

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Price Five Cents

HOOVERVILLE

**"The Full and Tragic Meaning of Unemployment
To the Working Masses of America"**



A section of Hooverville, the unemployed settlement on the banks of the Mississippi in St. Louis. Packing boxes, rags, pieces of tin constitute "home" to the jobless, their wives and their young ones.

By Morris Hillquit

ON the bank of the Mississippi River in the city of St. Louis there is a strip of ground about sixty feet wide, which is generally considered no man's land. Officially the title to it is vested in the United States, but the federal authorities do not bother about it as there is nothing on it worth bothering about. The city and state authorities on the other hand have no jurisdiction of the territory.

In this happy land, free from the supervision of the police and health departments and from the exaction of the landlord and tax gatherer, a new settlement has suddenly sprung up, appropriately named by its residents *Hooverville* in grateful recognition of the era of happiness and prosperity which characterizes the administration of the Engineer-President.

Hooverville is bounded on the north by the city dump and on the south by the outlet of the city sewers. Except for these drawbacks and for the miasmatic exhalation of the muddy river the air of the settlement is very salubrious.

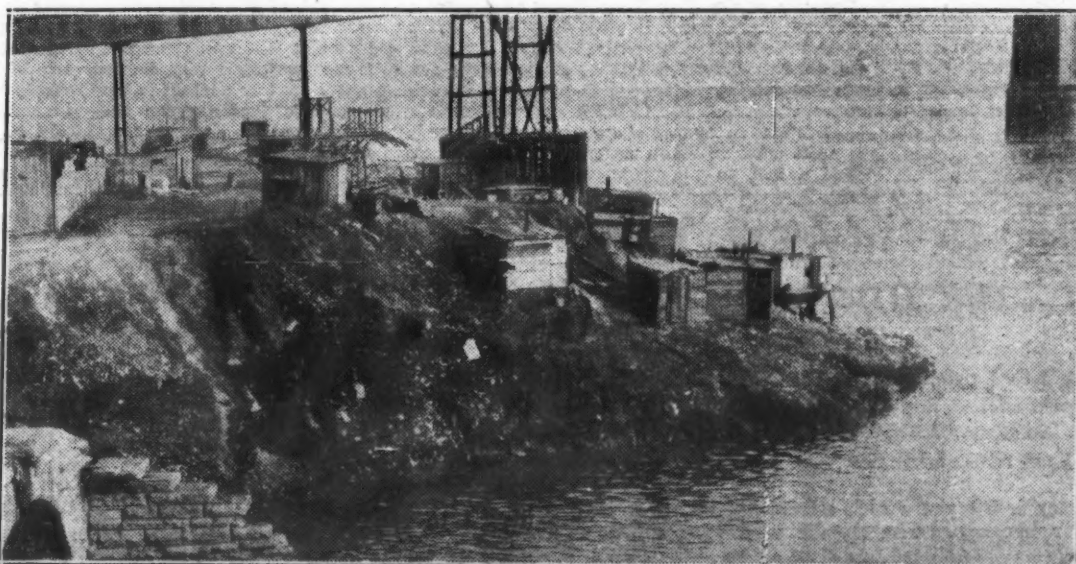
The population of Hooverville is estimated at about seven hundred persons and is growing fast. It consists of men, women and children, colored and white of mixed-nationalities.

The only thing they have in common is their occupation—they are all unemployed.

They lived in St. Louis until the sorely tried patience and forbearance of their respective landlords gave out. Then they were dispossessed for non-payment of rent, and having no rent to pay to other landlords they migrated to the bank of the Mississippi and with true pioneer spirit established a new colony.

The colony consists of about two hundred "dwellings" erected in somewhat uniform style. They are about eight feet square, with walls and roofs flimsily concocted of packing cases, pasteboard and rags, with no windows or floors. In most of them the occupants somehow managed to install a broken-down coal or kerosene stove, with a battered chimney pipe. The less pretentious residences of Hooverville are simply dugouts, hastily excavated caves with improvised "doors" on the side or on top.

The river bank slopes



Riverside Drive in Hooverville. In the foreground to the extreme left a sewer lets out into the river. The steel frame-work rising in the center (top) is the base of a garbage disposal crane from which garbage is dumped into ships. On the hillside are several of Hooverville's "homes."

and when the river rises it forces the Hoovervilleites into a precipitate evacuation of their "homes."

Almost every one of these miserable shanties or holes shelters a whole family.

These are workers who have definitely given up the uneven struggle for a job and a human existence and have dumbly and passively resigned themselves to the lowest depths of misery. They are clad in tatters and nourished by refuse. They are fast shedding all semblance of civilized life and relapsing into the state of primitive man.

I visited Hooverville when I was recently in St. Louis attending a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and as I surveyed the miserable huts of these victims of our glorious economic system and looked at the debased human beings and their emaciated gray and dispirited faces, I realized the full and tragic meaning of unemployment to the working masses of America.

There are Hoovervilles in most industrial cities of the United States and there is wholesale misery outside of Hooverville.

If the business depression and unemployment continue for another year or two in more acute and aggravated form, as they probably will; if all sources of private relief completely break down, as they are rapidly doing; what will become of the millions of the American jobless workers with no money for rent, clothes or food?

Perhaps Hooverville is the dread answer to the ominous question.

There have been great and powerful civilizations in the past that have collapsed.

It took the glorious Roman Empire a comparatively short time to sink from the heights of culture and refinement into a condition of primitive barbarism. May not capitalist civilization succumb to a similar fate in this crisis or in the next, particularly if a new world war supervenes to devastate the poor remnants of a bankrupt world economy?

Hooverville is the Mene Tekel, Upharsin written on the tottering walls of the mad capitalist system.

Only the speedy triumph of Socialism can save the world from destruction.

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1932

"Helping" the Jobless

WHAT may be expected of the reigning politics may be surmised by two incidents this week, the report of the Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance and the vote in the United States Senate on the Costigan-LaFollette bill for direct federal aid to the jobless. This bill was modest enough and yet it was defeated by a vote of 48 to 35. It was a kick in the face of the starving and it is significant that 27 Republicans and 21 Democrats voted against the bill.

The commission reporting on unemployment insurance was appointed by the governors of six states and it recommends a system of unemployment reserves by each employer paying 2 per cent of his payroll into such a fund until it reaches \$50 for each worker. With that handsome sum the dread scourge of unemployment is to be combatted. When the worker becomes jobless he will receive a maximum of \$10 per week but only for ten weeks in any one year. Having tried to live for more than two months on \$50, the jobless man then shifts for himself. If he has a large family we are inclined to think that they would have to live on baled hay on that \$10 a week.

Now Governor Roosevelt hails this proposal, declaring that it "will go far toward dealing with the pressing need for a solution to the problem of unemployment." Oh yeah! Then, Mr. Governor, will you please explain to those who have been without jobs for a year or two years how you expect them to live on \$50 a year? The proposal is asinine and an insult to the jobless. Roosevelt is seeking the Presidency. His statement and the vote in the upper house of Congress on direct aid to the unemployed show that the masses need expect no genuine relief at the hands of the capitalist politicians.

Congressman Rainey declares that the sales tax is the most feasible method of checking the deficit and that it is preferred by industry generally to heavy taxes on a few big industries. Rub it in, gentlemen; throw us out of the industries, force us to accept your charity, and then tax what loose change we may have for purchases, but there may yet be a rainy day for Rainey and his kind.

In one section of Arkansas a colony of 500 jobless men and women has been established in the hills. They have gone back to a primitive life, building a village of rocks and logs and resorting to hunting and fishing. Hoovervilles are becoming popular in the cities and the countryside and if the march backward continues some of us may reach the cave-man civilization of our shaggy ancestors.

Quackery and Unemployment

THERE are as many remedies on the market for unemployment as the celebrated specifics of Dr. Munyon for human ills some twenty years ago. Down in New Jersey the natives of two counties recently decided to devote a week to earnest prayer in the hope that God would do something about it. The American Legion associated with a few other organizations is engaged in a war against depression. The radio has been mobilized in the war. The crusade seems to be based on the idea that there are jobs in hiding all over the nation and it is simply a matter of hunting them out of their retreats.

Results were reported early in the week. In a Florida city sixty jobless men were given work, in Lancaster, Pa., tobacco warehouses were giving jobs to 500 to 1,000, while in other cities throughout the nation from ten to sixty-six jobs were reported. A few days later it was reported that nearly 17,000 unemployed men had obtained work in twenty-nine states. In New York City a blue service star underneath which is the slogan "We have enlisted in the war against depression" was displayed in the windows of those who have enlisted.

In no single instance is any evidence presented that these jobs have been created by the war on depression. They appear to be the normal changes that occur in small plants and these jobs would be available if there was no crusade on. Then they do not take into account further restrictions in employment which is necessary to determine whether there is a net gain. We would be happy if even a ballyhoo crusade could put all the jobless to work but the economics of capitalism does not respond to such wooing. If there was any marked effect to be expected by such methods the cheerio predictions of Hoover and others for two years would have done the trick.

Have Russia and Japan A Secret Pact?

HAS Soviet Russia a secret understanding or treaty with Japan? That question is being debated today and nobody has a definite answer. It is significant, however, that no bristling manifestos have been sent out by Moscow against the Japanese seizure of Manchuria and the undeclared war on China. The Communists have never neglected such situations in the past. However, other factors must be considered. The Communist International has no love for the League of Nations and Japanese defiance of the League suits Moscow. Then the Russians have not forgotten their grievance against the Kwantung which a few years ago accepted the assistance of Russian Communist leaders and then turned against them. The Soviet organizers were thrown out of China and quite a number of Russian Communists were massacred in the process. Moreover, Russia requires peace for her program of economic reconstruction and a war would bring demoralization because of the need of transforming industries on a war basis.

Duranty of the New York Times reports that Soviet production shows gains in technique and the Economic Life predicts that the Soviet will this year produce 500 million dollars worth of stuff formerly imported. The technical experts also live less in fear of the government since the order of Stalin last year which called a halt to the precarious status

they occupied in carrying on their work. Trouble with the peasants has not been reported the past week but they continue to be the big problem which Stalin and his associates face.

Cardozo to the Bench And Mellon to England

BENJAMIN NATHAN CARDOZO succeeds Oliver Wendell Holmes on the Supreme Court bench and as he comes in Andrew W. Mellon goes out to become Ambassador to Great Britain. Cardozo, like Holmes, is unique as a judge. He lives and thinks in terms of a changing world while most of the profession subscribe to an icy legalism based upon ancient precedents and archaic economics. However, the ice-age judges are a majority and the best that Cardozo can do is to write some excellent dissenting opinions.

As Mellon went out the House dropped impeachment charges against him as Secretary of the Treasury. The act creating the Treasury Department in Washington's administration provided that "no person appointed to any office instituted by this act shall directly, or indirectly, be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade and commerce." President Grant was compelled to withdraw the nomination of A. T. Stewart because he was "engaged in trade and commerce." Mellon's interests have a wide range, including banking, marketing, transportation, power and natural resources and his tax proposals and decisions concerned him as one of the nation's most powerful exploiters. Since Harding appointed Andy in 1921 the question has been raised time after time but the old boy held on. He was advertised as "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton" although his financial forecasts were generally a few hundred millions wide of the mark.

A Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury would have been impossible in the days of Populism. That one of the richest bourgeois kings could occupy the office in defiance of a plain statute shows how completely the republic has come under the control of the capitalist class. Andy at the Court of St. James will represent aluminum, oil and super-power very well but he will be beyond his depth in dealing with the skilled men of the British Foreign Office.

The Irish Go to the Polls

THE Irish have had their election and while returns will be coming in for several days it is probable that President Cosgrave may be beaten. For several days before the voting there was considerable violence and a number of politicians were assassinated. Cosgrave's majority in the Dail has been a slender one for the past five years. Since the uprising in 1916 a new generation of young men have provided a following for de Valera who promises them that he will renounce the oath of allegiance to the King, cut adrift from the British Empire economically, repudiate the land annuities of Irish farmers to British landlords, and get rid of the "old gang." There is some similarity between his crusade and that of Hitler in Germany. His program does not probe very deeply into Irish economic life in relation to the working class while Cosgrave, on the other hand, represents the rising business class of the island. De Valera will release all political prisoners and rec-

ommend the repeal of the Public Safety Act if he obtains a majority.

The government had a total of 65 and de Valera's party of 56 and of the 149 seats to be filled last Tuesday 274 candidates were nominated. The government put up 100 candidates, de Valera 103, Labor 33 and Independents 18, while 20 others are listed in the running. Jim Larkin, well known in this country, ran as a Communist candidate in North London. Jim has had a stormy career since he returned to Ireland. He is now more than 60 years old and it is reported that he has been declared a bankrupt and will be unable to take his seat under Irish law if he is elected to the Dail.

Germany Faces Important Elections

PAUL VON HINDENBERG has consented to seek re-election as President of Germany and the elections will be held on March 13. He will be supported by all the republican forces, including the Socialists. The opposition camp will include Hitler's Fascists and Dr. Hugenberg's Nationalists while the Communists are expected to run a candidate. By way of countering Hitler's rowdies various republican groups have formed themselves into an organization known as the Iron Front. Last Sunday Karl Hoeltermann, leader of the Reichsbanner, a republican organization, declared that "the Iron Front will not only smash Hitler but will see to it that Germany becomes a real republic." The statement is a warning that if Hitler attempts a rising force will be met by force.

Meantime, finance writers express fear that Germany may have to default on debt payments because of the decline in her export balance and German miners have adopted a resolution demanding the nationalization of the mines. The German mines came near nationalization in 1919 when Socialist sentiment ran high but it was argued that nationalized mines would become the prey of French exactions like the national railways. The government owned "railways have been referred to as the milch cow of reparations since the peace of Versailles. The next few weeks in Germany will be exciting and observers are wondering whether the Fascists can retain the victories they realized in the last election.

Laval Falls and Mussi Is Worried

DUE to pressure from the Left parties in the French Senate the Laval Cabinet fell on Tuesday. The vote was 157 to 134 and was taken on the question of adjournment. The incident is considered the beginning of a swing away from the Right groups who have bedeviled the European situation throughout the post-war period. Edouard Herriot, leader of the Socialistic Radicals, is almost certain to be in the new cabinet. Even in the provinces it is said that the Right policies, especially the attitude toward Germany, are losing out. The Paris correspondent of the New York Times cables that "the economic depression, which affects France last of all, began to be felt acutely last year and is fast approaching a climax with unemployment increasing fast. With an enormous budget deficit impending with extremely high taxes, with an increasingly unfavorable trade balance, the French feel . . . that, since things were so bad, they could not be worse with a new government, and might be better."

Mother Mooney to Address New York Rally on Wednesday; Telephone and Amplifiers to Carry Voice Over 3,000 Miles

THE VOICE of the aged but valiant mother Mooney will be carried across the continent for 3,000 miles and will be amplified so as to be distinctly heard in all parts of the Engineering Auditorium, 29 West 39th Street, New York City, on Tom Mooney Day, Wednesday, Feb. 24. Special arrangements have been made with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Although Mother Mooney is 80 years old, silvery-haired, and frail, she is remarkably active for her age. She speaks with just a hint of a delightful Irish brogue.

