two to the strategic points. There is no other way.

Then we must have special facilities and men to deal with labor situations. An accredited Socialist helper, not preaching party politics to begin with, but effective unionism could over and over get the kind of hold that Tom Tippet got for Brookwood with the Kanawha Valley miners in West Virginia. There is no other way. That way is practicable. We can recruit them. We must get the money.

About Astrology and Other Things

*"Neither Song
Nor Sermon"*

WHEN I feel that perhaps I've been too rude in the course of a discussion, it makes me uncomfortable. In a recent debate my opponent characterized Karl Kautsky as an "astrologer," and I answered that the remark was silly. It was; yet it is a relief to learn that he was not personally affronted, because he had not really originated the silly saying. He got it from Sidney Hook—only, not understanding what Hook meant, he used the wrong word when he tried to repeat it.

Professor Hook does not call Kautsky, Plekhanoff and Hilferding astrologers; he calls their theoretical work "astronomical Socialism." There is quite a difference. An astrologer is almost always a conscious impostor; even when not that, he is not a scientist, which the astronomer is.

What Hook means is that the so-called orthodox Socialists treat the development of human society as if human consciousness and will played no more part in it than in the development of solar systems. I agree with Jacob Bernstein that Hook is mistaken. How so well-

schooling a man can so misunderstand these writers, I don't know. He is not alone in the error. Many college professors who ought to know better say the same thing about Marx. I suppose we must forgive them, for they know not what they are talking about.

But anyhow, Hook knows the difference between astronomers and astrologers, between chemists and alchemists, between psychologists and mind-readers, and in general between science and quackery.

Does it matter, though? I mean, does science really matter to us as Socialists? Does it matter whether our theories are right or wrong, or whether we have any theories at all? I am sure it does; and just because there are some comrades who say it doesn't, and a good many more who at least half agree with them, but don't openly say so—just because of that I insist upon it, at the risk of being voted a bore.

There are several ways of saying that Socialism is not or need not be scientific. The way I like least, because it is evasive, usually starts out with some such words as these: "Of course, our movement has to have a philosophy, but—" But what? But we mustn't waste precious time discussing or expounding it—just mention it and then get down to business—something like that character of Mark Twain's, who wrote out the Lord's Prayer, pinned it up in his bedroom, and twice every day, while dressing or undressing, pointed to it and said, "Lord, them's my sentiments." But, furthermore, it must not be anything like a science—oh, nothing so narrow and precise and rigorous and peskily inconvenient

as that—no, not a science, but a philosophy, a "broad" philosophy, so broad that no one can object to it and not deep enough to task any one's intelligence.

Now I ask, Why not a science? I have great respect for a number of philosophers, ancient and modern, so far as I know them. But the philosophers who seem to me worth, while are those who do not think of philosophy as something essentially different and distinct from science. Whenever philosophy has divorced itself from science, it has become worse than useless.

And if a philosophy is worth having at all, surely it is necessary to know what it is and where in it differs from other philosophies, which we cannot know without studying and discussing it; and if it's worth having, it must be specific and positive enough to be put to use in the conduct of our party affairs—unless, indeed, it is meant only for decorative purposes, in which case I'm afraid it will get in our way and would urge that we junk it.

Nothing is easier than to ridicule and belittle science—to call the chemist a pedant because he uses such words as "trinitrotoluol," or to say that the astronomer is narrow because he measures the orbits of the heavenly bodies and has nothing to say about the music of the spheres and the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or to accuse the geometer of dogmatism because he declares that the sun of the interior angles of a triangle is always exactly equal to two right angles. I, who am neither an eloquent nor a witty speaker, could set some audiences giggling and clapping their hands by these jibes,

just as well as some others can bring laughter and applause by pronouncing the phrases "relative surplus value" and "historical materialism" in an affected voice and with a sneering grimace. And I fancy I could win favor for a more broad and tolerant geometry, in which the sum of those three

angles are probably about equal in most cases to two right angles.

No, if we think there is no such thing as Socialist science, applicable to questions of Socialist program and policy, let us be frankly unscientific, not philosophically so.

A. L.

1932—A SYMPOSIUM

JOHN DEWEY

Chairman, League for Independent Political Action

MORRIS HILLQUIT

National Chairman, the Socialist Party

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE

Progressive Democrat; Noted Orator

NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Candidate for President, 1928

LOUIS WALDMAN, Chairman

Will Discuss

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