The meeting on Wednesday, Feb. 24, is expected to be the most significant mass meeting in the entire campaign for Tom Mooney's freedom. Among the speakers will be Joseph Baskin, Fannia M. Cohn,

M. Feinstone, Julius Hochman, John Haynes Holmes, Algernon Lee, Henry T. Hunt, Fanny Hurst, Abraham Lefkowitz, A. J. Muste, Reinhold Neibuhr, Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas, B. Charney Vladeck. From this significant list, it will be seen that the meeting is a powerful united effort of the New York Socialist, labor and liberal movement exerted at the moment most critical in the campaign for the pardon of Tom Mooney.

Governor Rolph, Jr., has the case of Tom Mooney now before him and his decision is expected to hinge to a large extent upon the pressure of public opinion during the next few weeks. Already this pressure has been so great that two resolutions have been introduced in Congress memorializing the State of California to immediately release labor's outstanding prisoner.

ON TO MILWAUKEE!

Socialist Convention and the Campaign Offer Party Its Greatest Opportunity

THIS is no ordinary year in American Socialist history. It is a year of unusual situations and possibilities. Never before has the Socialist Party faced such a year in a presidential election.

Our philosophy today is not a matter of theory. It is supported by grim facts. These same facts indict capitalism, capitalist politics, and its political leaders.

As might be expected in a period of gloom and despair there is a blind revolt developing. It is expressed in various forms. A new-style Populism stresses the "money subject" as the "paramount issue." A new-style "liberalism" gropes for a third party not tainted with a working class aim. An old-style "progressivism" continues in the role of drummer for votes within the range of "safe" capitalist party machines. Then there are those who urge that all these groups, together with Socialists, Communists, Single Taxers, etc., "get together" in some independent movement that will mean what each wants it to mean, something that will have the solidarity of purpose and action of a rope of sand.

No Department Store

This view considers a political movement in terms of a department store. One enters it and selects what he wants. One desires a doll, another a wrench, a third carpet tacks, and a fourth thinks that a hammer will suit his purposes. There is no underlying understanding of aims. United action is sought in diverse purposes and programs. This is folly. It leads to sterility and disappointment.

The leadership of the two capitalist parties presents no such discords. Whatever may be the rival ambitions of the party brokers they all think and act as guardians of capitalistic property. They represent the capitalism that has broken down. They want to preserve it. The interests of the working masses can be served only by a program that seeks to overthrow it. That is the fundamental objective of the Socialist Party. It is a basic aim which determines everything else in our political activity.

So long as we assert this aim and so long as we frankly declare that ours is a party of the working masses we clearly differentiate the Socialist Party from the confused groups and the ambitious politicians in the old parties who would capitalize hunger for their personal interests.

Tested by Time

Therefore, it is our duty to hold aloft our Socialist banner, march straight ahead, and prepare for the greatest struggle for Socialism in our history. Any

other course would foster an inferiority complex and sap the morale of the members.

The Socialist Party has more than three decades of history behind it. It has seen the Populist Party wither and die. It withstood the lure of Roosevelt's "progressive" Army of the Lord in 1912. Then came the Nonpartisan League. A flash in the sky and it was gone. Our party passed through the fire of the war and its "heresy" of that period is today commonplace truth.

From every point of view it is our duty to go straight ahead, gathering recruits on our march, and waving aside those who ask us to halt for a parley. Our history is an asset, our aims are clear, and we are in earnest. Capitalism is our enemy and while we will wrest every concession we can from the parties of capitalism we will not be turned aside from our drive against the system itself.

Prepare for Milwaukee

That means that the organized Socialists in many states should take up their work with a determination to be represented in the national convention at Milwaukee. The date has been fixed at a period when many delegates can come to the convention in automobiles. It should not be an Eastern or a regional convention. It should be a national convention and we hope that each Socialist state organization will see to it that it is represented. State organizations should immediately consider raising funds to help their delegates to attend the convention.

In the meantime the jobless situation is grave. With Socialists it is a race with time. Over and over again the party has emphasized the need of organizing the homeless and the jobless for action in their own behalf. We again call attention to this. *To the extent that we get the masses to act for themselves will we earn the right to appeal to them for support in the election.*

Other pre-convention work should be and must be done. In every state we should make a survey of radio broadcasting stations. Ascertain to what extent this modern method can be used to reach the voters. It is important and in each state this information should be available in advance of the campaign.

Use Avery Avenue

Party workers with automobiles to be used for reaching cities, towns and villages with speakers and literature should be enrolled for the campaign. In all the states there should be a list of such workers and machines compiled with a record of the time that can be given to the campaign. The leading candidates of the party in some states will have to rely on this method

of reaching the masses.

Where there is no local organization but a few Socialists and sympathizers they should be enrolled for literature distribution. If they are unable to purchase literature we must see to it that it is sent to them free.

A competent comrade in each state should be picked as a publicity agent to provide the leading papers with news of the Socialist campaign. Each local in a city or town should also have such an agent.

Every attack on the Socialist candidates and every criticism of the party should be answered. To be sure that the party's views will be represented the publicity agent may be assisted by an advisory committee in issuing statements.

No time should be lost in preparing for this important political struggle. There will, no doubt, be many opportunities to organize locals of the party. It is important to stress that the jobless man is welcome without the obligation of paying dues.

Go to the Masses

Above all, *we must go to the masses.* Ours is primarily a movement of working people. The workers have a widespread sense of economic grievance against the capitalist system and the politics of capitalism. Having the workers we will have a Socialist movement; without the workers we may have anything else but a Socialist movement.

Out of the black era of bourgeois reaction in the post-war years the Socialist Party emerges to wage a battle for the toiling masses. It bears scars that tell of the wounds it received for standing for principle when imperialist capitalism sent millions to their death in the slaughter pits of Europe. It beat back the hysterical madmen in its own ranks who played the game of the police agents by shouting for "armed insurrection" and "civil war." A Spartan band of veteran Socialists kept our banner flying in the days of the "New Capitalism," awaiting what they knew would be the inevitable collapse.

Outside our ranks there now appear strange sects with healing balms. They are as lacking in fundamental knowledge of capitalism as were the crusaders for "democracy" in the war period and the emotional "revolutionaries" at the end of the war. We did not stumble into the first and the second illusions; we will not be lured into a third one.

The Socialist Party welcomes, nay, invites new recruits but it will not lower its banner or pause in its march. It summons all who recognize the need of a labor army opposed to the whole system of capitalism to join in a struggle against it.

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The Economic Basis For World Peace

Disarmament Gestures Seen as Futile Unless Fundamentals of War System Are Attacked, Says Laborite

By Jennie Lee

TO SPEAK on ways of preventing war at a moment when the biggest international farce that has yet been staged is proceeding at Geneva and a first-class war rages in China is to invite from a long suffering public groans either of despair or derision. For thirteen years now endless eloquence has been expended in painting the sufferings of the last European war, the still greater horrors in store for mankind in any future war, and the criminal futility of believing that war brings anything except increased debts and fears to victor as well as vanquished.

From propaganda of this kind an admission has been wrung even from the statesmen of our respective countries that war is an evil thing to be prevented if we possibly can and that they are doing all in their power to create conditions of lasting peace. But such assurances generate bitter scepticism rather than genuine confidence when examined side by side with the fact that the world is more of an armed camp now than in 1914 and that it goes on spending almost five thousand million dollars on armaments and that in the specific testing point of a war of aggression in China the chief League of Nations powers stand around gaping impotently, or to be more accurate, give Japan complete freedom to kill as many Chinese as she can and to help herself to substantial chunks of Chinese territory, provided she does not interfere with the swag that Britain, France and America have already carved out for themselves in the international settlements.

Killing More Efficiently

There can be nothing more demoralizing to a person or to a nation than to go on year after year making professions of faith that have no counterpart in concrete performance. And that is what has been happening for the past thirteen years in regard to disarmament.

In response to any evident wave of public opinion in favor of disarmament, especially if this happens near election periods, the statesmen get the military experts to produce their figures showing some small decrease in expenditure or personnel in one or other of the departments, but if peace-minded people had scrutinized those figures more closely they would have discovered that the much trumpeted reductions amounted to nothing or might even occur in estimates where taken all round increases of military strength had taken place.

My own country of Britain has been neither better nor worse than others in this respect. From 1919 to 1927 we were supposed to be reducing our armaments but in the latter year Hansard of February 28th contains the following official statement from the secretary to

Elected to Parliament at the age of 24, Jennie Lee is one of the unique figures in the British Labor movement. Daughter of a Scotch miner, representative of miners in Commons, Miss Lee is one of the most forceful writers and speakers in the party. At the end of a month's speaking tour in the United States, Miss Lee last week addressed the N. Y. Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy on the prospects for disarmament and peace. The present article is based on that address.

the War Office: "The argument has been made by Hon. Members that we have increased the fighting power of the Army. That is so. They say that—with all these mechanical inventions and tanks and various new appliances it had TWICE THE FIGHTING POWER it had before. That is true." Even since 1929 the expenditure on the air force and on mechanization of the army has increased, yet Great Britain has been merely keeping pace with similar developments elsewhere.

What is the explanation of this seeming contradiction? It is simply that in armies as in industry generally, the process of rationalization has been going on so that less men can now with the aid of the latest scientific methods in mass killing, produce bigger and better results than ever before.

How Serve Peace?

For reasons such as those, even the prospect of a 25 per cent cut at Geneva—and the prospect is remote enough in all conscience—might merely mean the discarding of obsolete war plans by the respective powers and the concentration on mechanization and bombing planes and poison and disease germs, and all other bright new killing devices.

What then can the genuinely peace desiring people do? I believe they must first try to understand the point of view of the military authorities. Since 1918 we have asked them to cooperate with us in order to reduce the fighting services and have merely earned the retort that we expect them, to be responsible for national defense then want them to have an army not strong enough to fight and win but merely strong enough to fight and lose. That is obviously asking the impossible so the war chiefs have paid little attention to disarmament propaganda but proceeded to maintain the maximum fighting strength that the resources of their countries would allow.

For a long time those who have advocated partial disarmament have claimed almost a monopoly of progressive sympathies allied to vanity and have dismissed the ad-

vocates of total disarmament as cranks or impossible idealists.

Two Logical Positions

For my part I believe that in the condition of the world today the reverse is nearer the truth. There are two logical positions in regard to disarmament. The one is, if you have an army, see that it is bigger and better than that of any other powers if you possibly can, and see that you have every possible devilish device for killing at your command no matter what the book on etiquette may say about bombing peaceful citizens and submarine attacks, etc.

Or if you discard force as the basis of national and world security, be prepared to scrap armaments entirely and to forbid their manufacture. There can now be no half-way house. If progressive disarmament had begun immediately after 1918 it might have succeeded. Now it is too late. Each country is wondering what cards the other has up its sleeves. Partial disarmament is recognized as a means of outwitting and tricking the other country as much as genuinely disarming, and the practical powers of checking are severely limited. Now only total disarmament is radical and convincing enough to cope with the situation into which the world has drifted.

And why not? To be frank, because although we all wish to limit or abolish the machinery of war there is only a small Socialist minority in each country prepared to go right through with the job, for that cannot be done without a willingness to examine and if possible remove the causes of war.

The Economic Origins

The crying need of the moment is for international economic planning beginning with such raw materials as wheat, cotton and coal. Even to suggest anything so vast sends many people into fits or arouses laughter or jeers, for it means that each nation must begin by controlling and organizing its particular supply and must then be willing to work out a quota scheme with other nations. Even though a few big private trusts have shown that the business detail of such plans would not be insuperable, there is no evidence that those in authority in our respective countries would even dream of considering tackling the problem of war from this angle. They stand for principles of competition, not of cooperation. They are playing the universal game of beggar my neighbor by starving two customers at home in the effort to find one customer abroad.

It is considered wisdom and statesmanship to allow each nation to sink separately rather than that they should rise together. We still won't act on the knowledge that there cannot be prosperity for America with a ruined Europe or vice versa and that it would be



Van Raemdonck in "Het Volk" (Amsterdam)
A VOTE FOR DISARMAMENT—A cartoon by the Dutch Socialist artist drawn as the Geneva conference opened coincidentally with the sinking of the submarine M2 in the British Channel, carrying 55 sailors to a watery grave.

good business apart from sentiment entirely, to turn from international fears and jealousies to schemes for mutual reconstruction.

It is a thousand pities that the late Labor Government in Great Britain, standing in theory as it did for the new ideas of cooperation against the obsolete practices of mutual spoliation, ran away from its own distinctive economic policies. All that Mr. MacDonald did for disarmament abroad was written on sand for, it had no economic basis, but anything attempted at home in the region of preparing our basic industries to be a part of internationally planned trade would at least have kept alive the germ of the one idea which can in sober fact prevent future wars. Wars are economic in their origins and until such origins are examined, talk of peace is impotent.

The Danger of Delay

If the nations would break down all tariff walls and cancel war debts and reparations they would do more to prevent war than anything that has yet been attempted. Those things in themselves would not be enough yet public opinion is not ready entirely even for such, what I must call, preliminary steps.

At the end of 1918, the Independent Labor Party in Britain was derided for suggesting cancellation of all war debts and reparations. Today British conservative opinions have been gingerly forced into accepting that position. Tomorrow

American conservatism may by the logic of events be also compelled to see the wisdom of such a policy. But the time lag in post-war thinking is always too great. By the time a new idea is accepted, the situation has become so much worse that it is no longer sufficient in itself to supply a remedy.

The proposals for dealing with war such as cancellation of all war debts and reparations, removal of tariffs, total disarmament and international economic planning of the main world markets and commodities may sound so sweeping as to appear fantastic. But are they really so preposterous? And is there really sanity or hope in the alternatives that the conservative powers in the world are permitting to function. Are the reports of the bombing of women and children as well as men in Chinese factories not typical of the wars of the future? And do we really believe that once war breaks out the combatants are prepared to be dainty or genteel in their choice of weapons? Or is the morality of war not that success must be won at any cost, so if disease and poison germs help more than older methods do we

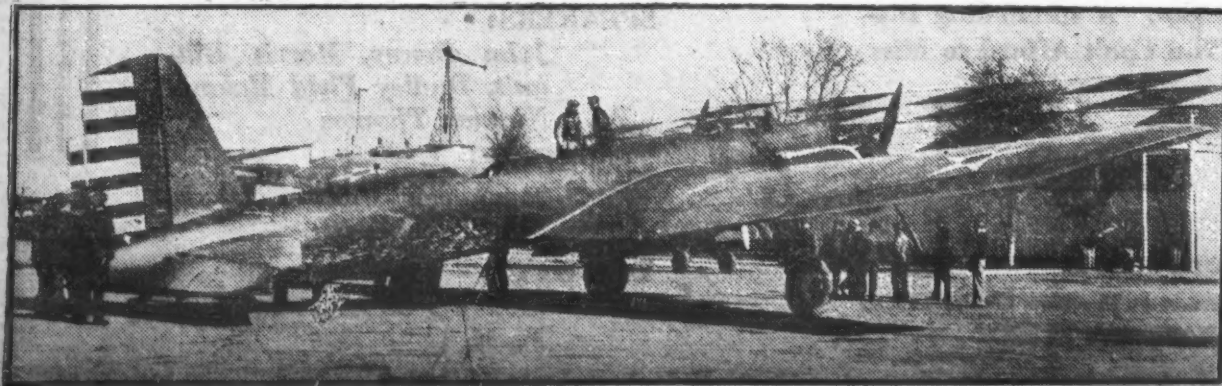
LEADER expect any pious resolutions at Geneva to block their adoption?

No Halfway House

The time lag in post-war thinking has already brought suffering and poverty enough to answer for. Remedies which if accepted yesterday might have done much are now not big enough for the problems of today. This applies to disarmament as to everything else. If there ever was a halfway house, there is no longer that way out.

Economic nationalism must be replaced by a nationalism which finds expression in the culture, the literature, the distinctive architecture and social life of a particular race or country, and must learn to blend with an internationalism in the planning of the world's economic life, which, if we only had the courage to embark on it, could make both poverty and war anachronisms of a barbaric conservative past.

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"ADLIEST PLANE" IN THE WORLD is the proud possession of the United States Army. Pictured above, the can carry a ton of bombs—enough to wipe out a city.

The International to China's Workers

Vandervelde States Position of World Socialists

By Emil Vandervelde
(President of The Labor and Socialist International)

AFTER their solemn pledge to the League of Nations to evacuate as speedily as possible the Chinese territory which they had subjected to a military occupation without any right whatever, the Japanese have proceeded to Tsitsihar; they have taken Chinchow and Harbin. They are at present attacking Shanghai.

Japan has naturally made use of all the pretexts usual in such cases (for which in the past, and in the same regions, Chancellor von Bülow—as he relates in his Memoirs—had supplied the formula): protection of foreign residents, tales of brigands, etc. And finally, in accordance with the well-known formula, they will no doubt recognize de facto and de jure the "independent government" which has just been set up, or which they have just set up in Manchuria.

Under these conditions, and doubtless after the farce has been played to an end the members of the International Commission of Enquiry will arrive like Offenbach's carbiniers. It must be admitted that it requires a strong sense of illusion to believe in the efficacy of the action of the League upon the progress of events.

An Appeal to the L. S. I.

Nevertheless the Chinese refuse to abandon this illusion or consider it to be good policy not to do so. They continue to appeal to the League of Nations and to European or American public opinion.

During the course of my trip through the Far East during the Autumn of 1930 I was received in Canton with great cordiality by the most powerful Chinese trade union, of a modern type, the General Union of Mechanics, which has branches throughout China and a membership of over 100,000.

I have recently received from the Executive Committee of this organization a letter dated November 20th, 1931, which is addressed less to me personally than to the President of the Labor and Socialist International and I quote below the chief passages from it:

"We address this letter to you in order to obtain your support in securing respect for justice and the maintenance of international peace.

"Taking advantage of a crucial moment in our political affairs, a moment when we were confronted by the Bolshevik peril and when terrible disasters had overtaken our people in the centre and the north of the country, the Japanese military chiefs did not hesitate to take possession of our territories in Manchuria and Mongolia. Their purpose in seizing these areas, which are as large as Europe itself, is not merely to enlarge their possessions in order to derive wealth from them. They also desire to make themselves the masters of the Far East, thus threatening, as did Germany under the Kaiser, the freedom of the world.

"Another Great Ally"

"Once having conquered China Japan will not fail to extend its aims, and, in order to gratify them, would continue its conquests towards the west.

"Since September 18th last the Japanese troops have occupied our two provinces Liaoning and Kirin. Their acts of malevolence have been innumerable.

"Placing its confidence in the League of Nations our country turned to it in all sincerity in order to obtain respect for the promises contained in the Covenant. Although we were capable of successfully repelling this attack we

patiently submitted to the insult and the outrage in order not to destroy, in a moment of irritation, the good effects of an institution and an instrument which it has taken human reason thousands of years to produce. We desired what the League and the Kellogg Pact desire.

"Our country is indebted to the League for its readiness to mediate for the spirit of justice of which it has given proof in declaring Japan to be at fault. We earnestly hope that it will continue in this direction.

"There is another ally in the world whom we cannot neglect without committing a grave error; we refer to the Second International.

The Bolshevik Impression

"We urgently request the International to press the League of Nations to put into effect Article XVI of the Covenant of the League, according to which the signatories to the Covenant must sever without delay their trade relations with the unjust aggressor (in the present case Japan) and impose upon it the severe sanctions demanded by such a violation of the treaties."

This letter is worthy of attention in many respects. In the first place it says much for the bad impression left in working class circles in Canton by the Bolsheviks, who, during the disturbances of 1927, could not train their machine guns and fire speedily enough upon the Trade Union house, in which the mechanics, the railwaymen and other groups of qualified workers had their headquarters.

It is also a further evidence of the fact that the Japanese attack on September 18th last sufficed to produce a united front of national resistance throughout China, extending to those who, until recently, were still fighting one against the other, and including groups such as the Mechanics' Union, which belongs to the left-wing of the Kuomintang.

Finally, it is characteristic of the confidence which, from without, and without being Socialists—unless one calls people with Socialist tendencies in the manner of Sun Yat Sen Socialists—the workers of the Far East place in the L. S. I. or, as it is usually called in China, the "Second International."

The Weakness of The League

We have, of course, replied to the Executive Committee of the Mechanics' Union. We have sent to Canton a complete set of material on what has been done by the parties affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International in protest against the abuse of power and denouncing the misdeeds of Japanese Imperialism.

But to tell the truth, when we

are dealing, as is the case in Manchuria, with events in a country in which at most the rudiments of Socialist organization exist, we should be wrong to believe or to spread the view that the International, apart from lending its moral support, is in a position to do much.

The important thing under the present circumstances is less for the L. S. I. to try to influence events than to draw from them the necessary conclusion.

In the first instance we have the obvious impotence of the League of Nations (that of the U. S. S. R. is, moreover, no less great) the impotence of the League, I repeat, to settle equitably and effectively a conflict such as the Manchurian conflict, when one of the powers concerned can invoke, in support of its policy of imperialism and conquest, the example which other great powers represented on the Council have given and are continuing to give.

Secondly, the very grave moral injury done to the Kellogg Pact in virtue of the fact that the Japanese, after having signed it, are unblushingly carrying on a policy of war which is a negation of the Pact.

For a Common Front

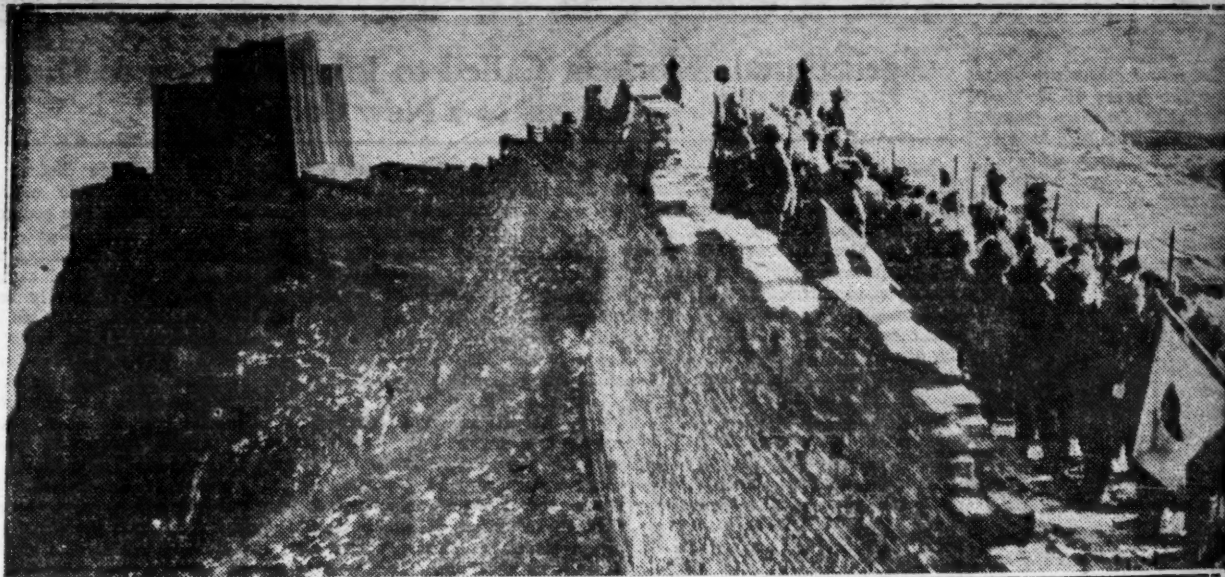
Finally, the difficulty of obtaining from this side of the world

correct information as to the causes and the course taken by the dispute.

Under these circumstances the importance for the Labor and Socialist International of having reliable sources of information of its own and the maintenance of closer and more regular intercourse with the workers' movements in the Far East becomes evident.

As far as China is concerned, the Mechanics' Union has shown on more than one occasion its desire to maintain contact with us. Our friends in the International Federation of Trade Unions intend to send delegates to the Far East shortly who will get into touch with the leaders of the labor movement and who may possibly succeed in establishing organizational ties.

If the present events convince the workers in the Far East of the necessity of these relations, in order to lead, under conditions better than those at present prevailing, to a common fight for peace and against imperialism, this would be, if not in the political sphere—things do not appear to be ripe for this here—at least in the industrial sphere, a decisive step in the direction of the effective internationalization of the labor movement.



GREAT WALL CRUMBLES BEFORE IMPERIALISM—The Great Wall of China was once a defense of possibly the world's earliest civilization. But it has not stopped modern Japan, transformed into an industrial and imperialist capitalist nation. Here is a Japanese detachment showing its contempt for China by saluting their emperor on the Great Wall. Thus did the legions of Nicholas of Russia and Wilhelm of Germany—remember them?—salute their emperors a brief fourteen years ago.

Philadelphia Police Arrest 8 Socialists

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Philadelphia's young Socialists are putting Mayor Moore in his place these days, as he attempts to tighten up on radical activities throughout the city. Eight were arrested last Sunday for distributing handbills announcing a meeting to be addressed by Paul Blanchard, and a "Work or Food" rally called for Thursday.

Those arrested were Elizabeth D. Hawes, Walter Storey, Louis Resnick, Philip Van Gelder, Rose Shapiro, Sarah Lockstein, two Yipsels, Bernard Becker, 15, and Edith Klein, 12, were held in the House of Detention all day. At the hearing the following morning all the cases were dismissed.

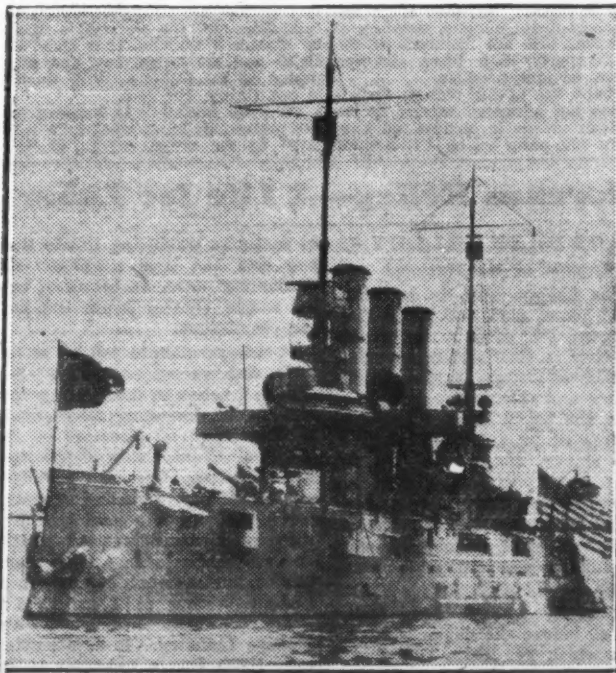
Mayor Moore is doing his best to scare the radicals in Philadelphia and make it difficult for them to carry on their work. Police were sent to investigate the Strawberry Mansion branch forum held every Sunday night. The Mayor will soon discover that it is not so easy to stop Socialist activity. Miss Hawes and Miss Lockstein, taken in on Sunday, had previously been arrested for radical activity. Hawes was arrested at Lansdale for aiding in a free speech test meeting.

Young Circle League to Hold Three Day Parley in B'klyn

About 60 delegates from over 40 Young Circle branches and clubs will assemble at the Eastern States Conference of the Young Circle League Feb. 20, 21 and 22, at the Hotel St. George, Clark & Henry streets, Brooklyn, to prepare a "One Year Plan" for Young Circle League activity. The Young Circle League is the Youth Section of the Workmen's Circle. Among the speakers will be Norman Thomas, Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; N. Chanin, president of the Workmen's Circle; Jennie Lee and Joseph Baskin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle.

Pioneer Youth to Present Play of Mill Workers

"Mill Shadows," a four-act drama of the Southern textile workers' struggle, by Tom Tippet of Brookwood Labor College will be presented by Pioneer Youth on Saturday, Feb. 27, at the New York School for Social Research, 66 West 12th street. Tickets can be bought at the office of Pioneer Youth, 45 Astor place, Stuyvesant 9-7865.



A BIT OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. A reported workers and peasants revolt in El Salvadore brought the U. S. cruiser Rochester to the scene to protect American property in that country. How much property do the workers of the United States own in El Salvadore?

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under-
deal.

A Farm Leader Views Capitalism

Agricultural Workers Called to Join in Efforts to Direct Changes to a New Order

(Canadian farmers have a broader insight into the forces of the capitalist system than American farmers and in western Canada they have developed wheat, livestock, dairy and poultry pools, a cooperative wholesale and a cooperative oil pool. Together with the United Farmers of Alberta these farmers cooperate in economic and political action and they have a group in the Federal Parliament at Ottawa of which Robert Gardiner is chairman as well as president of the U. F. A. At the recent convention of the United Farmers of Alberta held in Edmonton, Mr. Gardiner, in his presidential address, gave much attention to the economics of capitalism and the need of fundamental changes in society. Part of his interesting address follows.)

By Robert Gardiner
President, United Farmers of Alberta

TO DEAL with a problem successfully, we must first have an understanding of the reason for its existence. All economic problems arise out of and become part of the particular social system under which they exist.

Under our present social system, we have some very striking contrasts, such as, luxury-starvation, ease-overwork, wealth-poverty, abundance-scarcity, gluttony-malnutrition, all inherent in and a product of the same economic environment. Notwithstanding the above mentioned contrasts, it must be admitted that the present economic system has accomplished more in the interests of the human race than all former systems combined. Under former social systems, such as that of slavery or feudalism, the spectre of want was ever present and inescapable. This was due entirely to the hand methods of production, together with the inability of producers to utilize, adequately and efficiently for the sustenance of the people, the available natural resources.

Our present capitalistic system differs substantially from former systems, inasmuch as machinery is now the important factor in production. The discovery of steam and its utilization to drive the machinery of production was the basis upon which our present system was erected. Had it not been for the discovery of this or some such similar power, our present economic system and methods of production would have been impossible, and it is more than probable that we should be still living under a social system similar to, if not quite the same as, the feudal system. With the use of steam to drive machinery of production, the inventive genius of man was stimulated, and from crude beginnings we have gradually improved productive capacity, until today with our present efficient methods and machinery, we can produce all and more of the material things of life than are required to sustain our people in comfort. We could do this even with our present industrial plant and equipments if it were permitted to function to its full capacity—and today, owing to lack of purchasing power in the hands of consumers, it is notoriously working at but a fraction of its capacity. If, further, the inventive genius of our own generation, equipped as it is with scientific and technical knowledge unparalleled in any preceding age, were allowed full play, it could not only endow our people with a standard of living incomparably higher than the present one, but also provide them with an abundance of leisure for self-development.

It is becoming increasingly manifest, however, that the development and employment of industrial plant to its full capacity will not

be attained under the present economic order. This is evidenced by the fact that the only remedy for the present evil of under-consumption prescribed by those who control the system, is to curtail consumption still further by what is erroneously described as "economy." Economy properly understood is the orderly arrangement and management of the affairs of a community and the wise and efficient use of its resources. To reduce the power of the people to purchase the goods they need when these goods can be produced in abundance, is not economy, yet the further reduction of the community's income is the only remedy prescribed by those who are concerned to retain the present economic system intact.

Social Change Inevitable

Like all natural things, social systems are born, develop, reach maturity, decay, and die. The system under which we live will prove no exception to this rule. Whether it has reached its full maturity, we cannot positively assert. If it has not reached its full maturity, the present depression will pass. If it has, fundamental changes in the social system are impending.

I do not believe that the changes, when they come, will inevitably be in the interests of the masses of mankind. The elements which dominate the existing system will undoubtedly endeavor to guide the processes by which the succeeding system may be established. Those elements are to be found outside our parliamentary institutions; for in the light of recent history it is becoming increasingly apparent that political governments occupy but a secondary place in the scheme of things. It is not inherently necessary that they should accept this subordinate role; but they

choose to abdicate before the threat of irresponsible elements rather than to rally the people behind them, as they might, by a bold effort, to free industry from its trammels. The real struggle for power goes on usually in secret, though of late years we have obtained revealing glimpses behind the scenes. The struggle is carried on by men who deal neither in glittering phrases nor comforting platitudes, but in hard facts—money, credit, the whole machinery of commerce and industry, and the manner of its control. They are realists, and some of the most influential of them are obsessed by the will to power, by the ambition to achieve complete control of the social system. If they do succeed in maintaining control of the processes by which a new social system must be brought into being, we may witness in the not distant future the ushering in, in its most perfect form, of the Servile State, the establishment, beneath it may be, the guises of benevolence, of a tyranny such as the world has not yet known. They will succeed unless mass intelligence is so developed and organized in such a degree that it can control and guide the process of change, and we can confidently look forward to an age of plenty, to an era in world history, brighter, perhaps, than any which the human mind has yet conceived.

The Choice Before Us

We are approaching the parting of the ways. The two paths lie before us. The choice is ours. If we choose to take the path to a better social order, we must be prepared, as Alberta farmers, to bear our share with other social units in this and other countries in directing the processes of change. To be effective, we must under-

stand these processes and organize to control them. Organization without intelligent understanding would get us nowhere. It is equally true that intelligent understanding without organization is doomed to impotence. We must not neglect either one of these two essentials. Each is equally necessary. We must endeavor to bring about a unification of all our activities as farmers and citizens in order to cover the whole field of social reconstruction; and we must at the same time recognize the necessity of individual development.

The Local is the basis of our organization. The development of strength within the Local is essential to the effectiveness of our movement. Our power to accomplish anything in the wider fields of Provincial, national and international affairs depends upon the degree of co-operation which we develop within the Local. The influence which the Local can bring to bear on the course of great events is, it is true, limited, but given the development of individual and mass intelligence which the Local alone can make possible, there is no task so great that in collaboration with other social groups similarly organized, we cannot confidently hope for its accomplishment. The Locals whose members are working together in the solution of the problems of their own neighborhood, and at the same time envisioning the larger problems that lie beyond their immediate environment, are the Locals which can contribute most to the strengthening of our organization, to the development of our social, economic and political institutions, and finally, to the creation of a new social order.

At our last Annual Convention, we declared our belief that "the hope of civilization rests upon human ability to build a co-operative commonwealth." To that task we have set our hands.

From Our Mailbag

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

Exploiters of Labor and Socialists—The Party and the Trade Unions

WANTS INFORMATION

By Gus Tyler

In the Jan. 23 issue of The New Leader there appeared an article reporting the Philadelphia convention, written by Comrade Blumiller. Unfortunately there was little room to report all the pros and cons of the debates on the issues, or to fully explain certain resolutions. In the hope of obtaining a more complete explanation, I should like to make several inquiries about one motion in particular, namely, "a rule forbidding the nomination for public office of any party member who is an exploiter of labor for private profit."

My questions, asked not in the tone of complaint, but with an aim at clarification of this resolution, are: Is the holder of stocks and bonds in a corporation to be considered ineligible, if those stocks or bonds bear interest or profit?

Is a landlord to be considered an "exploiter of labor" since a great proportion of surplus value goes to him? Is the man who invests money in the bank, which money is then used for the "exploitation of labor for private profit," which profit is then given in part to the bank depositor as unearned increment, to be excluded? Or do we differentiate between direct and indirect exploitation of labor?

Finally, is it true, as some persons have been rumormongering, that under the provisions of this resolution neither Sam DeWitt nor Friedrich Engels, if he were alive, would be allowed to run on the Socialist ticket?

THE PARTY AND THE UNIONS

By Julius Gerber

In the Jan. 23 issue of The New Leader Comrade DeWitt advises myself and Comrade Oenal to join a "Union of Unionists." Let me inform him that I do not have to join. Not only am I a member in good standing in my union, but I attend its meetings more often than DeWitt does his Socialist party branch meetings. But even if I did not belong to the union, I would still know more about labor unions,

having been a member, than one who never was and never could be.

My occupation is such that it keeps me in contact with the workers, and my union—conservative as it is—recognizes that the Socialist party is part of the labor movement by permitting me to remain a member, even though I am not working at the trade.

May I further say that there are more sheet-metal workers, members of my union, who are members of the Socialist party than there are iron mongers or junk peddlers.

Perhaps one of the reasons Socialism has not advanced further in the American unions is because we have persons who never belonged to a union

chatter about unionism.

It may be easy for people who spend their Sunday mornings on the golf links and who do not have to worry where their next meal or month's rent will come from, to advise the organized workers how to run their organizations, and declare that unless they do thus they are out of existence. The fact is that the struggle between the capitalists and the workers is fought by organized workers. It is they who strike and are locked out, and often placed on the blacklist. With them it is not theory, but fact.

Do these Socialists in business and the professions know what it is to be loyal to the union, refuse to be a

strike-breaker when the family is starving, when the kiddies can't go to school for lack of shoes? What do these people know of the blacklist, to be refused a job for no other reason than that one refused to scab on his fellow union men? Because I have gone through the mill and know all this, and because I have belonged to a union almost as many years as Sam DeWitt is on this earth, and because I have organized a union—unions that exist, not on paper—I do know the value of the unions, imperfect as they are. And because I know what the labor unions have done for their members and even for the unorganized, I say with my unforgettable friend and comrade, Ben Hanford, "Organized labor, may it ever be right, but right or wrong, my place is with organized labor."

New York City.

A CORRECTION

By Julius Gerber

Permit me a few lines to correct a statement in the report of the National Secretary submitted to the National Executive Committee at its meeting held in St. Louis.

On page 10 of that report, Comrade Senior implies that I refused to give him the cards and stencils of persons all over the United States, and the steel cabinets for some, and also an addressing machine.

The facts are that the addressing machine and the stencils were bought and paid for by the Socialist Action Committee, a local committee of New York State and New York City; that the machines were used during the National Campaign of 1928, and by Station WEVD, but neither invested any money in the machines or supplies for same; that local New York is even now paying on the machine and for supplies used by WEVD, and in the 1928 campaign.

I never refused to give the National Secretary the cards or stencils covering the sections outside of New York. On the contrary, I asked him to take them as we need the space, and when he was in New York last, he picked

out the cards of several states which were sent to him.

There are no steel cabinets. The stencils are housed in metal drawers in wooden shelves which cannot be dismembered, but he can have the stencils and I will be glad if he would take them away.

But the addressing machine was bought by money contributed by the local comrades (and we are still paying on it). At present it is being used by local New York for local purposes.

I would ask you to print this correction (in justice to local New York with 24 per cent of the membership in the Party and to myself), as the reports of the National Secretary are sent to many comrades all over the country.

A QUESTION

By Abe Belsky

My attention has been called to a letter sent out by one of the new members of the party who, among other things, writes: "Elections for National delegates to the Milwaukee convention are now taking place at your branch meetings. Every militant should make it a matter of the highest importance to attend his branch meeting and vote correctly. You know the candidates in your borough who represent our viewpoints."

From this it would appear that there is a slate in each borough and that militants are to vote for their slate and no more. How about those of us who have no slate? Are we to help elect the slate selected by the caucus since we have no slate or may we be informed who these chosen few are. So we, too, will know how to vote?

As the comrade who signed the letter is too new in the party to have worked this scheme, who is back of this? At any rate it is a new method never before practiced in the Socialist Party, and shows what methods these people will apply to carry their point.

New York City.

Florence Kelley—A Life for Labor

FLORENCE KELLEY, 72, founder of the National Consumers League and its secretary for 33 years, died Feb. 17 in Germantown, Pa., after a life of constructive service seldom equaled.

Educated at Cornell, Zurich, Heidelberg and Northwestern Universities, she began her active life at the age of 32 when she went to Hull House, Chicago, where she spent eight years with Jane Addams. During those years she investigated slums for the government, was chief factory inspector for Illinois and did many other things.

In factories producing goods they buy and has thus mobilized the consuming power on behalf of better wages, shorter hours and better conditions.

It is impossible to tell all of her wide and varied activities. She was long active in the fight against child labor, including membership on the board of directors of the National Child Labor Committee for 16 years. She was president of the Henry Street Settlement for a quarter of a century. She was a long-time member of the Socialist party. She was a member of the Women's Trade Union League, author of Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation and Modern Industry. In short, wherever there was a fight for better things there was Florence Kelley, a vital, kindly, aggressive battler for the common good.

She is survived by two sons, John Artram Kelley and Nicholas Kelley, both of New York.

CITY LIGHTS—
AND SHADOWSAfter Banking
HoursBy IRWIN D.
HOFFMAN

THE CHATTERBOX

by S. A. de Witt

More Sonnets

TIME lays its strata on experience
No less than winds and rain upon the
earth,
And if our love seems slower now to sense,
It has not lost a gramme of all its worth
Since first it shone bewilderingly rare . . .

And if we reckoned we were rich indeed
When all this treasure glinted bright and
bare,
Now that it rests like lightly covered seed
Beneath alluvials of driven sand
I venture it were good to know it lies
Full hidden, yet accessibly to hand
When reason doubts or sentiment denies
That love between us is a deathless thing.
Fresh as our first kiss, and as maddening.

Strange are the ways of compassion.
The plague that has beset our once "per-
manently prosperous" land has wrought
rare miracle with the hitherto self-centered
middle classes. Many of the nearly
busted ones have gone in for social ser-
vice work on the payrolls of private and
public relief agencies, and the few who
are just badly bent are busy collecting
cast off clothing and waiting in charity
coffee pots. There is an undeniable ro-
mance in that sort of work.

The too cynical ones of us, who know
what the epidemic of poverty and suf-
fering is about, might be inclined to
snicker some, and say that this bene-
volence is done defensively against a
revolt of the woe-stricken masses. As
surely the present hasty marshalling of
governmental finance is the last redoubt
thrown up by the frightened plutocrats . . .

But let us not be too smart and too
intrusive for fact. Rather mull over the
delectable bit of news of the burial com-
pany of a California town that has been
moved so utterly out of its stolid cock-
sureness as to offer free burial plots to
the unemployed. Be it said to the ever-
lasting credit of the mayor of the town
that he refused to consider such a gen-

erous proposal with these now immortal
words, "We don't want to bury the un-
employed, we want to make life more
bearable for them . . ."

Gosh all tetherhooks! I've heard of Sir
Harry Lauder giving away a pair of com-
plimentary tickets to one of his concerts,
and sundry such wonders of generosity,
but never have I heard of an undertaking
establishment offering to any part of the
long dying public, free burial ground or
anything . . . You see how rare are the
ways of kinship through universal misery
. . . Pretty soon, if this depression keeps
making human beings of us all, it will be
possible for a worker to die within his
means . . . By benefit of a heart-broken
mortician cult, of course.

Nowadays, my place on Lafayette
street is more often a forum than an
emporium. Mechanics come in to buy
and remain to discuss the blight that
has fallen upon trade, and a whole
people. It is sad indeed, at times to
learn how utterly unlearned most folks
are in the simplest laws of economics.
Sometimes, it is heartening to hear an
unsuspected fellow hold forth with fun-
damental clarity . . . Once in a while an
incident occurs that becomes an un-
erasable memory.

The other day, an old friend, who is
a principal of a public school, and who
takes up machine shop practice as a
home hobby, stood and argued with me
quite heatedly on the advantages of the
present system over Socialism. He comes
of Mayflower stock, and is as firmly
rooted in the philosophy of rugged in-
dividualism as the Plymouth Rock is
to that famous "stern and rockbound
coast . . ."

I have long ago given up the hope of
proselyting that otherwise excellent
gentleman to a cooperative plan of life.
Just when his argument had reached
its firmest fervor, the door opened and
a tall, grey-haired man entered with a
package under his arm. My friend cut

his sentence short, and stared with me
at the visitor. We both became aware of
a personality. The man was subtly im-
pressive. Years of sunning under skies of
culture gave an invisible glow to his
pale, scholastic features. There was
learning in his eyes, and civilization in
his long tapering fingers . . . But even
before his tired trained words stirred us
out of trance, our eyes had taken in the
threadbare edges of his coat sleeves and
the frayed linen of his white collar . . .
The age limit and the unemployment
plague had done for him.

"Gentlemen, I have here an educational
novelty of use to every adult or child,"
he said softly, as if afraid of the sound
of his own voice and what it was saying
. . . We sensed his shame. He held forth
a paper novelty that gave a map of the
world. A perforated disc was attached
to it by an eyelet. As it revolved it
showed the population of cities and na-
tions and other facts . . . He explained
all that, and we, who stood there and
listened, heard nothing. We were con-
scious only of something that had been
grand, imposing and worthy once. Now
it was crumpling into a pitiful heap
before us.

The fine old man mistook our stunned
silence for impolite disinterest. He was
hurried in his temper and his despair.
"Oh, well, there are people who can see
the educational value of this article . . ."
and he was gone . . . Too rooted by sur-
prise, we made no move to recall that
driven soul.

Torrents of thought whirled through
our brains. Protest and anger engulfed
me. My friend was drenched through
with pity . . . I turned on him and quite
bitterly I said . . . There, Charlie, but
by the grace of circumstance, go you . . .
or I . . . The stern old conservative
shuddered just a bit to the left, as his
eyes left my pointed finger and sought
the floor . . . Yes, by God," he whispered
and stood still.

Non-Controversial
Cats

DRAWING breath in between speeches these
days, I rise to salute the comrades of New
Jersey for their magnificent turnout at the Work-
men's Circle Hall at Newark last Sunday.

From Camden and Linden, from New Brunswick
and Trenton and Jersey City they came and re-
newed their allegiance to Socialism, and with keen
discussion of the issue which confront us in these
crucial time and with the best of good comradeship,
to boot, they proved that the resurgent wave of
Socialism is sweeping commuter-cursed New Jersey
as well as the rest of the country hereabouts.
George Goebel was in his element, climbing on and
off chairs to bellow instructions to the conferees,
alternately to cuss and bless 'em, to take up a
collection as only George can and to introduce the
speakers at the luncheon. It was a big Sunday for
George and all the rest of us who hiked over there
to see what was going on the other side of the
Hudson.

In Newark was Jasper McLevey with his Bridge-
port election laurels still fresh, as vitally full of
energy as ever after making two or three speeches
a day since last August. Jasper hasn't much time
to spend on discussions of theory, but give him a
good hustling gang of kids and some literature and
he can turn over a staid New England town upside
down in a few weeks. A great relief to run into
someone who doesn't want to jaw about who said
what in 1868 but likes to get down to the factory-
gates and talk turkey to the boys when they come
out.

There's Always Cats

The difficulty about writing on non-controversial
subjects is that every time we start to do this,
someone comes in and riles us and we are in a
controversy right bang. Just now we were told by
a middle-class reporter for one of the most reac-
tionary sheets in the country that we should go
and join the Communists and this non-controversial
invitation has us biting nails all over the office.

Then someone shows us a picture of Spain ban-
ishing Jesuit priests and we get cheered up again.
Hey nonny-non and ha-cha-cha, some day we will
be dead and out of all reach of controversies, and
among the worms who shall tell the militants from
the Original Owners of the Copyright?

Science. There's a non-controversial subject.
You can always be safe with science whether or
not you know the difference between an exact
science like chemistry and that borderland exercise
in covering up guesses with fancy language called
philosophy. So I guess I'll write a piece about
science. But hold. Didn't someone recently have
a piece in this paper about science? Something
about science and Socialism? Oh, yes, I remem-
ber. Well, how are you boys and girls? How's
your uncle. Nice weather we're having. They do
say thing in a few more weeks it will be Spring
and the squirrels will be out in Central Park and
the nuts in Union Square and presumably by that
time the Glass Bill will have melted all our assets
and liquidated our liabilities and we will have sta-
bilized the currency all over and put business back
on its feet.

So after all, perhaps it is safer in the long run
to stick to cats. To be sure this always raises
Cain among the dog lovers who send me insulting
letters after a column on cats appears telling me
to go join the Lovestoneites.

So from now on watch this space for a shower
of cats.

McAlister Coleman.

Socialism Pro and Con As Seen In A Youth Debate

By Harry Lopatin

THE Brooklyn Socialist Forum,
last Sunday evening, was the
scene of an able defense of Social-
ist principles and an attack on the
anti-social nature of the "system"
dubbed capitalism. Two represent-
ative young Socialists, August
Tyler and Aaron Levenstein, de-
bated in the name of the Young
People's Socialist League, and two
students of New York University,
officially represented that institu-
tion while presenting the merits of
capitalism and an appeal for its
retention as a social system. Jim
Keller and Sol Horenstein made
up the latter team.

In defining the capitalist system
and stating its inherent qualities,
Tyler, in opening, charged that by
its very nature it is unjust, waste-
ful of man-power, tended to war,
and existed by an ever increasing
exploitation of labor. If capital-
ism is to be defended, then the

defenders must answer "why peri-
odically under capitalism there are
ever recurring crises, increasing
poverty and unemployment?" He
set as a basic issue in the debate,
the horror and injustice of dump-
ing workers into the hell of unem-
ployment. Capitalism, because of
its life-blood, the profit-motive,
could not—will not—and dare not
improve workers' standards and
wages. Thus the workingclass
must organize politically and in-
dustrially to bring about a coop-
erative society which will be free
of these inherent evils.

The negative argument was then
taken up by Jim Keller, who
sought to horrify his hearers by
the charge that Socialism was an
untried and unproven "ideal" sys-
tem. Still—to calm his fears or
substantiate his argument—he put
questions for the affirmative to an-
swer. Will you follow Marx—will
you pay wages according to need
or revert back to a differentiation
—how will you agree on what
wages to pay—would you allow for

the existence of a central dicta-
torial power? Then he went on
with several novel claims, such as,
"conditions for workers have been
improved from time to time by
Capitalism," and that "the mere
fact that evils exist"—does not
mean they cannot be reformed out
of existence. Growing surpluses
under Capitalism are not serious—
oh hardly!—for Capitalism re-in-
vests. Also, serious discrepancies
in Capitalist distribution could be
ironed-out by progressive income
and inheritance taxation. As for
war—why that was not at all "in-
evitable" under Capitalism. Hasn't
Einstein said that if 2 per cent of
the population would refuse to
fight there could be no more war?
And—why this opposition to Com-
petition? Improved machinery and
methods of production are the off-
spring of competition. It is dan-
gerous to jump into a "Lazy, ideal-
istic, blue-print society"—when
one already has such a fine exist-
ing society at hand that has "vis-
ible good."

Levenstein, thereupon, went on
with the case for Socialism by
quoting Blackstone to the effect
that "so great is the regard of
law for private property, that it
will not authorize the slightest act
against it—not even for the com-
mon good!" "Our present-day so-
ciety subordinates the rights of
man to those of property—and it
must go!" was his contention.
Competition means success or fail-
ure. How then will you be rid of
poverty if poverty is the result of
failure? "Will we pay wages ac-
cording to need?" Of course we
will—and more! Will we follow
Marx? We do! Will we have a
strong central government? By
all means! That government will
be the government of the worker
and must be powerful!

Back again came the negative—
this time in the person of Sol Ho-
renstein. He, too, took up his col-
league's crying plea. Why throw
away a system you see before your
eyes for one unproven and un-
tried? Socialism will create ty-

ranny, bureaucracy, and subjugation
of the will of the people
(laughter) to the will of the gov-
ernment. What will happen to in-
dividual initiative? There will be
no more inventions! And then—
out of a clear sky—came the "rev-
elation" that Socialism had been
tried before—thrice in Germany,
twice in England, once in Den-
mark, once in Australia, many
times where not. And always it
has failed (more laughter).

And so came the rebuttal—and
with it the negative rehearsed the
bogey of the "greater evils of So-
cialism—its part in competition—
its fear of change for the untried,
etc." Tyler and Levenstein came
right back with the challenge to
prove that Capitalism can wipe out
the plagues of unemployment, pov-
erty, injustice and war.

Our young comrades gave a fine
account of themselves—and with-
out exaggeration one could say
that every Socialist came out
proud of their fiery zeal and under-
standing of the Socialist ideal.

The Senate Votes For Starvation

Democrats and Republicans Join Hands to Kill Bill to Feed the Hungry

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.

By a majority of 48 to 35, with J. Ham. Lewis of Illinois taking refuge in a vote of "Present," the Senate has killed the Costigan-LaFollette hunger relief bill.

Every American worker should remember this roll-call, since it demonstrated again that there was no important difference in attitude, toward the misery of the unemployed millions and their dependents, between the regular Republicans and the regular Democrats. Both capitalist parties voted to let these men, women and children starve. They joined in rejecting the only measure before the Senate which would have brought federal money to the aid of cities and States in feeding, sheltering and providing clothing for the victims of the panic.

After LaFollette and Costigan had made final appeals for the dropping of prejudices, and Norris had pleaded that petty jealousies among senators should not blind them to the tragedy involved in refusing to bring emergency relief to the hungry and miserable unemployed and their wives and children, the roll was called.

A Bi-Party Vote

Voting for the bill were Ashurst, Blaine, Borah, Bratton, Brookhart, Bulkeley, Mrs. Caraway, Copeland, Costigan, Cutting, Davis, Dill, Fletcher, Frazier, Hayden, Johnson, Jones, LaFollette, Logan, McGill, McKellar, Neely, Norbeck, Norris, Nye, Schall, Sheppard, Shipstead, Smith, Steiwer, Thomas of Idaho, Trammell, Wagner, Walsh of Montana and Wheeler. Paired in its favor were Barkley, Bulow, Howell and Thomas of Oklahoma.

Voting to kill the relief measure were Austin, Bailey, Bankhead, Barbour, Bingham, Black, Broussard, Byrnes, Capper, Carey, Connally, Coolidge, Couzens, Dale, Dickinson, Fess, George, Glass, Goldsborough, Gore, Hale, Harrison, Hastings, Hatfield, Hawes, Hebert, Hull, Kean, Kendrick, Keyes, King, McNary, Morrison, Oddie, Patterson, Pittman, Reed, Robinson of Arkansas, Robinson of Indiana, Smoot, Stephens, Townsend, Tydings, Vandenberg, Walcott, Walsh of Massachusetts, Watson and White. Paired against the bill were Glenn, Moses and Waterman.

This showdown on the willingness of senators of both old parties to continue to let the workers starve was the culmination of a long day of bitter debate, in which Walsh of Massachusetts reversed his own position of a year ago and demanded that there be no federal relief for the hungry until the States had exhausted their own taxing power, and Black of Alabama, another turncoat, had flagrantly misrepresented every argument of the advocates of the bill and had charged them with sole responsibility for further suffering by the destitute, since they had refused to accept his substitute measure which obligated the States to repay the funds to the federal treasury. Wheeler of Montana, who had first voted for the Black substitute, made a speech in which he insisted he had always preferred the Costigan-LaFollette bill.

Doubts Politicians' Honesty

Walsh of Massachusetts made the curious argument that the federal government should refuse to relieve the hunger of the unemployed now, because the present terrible conditions are likely to continue for years—perhaps five or ten more years. Robinson of Arkansas, Bourbon floor leader, attacking Couzens' proposal that the \$375,000,000 relief fund pre-



YOUNG SOCIALISTS JOIN IN BIG PROTEST AGAINST RENT EVICTIONS — These progressive young men, led by Rev. White, are picketing Madison Street Court House in protest against system of throwing dozens of families every day into street.

vided in the bill should be administered by the President under a sort of dictatorship of relief, declared that it would not be safe to place so tempting a fund in Hoover's hands on the eve of his re-election campaign.

Pittman of Nevada, Robinson's lieutenant, made a great show of regret that LaFollette, Costigan and their supporters would not abandon their bill and accept the

ple may not be left hungry as a result of the technical differences that have arisen among us during two weeks of discussion."

When Dill charged LaFollette with being too stubborn against the substitute, LaFollette replied that it was not a trifling technicality but a real principle that distinguished his bill from the Bourbon substitute. The original bill Black substitute, "so that the peo-

would lay the burden on the federal government, which meant higher taxes on big incomes and estates; the substitute called for repayment by the States, which meant higher taxation of the farmers' land and the small merchant's goods. He asked whether Dill was seeking a "haven of refuge for the big income taxpayers."

Couzens' refusal to vote for fed-

eral relief on the final rollcall was evidently due to pique because his scheme for handing the money over to Hoover had been rejected by both sides. Jones' vote for the bill was explained by strong telegrams from the mayor and Central Labor Council of Seattle, and from the city and county commissioners of Spokane, urging that the bill be enacted.

Davis of Pennsylvania finally whispered a vote for the bill, since he is seeking re-election at the hands of hungry Philadelphia and Pittsburgh unemployed. Besides Gov. Pinchot had sent him a challenge to "throw off the collar of the machine," and vote to feed the starving. Davis did not like to face the consequences of a vote against the measure, and like Steiwer of Oregon and some other candidates for re-election—he was assured that the bill would be defeated anyhow.

LaFollette's Warning

Walsh of Montana made a desperate effort to defeat the hunger relief feature of the bill, by asking first for a separate vote on that title of the measure and of the second title, which provided for \$375,000,000 to be given to the States for highway construction. When his request was refused, he offered a substitute consisting only of the highway feature. This was rejected, 28 to 58.

"I appeal to the Senators not to be as blind as were the French aristocrats before their revolution," LaFollette said, in his closing speech. "This issue of the preservation of human life in America is irrepresible. It will not do. We are to decide here today whether a majority in this body believe that the federal government was instituted to protect the country or to protect the privileged few."

An Issue Still Unsettled

The Senate was reminded that organized labor had sent its national executives to Washington petition for direct federal relief for the starving families of the jobless workers. This action represented a long-delayed and reluctant change of attitude by labor, since it had at first assumed that the depression would soon be ended and meanwhile it demanded jobs for all and would not consider the need for charity.

But defeat of the bill, LaFollette and Costigan reminded the sullen opposition, would feed no children of the unemployed. It might placate big income tax payers, and coax into campaign chests the generous contributions that party managers crave, but refusal of relief would mean lifelong suffering for children who would be crippled by rickets, weakened by cold and disease, and embittered by knowledge that their health could have been protected.

Hunger had made its urgent appeal. A majority of the Senate had firmly said "No." But scarcely a senator felt that the hunger issue had been disposed of for long.

Job Insurance, Roosevelt Style

\$10 a Week for 10 Weeks—And Then Starvation

By Henry J. Rosner

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT of New York has just urged the State Legislature to enact a compulsory unemployment insurance law based upon the report of a commission of economists representing the governors of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Connecticut. A Republican Legislative Committee on Unemployment headed by Assemblyman Marcy of Buffalo promptly attacked "hasty enactment" of such legislation on the ground that insufficient data is on hand on which to predicate a "sound" law.

Undoubtedly, the Republican-controlled legislature will defeat the Roosevelt proposal. This will give the Governor, if he is a presidential candidate, an admirable talking point to capture the liberal and labor vote although his proposals are fearfully inadequate and conclusively demonstrate that the worker can have no faith in the "liberalism" of the Democratic party.

Far Behind Charity

The Roosevelt bill calls for maximum payments of \$10 a week for ten weeks in a given year. Ten dollars a week may be sufficient for a single man to exist on but surely no workingman with a family can hope to get along on that sum. Public and private charity, which is hopelessly inadequate, sets up a higher standard than that. The New York City Home Relief Bureau today provides \$15 a week for an unemployed family consisting of the breadwinner, the mother and three children. Their budget provides 7 cents for each meal for each person. Surely an unemployment insurance law ought to do at least as well as that. The Roosevelt bill does not even make extra provision for dependent wives and children.

The limitation of benefits to ten weeks in any 12 months to a large extent defeats the purpose of unemployment insurance. Such a law should remove the need for

humiliating charity. Every severe depression results in millions of workers being unemployed for many months if not years. Roosevelt's bill, nevertheless, would give the jobless worker but a ten weeks' respite from starvation.

Financing the Plan

The inadequate benefits proposed are dictated by the poor method of financing the cost of this system of unemployment insurance. In the first place, each firm is responsible for its own unemployed. This is contrary to sound principles of insurance which require the spreading of the bad risks by pooling all of the funds. For instance, it is a commonplace that public utilities like electric, gas and telephone companies are more prosperous and are better able to maintain regular employment than the seasonal and unstable clothing industry. Under this proposal the benefits must be limited by the ability of the least prosperous industry, usually with a large amount of unemployment, to pay the required tax. Obviously, the prosperous public utilities ought to be more heavily assessed in order to enable prosperous industries to pay unemployment benefits to its workers.

It is held that a law of this type will encourage stabilization of employment by management because it places the greatest burden upon the industries with the largest volume of unemployment. The trouble with that theory is that individual management frequently has no control over unemployment. Thus, the public utilities are more stable because of a constant demand for a vital public service whereas the clothing industries frequently find themselves in great difficulties because of changes in style or because people in a depression can get along without new clothes although they can not get along without electric light and gas.

Moreover, this bill overlooks the need for placing at least half of the cost of unemployment insur-

ance upon the greatest beneficiaries of modern industry,—the absentee stockholders and bondholders. They can be reached by heavier income and inheritance taxes. Their share cannot be passed on to the workers in the shape of higher prices and lower wages as industry's share may be to some extent.

The modern Socialist Unemployment Insurance bill meets all the objections to Governor Roosevelt's plan. It provides for benefits totaling 50 per cent of the average wage, plus an extra 10 per cent for a dependent wife and another 10 per cent for two or more dependent children as long as the worker is unemployed. This is made possible by compelling all industry and the state bear the responsibility jointly, the state raising its share by higher income and inheritance taxes.

Socialists must redouble their efforts to promote their unemployment insurance bill and expose the inadequate character of the unemployment insurance plan of the "great liberal" Franklin Roosevelt.



THE PENNSYLVANIA IDEA—McKeesport, Pa., cops are shown in this company-controlled steel town. Pennsylvania's million jobless in America but steel prices and steel hold-ups are preventing any

The Balance Sheet of the Coal Strike

Gains and Losses of the Mine Workers in Communist-Led Pennsylvania Fight

By Maurice Schneirov

IT IS many months now since spontaneous combustion seized 25,000 or more miners in the bituminous coal fields of Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio, and a furious strike of despair swept through like a hot flame. It was as if the countless heaps of smoldering slag which one sees everywhere in these coal towns had suddenly burst into flame; a splendid sight, yet so futile against the forces arrayed in opposition.

The strike leadership was assumed by the National Miners' Union, an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League, which is the Communist Party's "control" on the industrial field. It marked the first opportunity vouchsafed this organization to work out its policy of revolutionary unionism on a wide front among the most militant, hard-bitten and daring fighters on the American industrial scene. Here was mass action, large bodies of men, women and children, whole communities, moved here and there in conformity with the latest tenets of Communist ideology. Here were picket lines where women often outnumbered men; hunger marches to county seats, demonstrations calculated by their very nature to upset the delicately balanced equanimity of police officials, and succeeding very admirably in provoking brutal assaults upon them. Here were daring marches upon the State Capitol, the insulting of Governor and Legislators, the invasion of legislative halls with the prediction that "workers will be sitting in your places next year," here were "defend the Soviet-Union" parades; and here also, nurtured by a battery of newspaper men, were reams of publicity. And always in the background, hovered the remnants of the disorganized United Mine Workers machine, jealous, ineffective, outraged at the attacks upon it, moving and allowing itself to be moved almost willy-nilly, with the hope that it might come out of the scramble with some advantage.

The strike was largely a spontaneous reaction of desperate, oppressed and starving miners against the intolerable, almost implacable conditions which gripped them. It started inauspiciously, and spread like a licking flame through dry brush. To understand the strike, we must survey its background. When the 1927 strike was led by John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers against the breaking of the Jacksonville agreement, a proud and powerful organization, strong in spirit and treasury, with traditions of victory and militancy, went into battle against the operators. The strike was smashed, and the U. M. W. organization practically collapsed

with it, leaving a trail of bitterness, hatred, and a conviction of betrayal on the part of the miners. Here and there sprang up "Save the Union" committees to salvage some of the wreckage. They were led by John Brophy and Powers Hagood. Representatives of the N. M. U., who had joined these committees immediately began the task of forcing out the old leaders, and succeeded. Thereafter these committees remained in the field leading demonstrations, hunger marches, and in 1930 some small strikes.

Beginning of Revolt

They had a fertile field. The miners were taking cut after cut in wages. They saw themselves being forced into a state of virtual peonage, forced to buy from company stores at exorbitant prices, cheated in the weight of their coal, paid in depreciated "scrip," living in company houses, in closed, guarded unincorporated company towns. Most of them barely saw a cent in real money during these days, after deductions had been made for explosives, tools, funeral and medical provision, rent and food. Few were working more than several days a week.

Early in 1931, miners from the town of Penosa staged a hunger march upon the county seat at Washington, Pa. The N. M. U. took part in it. The march induced a liberal Pittsburgh newspaper to publish stories about starvation in the coal towns. At Cedar Grove it was revealed that many miners were subsisting on some form of edible grass. The stories created a sensation. Other newspapers began to pay attention. Small strikes started and soon began to spread. Most active in their spreading was the large number of unemployed miners.

Other events were propitious. It was summer, the weather was pleasant. The newspapers vied with each other in revealing the pitiful conditions. They succeeded in instilling in the Western Pennsylvania district a keen sense of pity. They woke the miner from his apathy.

The strike was on! At its outset the N. M. U. used praiseworthy tactics. It had a small organization, with key men scattered throughout the district. Wm. Z. Foster, head of the T. U. U. L., had been in Pittsburgh many times to size up the situation and keep his finger on the pulse of the "volcano." When it erupted, he hurried his small force into action, bringing organizers from New York and elsewhere. Soon he had the leadership of the strike firmly in hand.

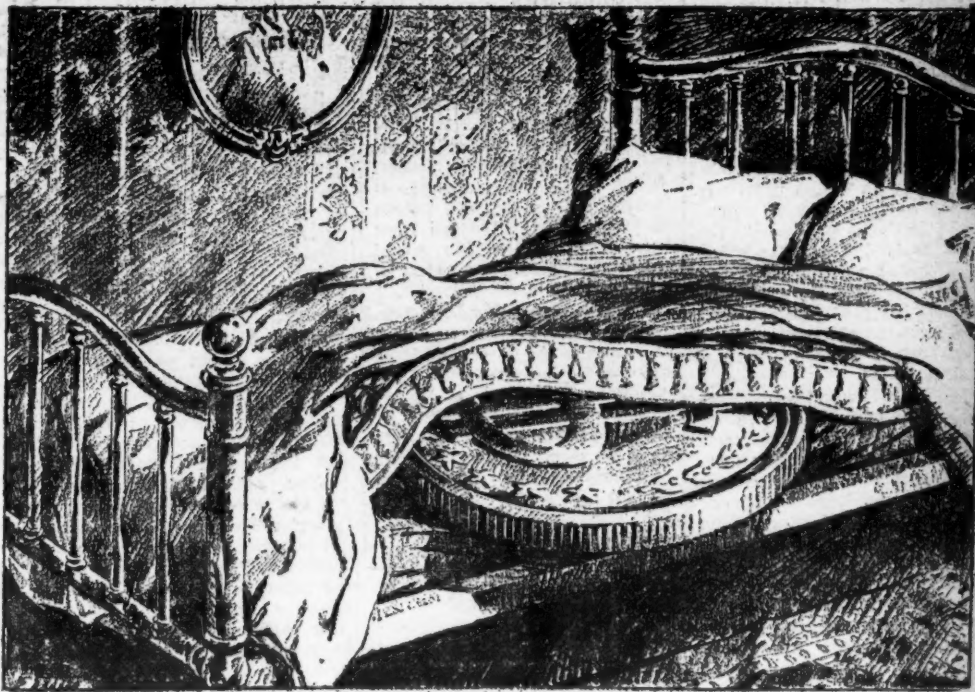
The United Mine Workers scarcely realized from the very beginning what had come upon them. They were unready, unwilling, and unable, either to lead or to aid in the strike. They held the allegiance of a few locals and the affection of fewer. To mention the names of some of their officers was to invite bodily harm in many coal towns. A reporter dropped into the office of a District Official, during the height of the strike, and asked for "hot" news. All around the office, organizers gently lolled in tilted chairs.

"Nope, not much doing today," was the answer. "It's been a very quiet day around the office."

But in the coal fields that day, tear gas bombs were thrown, demonstrations broken up, men and women were thumped on the head and arrested, and more mines were being struck—by the N. M. U.

The Communist Influence

But, after all, the N. M. U. was a "revolutionary" union, its tactics completely subordinated to the policy of the Communist Party.



Federated Pictures.

THE BANKS EXPLAIN THE DEPRESSION. "Come Out of There Mr. Dollar!" Above that caption, the savings banks of New York City have printed this drawing as its contribution to the campaign to end the depression. The banks say that "lazy" dollars are "hiding in mattresses, in old socks, behind picture frames." According to the banks' theory, the hundreds of thousands of hungry and homeless unemployed are merely misers, with plenty of "lazy dollars" stowed away.

cies diametrically opposite to that to which the miners had always been accustomed. Why, then, was it so easy for the N. M. U. to assume leadership? Here is an explanation, given by a representative of the Civil Liberties Union, who came into the strike area to investigate the inevitable suppression of civil rights by venal officials. He said:

"They talked militant, fighting unionism, of the kind the miners were familiar with. They formed mass demonstrations. They brought women and children out with the men, and made a community affair out of these demonstrations. They talked solidarity and class-consciousness only for the purpose of gaining immediately better conditions and wages. Communism and revolution were not mentioned. Among their leaders were experienced union men, formerly the best of the United Mine Workers. They stressed honesty and stability."

The miners associated good times with the union. They were eager to rehabilitate their union under new leadership. Among the 25,000 or more miners involved, the overwhelming majority was unemployed or partially unemployed, and had little to lose. It was an ideal situation for a new union seeking to establish itself.

Yet there was hardly a chance of winning the strike. The coal operators were facing a chaotic condition in their industry, a condition no less symptomatic of Western Pennsylvania than it was of West Virginia and Kentucky. In Western Pennsylvania there were the usual twin evils of overproduction and cut-throat competition. In addition, there were the discriminatory freight rates allowed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which established a clear margin in favor of the West Virginia fields. The Pittsburgh Coal Co., largest of all, and Mellon-controlled, had not paid dividends for years, and had shown, at least in book-keeping, a steady loss. The Butler Consolidated Coal Co., which boasted of the most highly mechanized mine in the world, and of the fact that its men were electricians and mechanics rather than coal miners (although they received coal-miners' wages), went into the hands of a receiver shortly before the end of the strike. And this despite the fact that it was able to maintain its working force intact by obtaining an injunction that resulted in the infamous Wildwood riot.

The N. M. U. leaders knew these

believed they had a chance to win, and were told they could and would. They were already inured to long-drawn out struggles. They expected to go through the customary hardships; but they expected also to be supported by their leadership in their struggle for a stable, militant, permanent union, devoted to their interests in the immediate situation. They were not interested in the grandiose theses of world revolution as promulgated by the inner sanctum of the Communist.

Communist Methods

The inception of the strike found wide public sympathy for the miners. Field Marshall Foster and his staff may have been personally unpopular in Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian Pittsburgh, which still remembered the 1919 steel strike, but the cause of the miner was so firmly entrenched as to overcome this handicap. The battle, however, was to be waged against the coal-operators, their subservient officialdom, and the policy of government in Pennsylvania which had only recently recognized the morality of striking, and, juridically, had not yet committed itself even to the fundamental right of "picketing."

What was the line of tactics pursued by the N. M. U. leaders, under these circumstances? Perhaps the following summary by a field-worker of the Miners' Relief Fund of the Socialist Party is fairly descriptive:

"They (the N. M. U.) attempted to maneuver large masses of workers into conflict with authorities by staging impressive mass demonstrations, and hunger marches. In most other respects they followed the conventional course of strike administration, throughout the early stages. Later, when the strike was losing ground rapidly, they utilized the situation to stage anti-war, 'Defend the Soviet Union' demonstrations. Outright Communist propaganda meetings followed, closely thereafter. According to the Daily Worker, they withdrew from the field in September of 1931, and about this time, relief was stopped."

During the early days of the strike, marches were staged on Washington, Pa., and Pittsburgh. Permits for both parades were refused, yet both were held. At Ellsworth, Pa., miners and their families charged police barring their way, and were bombed, clubbed, and arrested. Canonsburg witnessed a free-for-all battle during an attempted mass meeting. Again N. M. U. miners bore the

the jail sentences. One must not be deceived about those jail sentences; they were unusually severe. Perhaps the most daring gesture of all, an open defiance of an edict of court, was the march on Wildwood, in the face of an injunction barring ALL picketing. Here one miner was killed, 13 wounded, and over 40 indicted for inciting to riot. One deputy was struck by a stone, and not a one was indicted for the shooting!

Yet it was not a particularly violent strike. Sheriff Cain told the Dreiser investigating committee in Pittsburgh that 10 of the U. M. W. miners in the old days raised more hell than triple their number of miners under the aegis of the N. M. U. It may have been the presence of women and children in the lines. Or the newer era of mass demonstrations before a sympathetic public. Certainly strikes in the West Virginia and Kentucky fields were incomparably more violent.

Towards other labor and political labor organizations the N. M. U. was venomous and implacable. One may be familiar with the theory of Marxism-Leninism as expounded by the American segment of the Third International, and yet not begin to realize the irrational manner in which it was carried out. The U. M. W. was called "strike-breaking betrayers of the workers" and "social-fascist." The miners were taught to hate their old union with a hate "that passeth all understanding." At the Canonsburg free-for-all, the U. M. W. District President was badly beaten up. Dynamiting of homes of those sympathetic to the U. M. W., and in fewer cases of N. M. U. followers, was of frequent occurrence.

(To Be Concluded Next Week)

Ohio Miners Plan A General Walkout

ATHENS, Ohio—(FF)—A general strike of all Ohio miners is planned by officials of the United Mine Workers District 6, embracing the state. Hoeking valley, comprising sub-district 1, is out 100 per cent, claims Capt. Percy Tetlow, international representative. Meetings are being held at Pomeroy to call a strike.

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner



Federated Pictures
unemployed demonstrators
offering as intensely as any
of the coal of the miners

30,000 Join Walkout of International

Socialists Give Great Aid On Picket Line and in Relief Work

THE strike of N. Y. dressmakers began on Tuesday. By the end of the week fully 10,000 workers had joined the original 20,000 who had walked out. The giant industry was at a standstill as the workers stood firm for their demands. Raising of wage levels, strict observance of overtime rules and the shorter work week are the cardinal demands.

The strike call was issued Monday. Tuesday morning at 10 a. m. the strikers quit their shops and factories and poured into the streets. In orderly and determined manner they mobilized at almost every shop and all meeting rooms which were addressed by Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Julius Hochman, general manager of the dressmakers joint board, and a host of other union leaders and union supporters.

Twenty-two arrests made on the second day of the strike. These were expected to be the forerunner of more arrests. They had the effect of strengthening the ranks of the strikers. Picket lines from the early morning, undaunted by the bitter cold, until the evening were on the job throughout the area.

The pickets paid particular attention to non-union shops which have demoralized conditions throughout the industry. Settlements will likely begin early next week, as the employers meet the terms of the strikers. President Schlesinger, chairman of the general strike committee, expressed full confidence of a successful outcome.

The Socialist party gave full assistance in the strike, as did the Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. All Socialist speakers were put at the union's disposal and many addressed strike meetings. Norman Thomas was elected chairman of the Food Relief Committee sponsored by the United Hebrew Trades, the Emergency Committee and a number of unions. The food committee opened a commissary department which on Thursday began feeding hot lunches to the strikers in their respective halls.

Yipsels to Debate Communists In Brownsville On Monday

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, will be the scene of a debate Monday night, Feb. 22nd, between the Young People's Socialist League, Circle Two, Sr., Kings, and the Young Communist League on "The Socialist Party vs. The Communist Party."

REMEMBER
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Vladeck-Lyons and Hillquit-Woll Debates At Brooklyn Forum

The Brooklyn Forum will close a most successful series of forums in the next two weeks with two debates that promise to attract capacity audiences to the Brooklyn Academy of Music. This Sunday night, Feb. 21st, Rabbi Alexander Lyons, noted Brooklyn Jewish leader, and B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Daily Forward, will debate on the subject, "Religion Does Not Contribute to the Social and Economic Regeneration of the World."

The following Sunday, Feb. 28th, Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, and Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, will discuss the advisability of labor organizing a political party of its own.

Tickets for both affairs may be had any day at the box office and at the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street.

Yipsels Active In Strike of N. Y. Dressmakers

The whole machinery of the Young People's Socialist League has been placed at the disposal of the dressmakers general strike. Several have suffered arrest as a result of strike work. For days before the strike call came, Yipsels were busy distributing leaflets to workers in open shops. In the bitter cold of Tuesday morning they went to the "market" with leaflets, bringing to the workers the news that the general strike had come.

Hardy Yipsels stole their way into the shops with the message of unionism. The strike call, for example, was brought to the Ar-Kay shop by young Socialists who walked up twenty-two flights of stairs and were followed out by the workers who then marched with them to the Rand School where the children's dressmakers held their mass meeting. Particularly active in this work were the Parker boys of Cleveland, Jack Shur, Mildred Portnoy, members of Circle Six, Manhattan.

Notable work has been done by Bessie Weiss and May Gippa, themselves union members, who have been active as organizers throughout the strike preparations. For weeks they have been in constant touch with workers in various shops, and to them is due the credit for bringing out the Flossie Shop, formerly unionized, the first open children's dress house to flock to the union's banner. Both Comrades Weiss and Gippa, together with Evelyn Dela Guardia, a Yipsel sympathizer, were arrested the second day of the strike because of their activities in reaching non-union workers.

N. Y. Socialist Women Called to Aid Strike

Women members of the Socialist party in New York City are called to attend an important special meeting to be held this Saturday, Feb. 20th, at 2:30 p. m. in the party office, 7 East 15th street. The meeting is called in response to an appeal for assistance from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to aid the dressmakers in their current strike.

"Arms" Topic at Group

"Is the World Ready for Disarmament?" will be the symposium topic to be discussed under the auspices of The Group, Tuesday evening, Feb. 23rd, at 8:30 P. M., in the Auditorium, 150 W. 85th street. Those who will participate are Dr. John Howland Lathrop, well known Unitarian minister; Y. T. Chang, distinguished Chinese scholar of Columbia University; Professor J. C. Chatterji, president India Academy of America; and Col. M. Simmons, ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish War Veterans.

N. Y. Electricians Torn By 3-Sided Controversy

Opposition Groups Ask "Democracy and Honesty—Broach Charges Slander"

TO THE stormy recent history of New York Electrical Workers' Union No. 3 there is now being added a new three-cornered controversy. The protagonists are the union officials and their supporters and two groups of members, one calling itself the Electrical Workers' New Deal Group.

Local 3 achieved prominence some five or six years ago when H. H. Broach, then vice-president and now president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, came to New York and had the former O'Hara administration ejected from office on charges of corruption. Subsequently under Broach's guidance the local adopted what was hailed as a modernized constitution establishing among other things an elected business manager who made his own appointments of assistant business manager, assistant business agents and office assistants. While the selections of the business manager were subject to the approval of a majority vote of the local, he had no right to discharge his appointees without notice to the union. Under the new regime the contractors' association set up a group life insurance, old age pension and disability benefit system which was solely financed by the contributions of the employers; the five-day week and a compensating ten per cent increase in wages were gained for the members, an example which was followed by the other building trades unions in New York City; and an unemployment relief scheme was inaugurated by the local whereby the members who worked were assessed a percentage of their wages to help those without jobs.

Charges Against Broach

In the present dispute, the accusers of Broach and the local administration indict the officials on several grounds:

1. That William A. Hogan, the present Financial Secretary of the local and Treasurer of the International, is manipulating the beneficiary system of the union for his own benefit as he did in 1922 when he was sent to jail for an offense of this kind. 2. That the Broach-Hogan administration has suppressed democracy by strong arm methods. 3. That the financial state of the union has been largely kept a secret from the membership. 4. That the insurance scheme operated by the contractors is faulty. 5. That the unemployment relief system of the union is inadequate and unjust.

Both opposition groups have issued circulars to the members stating their sides of the case. One of the groups has confined itself chiefly to detailed charges citing names and dollars. It has ended its bill of particulars with the plea that electrical workers "now all pull together for an investigation of the Electrical Industry, and in this way we will drive the Hogan-Broach racketeering gang out of New York forever and ever." The New Deal Group has stressed a constructive program for the union to adopt, criticizing the officials in the main by implication. The union officials have issued a circular letter denying in detail the charges leveled against them by the first faction. At the same time they have warned the members that attending any meetings outside of the local union's sessions for the purpose of discussion of union matters is an offense punishable by fine, suspension, expulsion and removal from the job.

One of the most challenging of the charges made by the first mentioned group is that involving the integrity of Financial Secretary

Hogan. The officials' circular enters into a vigorous defense of him. It is admitted that he served a prison sentence in 1922 but that he was the innocent victim of the persecution of a dual union of that period. It is admitted that he was the beneficiary of a recently deceased member whom it is charged he had kept on the books illegally but it is explained that the late member was a dear friend of Hogan and that this member did not have to pay dues since he had passed the age of 65.

The Reform Program

Some of the basic issues involved in the present controversy may be inferred from a summary of the planks in the platform which are found in a "Call for Action" broadcast by the Electrical Workers' New Deal Group:

1. The re-establishment of democracy in the union by giving all members in good standing the right to attend union meetings unless they are guilty of embezzlement, graft, selling out of the union interests or violation of union principles; by removal of all police and thugs from the entrance to union meetings, and by permitting expression of opinion on the part of members free from intimidation.
2. A complete detailed financial accounting of the funds of Local No. 3 for the past three years to be made by a regular certified public accountant and distributed to the membership.
3. A report on the employers' insurance fund and a reconsideration of its advisability.
4. Recognition that the present unemployment plan is a failure. "At the best it only shifts the burden of the non-working members to those working part time. What it really does is to place tens of thousands of dollars into the hands of the Broach-Hogan machine." Immediately after an election is held, a special committee to take up the unemployment situation shall be elected.
5. Condemnation of the present methods of postponing elections and the holding of an election under the auspices of a committee of five impartial friends of labor.
6. Drastic economies in office expenses and reduction of dues.
7. Bringing back to the membership the feeling that Local 3 is "our" union not "their" union by consultation of the members in all important matters and abolition of a spying and blacklisting system which it is said exists.

The officials of Local 3 have emphasized the anonymous character of the charges that have been made against them as well as the inaccuracy of various alleged facts. In the official "Journal" of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for January President Broach makes a special effort to condemn the "poison-pen" letter writers in New York City.

Leon A. Malkiel, "Call" Mainstay, Dies Suddenly

Leon A. Malkiel, one of the veteran Socialist Party members, died Friday night, Feb. 12, in New York City of heart failure.

Malkiel came to America in the 80's and joined what was then the Socialist Labor Party. In the 90's he was a member of the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. At the time of the split in the S. L. P. he was in the opposition to DeLeon and De Leonism, and was a member of the Socialist Party until his death. He served on the New York State Committee at times.

Malkiel married Theresa Serber who was for years active in both the S. L. P. and the S. P. Mrs. Theresa Malkiel is very well known in the New York party organization.

When the New York Call was established in 1908, both Leon and Theresa Malkiel were active in the promotion and the maintenance of the paper. Leon Malkiel was treasurer of the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association for years, and with the suspension of The Call he was charged with the duty of liquidating its affairs, paying the debts, etc.

In accordance with his wish, the funeral was private, and only a few friends and comrades closely associated were present. He was cremated on Sunday, Feb. 14, at the Fresh Pond Crematory on Long Island.

Women's Socialist Units

Tuesday, Feb. 23rd—Brownsville Unit, Home of Sarah Rutus, 849 Linden boulevard. 2 P. M.—Speaker, May Nelson Winkler, "What Socialism Means to Me."

Wednesday, Feb. 24th—West Bronx Unit, Headquarters, 20 E. Kingsbridge road. 2 P. M.—Mooney Demonstration.

Friday, Feb. 26th—Women's Branch, W. C. No. 206. 8:30 P. M.—Odd Fellows Hall, East 106th street, Esther Friedman, "The Next War."

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SOCIALIST PARTY

549 Randolph St. Chicago

Peace Groups to Meet in New York Friday

Socialists Call For Concerted Movement

DECLARING that the situation in the Far East is growing graver day-by-day and that an "incident" may arise that will involve this and other countries, the Socialist Party of New York City has invited representative peace organizations to attend a conference to be held in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street on Friday evening, Feb. 26.

The call for the conference, signed by Algernon Lee and Julius Gerber, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Executive Committee of the party, sets forth the imperative necessity of organizing at this time all the forces opposed to the participation of the United States in the war that may be brewing. It states, "The Socialist Party, true to its tradition against war, is calling the conference to consider and find ways and means of how to stop this war, and particularly how to prevent the United States from being drawn into it. * * * If there is a way to prevent our country from being drawn into this war, now is the time to do it—before it is too late."

That in many quarters there is a realization of the seriousness of the Far Eastern situation and the implications that it has, may be seen in the fact that within the past few days several organizations have announced that they would have delegates at the conference and that they could be counted on to assist in all ways possible.

Hall Johnson Choir at Unity Reunion Feb. 28

For the purpose of perpetuating the bonds of sociability and friendship made during past years at Unity House, the friends of the well known camp will have a reunion in Grand Central Gardens, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 28, beginning at 2 P. M. A splendid program has been prepared including an oriental buffet dinner, and dancing. A number of well known artists are on the program, including Hall Johnson and his group, the Compinskys, Dora Boshor and Lazar Freed. Music for the dancing will be furnished by Norwood and his popular radio orchestra. Tickets for the Unity House Reunion may be had from Unity House, 3 West 16th street.

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Garbed in Stripes, Detroit Workers Join In Mooney Parade

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT.—Clad in prison stripes, a file of stern-visaged marchers served warning Thursday noon on Detroit shoppers that Tom Mooney would not be forgotten by local workers. Plaques held aloft by the 'convicts' proclaimed the facts of the famous labor case and demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Mooney.

The march, sponsored by the Detroit Mooney Defense Committee, was followed on Friday evening by a mass meeting at Northern High School, with Mayor Frank Murphy as the principal speaker. Frank X. Martel, President of the Detroit Marxian Labor College, and Sam Tobin, President of the Building Trades Council, were additional speakers.

Three Meetings Hear Hillquit In Virginia

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—Crowds totaling about 800 heard Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, at three meetings held in two days last week.

Hillquit addressed over 400 in Norfolk Feb. 2. The hall was overcrowded. Hillquit spoke in Hopewell Feb. 3. Despite the fact that it was Wednesday afternoon at 3:30, the only hour available, a crowd of nearly 200 turned out and listened with great interest.

Wednesday night Hillquit spoke to an audience in Richmond which surprised everybody in size and "quality."

The weather was the most serious handicap, as it rained steadily for several days. The fact that so many turned out to our meetings under the circumstances encouraged us greatly. Hillquit was enthusiastically applauded at all meetings, while the newspapers gave good publicity.

Bori and Tibbett To Sing at Benefit For the Rand School

The Women's Committee of the Rand School, Sandyville and Camp Tamiment are sponsoring a gala Sunday night concert at the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday, April 17, 1932. They are particularly fortunate in having as star artists Lucrezia Bori and Lawrence Tibbett. Every friend of the school is urged to reserve the night of April 17 for the concert. Tickets are on sale now at the Rand School at the very nominal prices of 50 cents to \$3.

Jennie Lee in Buffalo

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Jennie Lee, former labor member of British Parliament, will speak Wednesday, Feb. 24th, at the Salem Evangelical Church, Garfield near Tonawanda street. Her subject will be "The Post War Generation." Robert A. Hoffman will preside. The Socialist party has arranged the meeting.

AT THE LABOR TEMPLE

Dr. E. G. Beck will lecture at 5 P. M. in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, on "The Cult of Culture." A 8 o'clock on "Some Great Composers." A special program will be rendered by the String Quartette.

Fairmont, W. Va., Jobless Form Council

(New Leader Correspondent)

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—The Fairmont Branch of the Socialist party, organized but two months, put on an unemployment and anti-war meeting in the County Court House. Over 1,000 men and women jammed the hall and hundreds were turned away. When the demands were read to the audience they demonstrated approval by vigorous applause. The meeting created such a sensation in the town that the local papers carried front page articles about it. The meeting was addressed by Joseph H. Snider of Fairmont, Socialist candidate for Governor in 1928, by Murray Baron and Amicus Most of New York, national organizers of the Socialist Party, and H. L. Franklin.

Most, Harold Glasgow, Snider and H. L. Franklin formed the committee who made the arrangements. They visited every meeting of local trade unions in an effort to secure their cooperation. They secured the aid of the railway trainmen, railway machinists, plasterers, and the musicians.

Demands Drawn Up

However, when they went to the Central Trades and Labor Council and Comrade H. L. Franklin, a delegate to that body, asked to have Most address the meeting, the representative of labor stated that he had heard Most make "terrible untruths" at a street meeting. It is interesting to note that that body is cooperating wholeheartedly with the American Legion and although they are supporting the LaFollette-Costigan bill they refused to cooperate in a demonstration on its behalf.

A permanent unemployment council was formed as a result of the mass meeting. It will take a census of the unemployed in the city and represent them before the City Council at all public hearings. Snyder and Glasgow were elected to present the demands of the Unemployed Union to the City Council.

Prepare For Convention

The local newspapers carried the full set of demands put forth at the meeting. These demands upon the City, State, and Federal Governments are the first constructive ideas presented by organized workers in the State. Credit must go to the local branch of the Party for its fine progress.

Other branches throughout the state continue to show unprecedented growth. Fairmont and Martinsburg have organized Yipes branches. A new local was formed at Ridgeley. The Clarkesburg local now has fifty-five members and weekly meetings are attended by about 100 people. Letters continue to pour in to the state office from isolated communities asking for literature and application blanks.

Local Clarkesburg is preparing for the State Convention to be held there on March 5th and 6th. This is the first convention to be held in years and delegates representing 12 branches with a membership of about 400 will be present. Arrangements will be made to put a full state and county ticket in the field.

MISS KATZ ON TRISTAN

Adele T. Katz will lecture Friday, Feb. 26, at 8 P. M., in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, on Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde," Act I. This is one of a series of ten lectures under the general title of "New Forms of Old Music."

Record Crowd Expected At New Leader Dinner

WHEN Louis Waldman, state chairman of the New York Socialist Party, calls The New Leader dinner to order on Monday night, March 7, at Beethoven Hall, he will face the largest audience that has yet attended a dinner of the party's outstanding newspaper. From present indications there will be a capacity throng at the dinner. Reservations are coming in hourly by mail and telephone to The New Leader office.

The dinner will serve a double function. First it will serve to bring together the Socialists in the movement who wish to demonstrate their support of the paper which for more than seven years has almost alone fought the Socialist battle in the field of journalism.

Secondly, the dinner will present a symposium which is certain to be of a spirited nature. The subject will deal with the presidential campaign, "A Political Policy and Program for 1932." The speakers have been chosen to represent a variety of viewpoints. Prof. John Dewey will speak for the League for Independent Political Action, on the viewpoint of progressives outside of the old parties. Dudley Field Malone, one-time a Farmer-Labor party leader in New York

but of late a defender of Tammany Hall, will speak for the Democrats. It is likely that a speaker will be added to represent the Republican side of the story. The Socialist position will be taken care of by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, and Norman Thomas, presidential nominee of the party in 1928.

Evidence of the wide interest in the dinner is given in the reservations being made by Socialist branches, many of which are organizing tables for their own membership. Among the branches which have taken entire tables this week are the Downtown branch of Kings County, the Upper West Side Branch, the Midwood branch and the 2d A. D. branch, Bronx, which has taken almost two tables.

The place will be Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street; the date, Monday, March 7, at 6:30 P. M. Reservations have been reduced to \$1.50 per plate. Let us hear from you immediately.

HAYS AT FREE THINKERS

Arthur Garfield Hays will speak on the subject of "Prejudices" under the auspices of The Free-thinkers, Sunday evening at 8:30 in the Steinway Building, 113 W. 57th street.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

The Community Forum of the Community Church

Meeting at
TEMPLE BETH-EL, 4th Ave. & 76th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M.—MARY AGNES HAMILTON
"Ramsay MacDonald and the Breakdown of the British Labor Party"
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"George Washington, Revolutionary!"

A Clearing House
Of Opinion
THE GROUP Meets at Auditorium
150 West 85th St.
Tuesday, Feb. 23rd, at 8:30 P. M.
SYMPOSIUM: "Is the World Ready for Disarmament?"
Speakers: Y. T. Chang, Dr. John Howland
Lathrop, Prof. J. T. Chatterji, Col. M. Simmons
This Sunday Afternoon (Feb. 21st) at 4:30 P. M.
Dr. S. Berlin on "Our Changing Morality"

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock
Friday evening, Feb. 19th
DR. HARRY A. QVERSTREET
"Philosophies of the Static"
Sunday evening, Feb. 21st
DR. HOUSTON EETERSON
"Types of Victorian Agnosticism: W. K. Clifford and Leslie Stephen"

Tuesday evening, Feb. 23rd
DR. NICHOLAS KOPELOFF
"Builders of Bacteriology: Masons: The Empiricists"

At Muhlenberg Library
200 West 23rd Street
At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday evening, Feb. 25th
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING
"The Challenge to Spiritual Values"

The Bronx Free Fellowship
Assure Masonic Temple
1591 Boston Road, near E. 172nd St.
SUNDAY EVE, Feb. 21, 1932
8 P. M.—"THE GREATNESS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON," Dr. Leon Rosser Land
9 P. M.—"IS DEMOCRACY WORTH FIGHTING FOR?" Algernon Lee
Music Admission Free

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14th Street and Second Avenue
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Director
5 P. M.—Dr. E. G. BECK, "The Cult of Culture"
7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY, Organ Recital
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Sunday, Feb. 21st
Steinway Bldg., 6th Fl. 113 W. 57th St.
Bible Class: 2:30 P. M.—"Jesus-God, Man or Myth?"
Lecture: 8:30 p. m.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, "Prejudices"

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932

Neb. Socialists At Convention To Hear Hoan

Sessions Will Be Held
Sunday at Omaha—
News From the States

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

OMAHA.—To meet the drastic requirements of a new election law, Socialists of Nebraska are straining their efforts to secure an attendance of at least 2,000 at the state convention to be held here Sunday, Feb. 28. It will open at 10 A. M. in the Odd Fellows Temple, 19th and Capitol avenue.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee will speak to the convention at 2 P. M. Other speakers include Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, and Michael Levin of Milwaukee, who will tell Nebraska workers what the trade unions in that city think of the Socialists.

The new law requires an attendance of at least 750 persons who sign a "roster" of the convention saying that they are there for the purpose of putting the Socialist Party on the ballot. This entitles the party to enter the primaries and the general election with no more trouble. However, if the 750 names are not secured, the party cannot enter either the primary or the general election and Nebraska voters will not have an opportunity of voting for any radical ticket.

S. Lerner of 2512 Caldwell street, Omaha, and P. Philip Haffner, 2217 Farnam street, Omaha, are in charge of local arrangements. Last Sunday a meeting held at the Castle Hotel with Senior as speaker resulted in ten new members. Senior has issued a call to all sympathizers in Nebraska to come to Omaha to help the party get on the ballot.

National

NEW PAMPHLET ON JOBLESS.—A special edition of "Unemployment and Its Remedies," by Harry W. Laidler, has just been published by the Socialist Party. The new edition contains an introduction by Norman Thomas, a supplement giving the Socialist bill for unemployment insurance, and a chapter giving arguments for this type of bill rather than others proposed. This 104-page illustrated pamphlet is attractively printed and bound. It may be obtained for 25 cents a copy from the Socialist party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago. Bundle rates will be quoted.

HOAN IN NEWS REEL.—A shot of Mayor Daniel Hoan, speaking about what the Socialist party has been able to do in Milwaukee, has been released by the Fox company for newsreels. In cities where Fox does not control theatres, it will be shown in Paramount houses. Socialists might improve the opportunity by passing out the leaflet, "Socialists in the City Hall," at the theatre when this film appears.

FOR STUDY GROUPS.—"Looking Forward," a radical ask-me-another question book, has just been published by the League for Industrial Democracy. It contains discussion outlines, questions and bibliographies, and will be an excellent handbook for study classes conducted by party and Y. P. S. L. branches and "Socialist Sunday Schools." Price, 15 cents each, \$1.50 a dozen. Order from national headquarters, Socialist Party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago.

Michigan

DETROIT.—The Michigan Socialist Society has arranged a dinner for Clarence Senior on Tuesday, Feb. 23, when he speaks in Detroit at the L. I. D. lecture series. The dinner will be served by the ladies of the Jewish branch at the Workmen's Circle Hall, 527 Holbrook avenue, Detroit.

Tucker Smith, New York Socialist and recent congressional candidate, outlined his "nine point" plan to ensure peace between the United States and Japan in a speech made before the local Socialist Party.

MCBRIDES.—C. W. Crum is secretary of a new local organized here.

Oklahoma

CLEVELAND.—A new local has been formed here. L. J. Beiden, 206 N. 3d street, is secretary.

TUNE IN

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states and in good weather from
Florida to Canada)

NEVIN B.

Tennessee

NASHVILLE.—Following a meeting with Alfred Baker Lewis, Howard Kester, secretary of the Nashville Conference on Unemployment, gathered together a group into a new Socialist local. Comrades and sympathizers in Nashville are urged to get in touch with Comrade Kester, whose address is 3601 Westbrook avenue.

Texas

E. M. Lane, state organizer, has reorganized five former branches of the Farmers' Union as Socialist locals. The location and secretary's name of each local follows: Blue Ridge, A. L. Russell, Route 1; Callis, J. W. Brock, Route 3; Blue Ridge; Dennison, G. W. Shearin, 1220 Owens street; Pottsboro, H. W. Nelson, Route 2; Sherman, E. M. Lane, 505 East Magnolia street.

Washington

EVERETT.—The local here is the ninth added in the state in the last three months. R. F. Howarth, 2116 Everett avenue, is secretary.

Harry Laidler's visit here Feb. 4 and 5 was most helpful. He lectured under the auspices of University of Washington and addressed one luncheon and a general meeting for the Socialists.

State Chairman Will Everett of Spokane, is spending several weeks in Western Washington. He visited Ritzville, Pasco, Prosser and Yakima. Sentiment among the unemployed in Seattle seems to be divided among Communists, Liberty Party and Socialist, with Socialist gaining. Socialists in Seattle are beginning to assert themselves. A new local, made up of Scandinavians, is due to the enthusiasm of Olga Hoaglund. Several new members are affiliating with both the Seattle and University locals.

Spokane local continues its great growth, adding thirty new members at its last weekly meeting.

A new and vigorous local at Cheney, seat of a state normal school in eastern Washington, is a new addition. Spring will be the beginning of a widespread Socialist movement in all the northwest. Washington will likely send a full delegation to the Milwaukee convention.

Connecticut

The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday, Feb. 28, at the Workmen's Circle, 72 Legion avenue, New Haven, at 2 P. M.

NEW HAVEN.—Local New Haven meets Monday evening, Feb. 22, at Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm street. Prof. Fleming James of the Berkeley Divinity School of New Haven, will talk. Norman Thomas addressed the fourth meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy discussion lectures at Lamson Hall, Yale College, Feb. 11, on "What Price Power?"

HAMDEN.—Hamden Local meets Thursday evening, Feb. 25, at the home of Louis Cavallero, 278 Putnam avenue. Members are urged to attend and vote for delegates to the national convention.

Virginia

The State Office received more inquiries in January than all of 1931. State Secretary George will visit Lynchburg, Monroe, Roanoke, Danville and other western points about March 1st.

HOPEWELL.—The local elected these delegates to the State Convention: W. F. Billings, J. Lofton Johnson, R. L. Johnson, George M. Eavey, David G. George, Eunice Johnson, Harriette Johnson, Wm. P. McKay, H. K. Matthews, John J. Kafka, Chas. B. Johnson, J. P. Price, Ansel D.

Smith, Daniel Killinger, T. D. Webb and R. O. Ellis. Alternates: Steve Keslek, E. T. Townsend, Mrs. J. P. Rice, Carl Swinson, C. D. Mayhew, G. A. Moseley, W. L. Farrow and C. H. Pace.

RICHMOND.—A meeting Sunday, Feb. 21, at 3 P. M. in the City Auditorium, under joint auspices of the party and the Unemployed Legion, will protest against unemployment and the war danger.

NORFOLK.—The local meets every Thursday at 8 P. M. at 708 East Freemason street. One hundred were at the last meeting, Feb. 11, when State Chairman Ansell lectured on "Socialism, the Hope of the World." Jack Jelaza's store at 647 Church street, is the beehive of daytime activity. The goal of the local is 150 members by May 1, with 300 attendance at local meetings.

STATE CONVENTION.—Members-at-large have elected the following delegates to the State Convention: Jos. C. Morgan of Fairfax County, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Otey of Lynchburg, and Andrew S. Leitch of Stafford County. Alternates according to rank are: Francis H. Guichard of Chesterfield County, Cyrus Hotchkiss of Dinwiddie County, and Paul D. Norris of Lynchburg. Items for the agenda should reach the State Office, Box 893, Richmond, Va., by March 4, at latest. The convention will be held in Richmond, March 11-13.

California

The party in California has tripled its membership and added many new locals. We have made plans for 1932 to be the biggest and best year yet.

Hymie Sheanin and Willie Goldberg have equipped a car to tour the state. They will organize locals in every town they stop in. They will also get subscriptions to The New Leader. They will organize unemployment groups and gather signatures for the Unemployment Insurance Initiative petitions. Two hundred thousand signatures must be gathered to place the law on the ballot for a direct vote of the people.

Socialist locals, or other groups that would like to have these two organizers speak before their group on either Socialism or Unemployment Insurance should write the State Office of the Socialist Party, 429 Douglas Building, Los Angeles, Calif.

Pennsylvania

SAYRE. in which one of the biggest shops of the Lehigh Valley R. R. is located, is the latest in which a branch of the Socialist Party has been organized. The new branch has twenty-two members of which a dozen are locomotive engineers. The branch is chiefly the result of the work of Henry L. Springer, 521 Stevenson street, and of Burton Bowman. The former is secretary of the branch. The first act of the new branch was to put a Socialist ticket into the field. Those nominated are: Henry L. Springer, Representative in Congress (to oppose McFadden and Mrs. Pinchot); I. Putnam, for State Senator, and Burton Bowman for the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. Fred General, Luzerne, spent three days in Sayre and assisted in starting the new branch.

PHILADELPHIA.—M. H. Goldstein, well known Socialist lawyer and lecturer, will speak on "Free Speech and the Law," at the Strawberry Mansion Branch Forum, 3009 Ridge avenue, Sunday, Feb. 21, 8:30 P. M. Admission is free.

New Jersey

Essex County Organizer Rosenkranz reports that the state-wide membership

conference held last Sunday in the Workmen's Circle Lyceum at Newark was the largest gathering of its kind ever held in the state. Over 400 members of the Socialist party and delegates from Workmen's Circle branches attended the conference and the luncheon held in connection with it. McAllister Coleman, Jasper McLevy, George Goebel, who presided, Jack Altman and Morris Hillquit were the speakers. In the order given, Coleman gave an inspiring address deploring a talk of "splits" and calling for united action on the part of the membership to build a strong working class party. McLevy said he was impatient with theoretical hair-splitting and urged concentration on propaganda and organization work. Altman presented the issues which are likely to come up at the national convention in Milwaukee from the "militant" point of view. His views on the movement in Germany, England and on the Russian revolution, as well as his views on emphasizing the class struggle, trade union policies and the Socialist tactic in working for peace, drew replies from Hillquit on each point. Altman and Hillquit shared about equally in the two outstanding ovations given the speakers at the conference. The convention ended at

6 P. M. with the singing of the Internationale and the comrades who had attended more firm than ever in their determination to build a powerful Socialist movement in New Jersey.

NEWARK.—Robert Nelson will be the speaker next Sunday, Feb. 21, at St. Regis Hall, at 8:15 P. M. His subject will be "The Youth of America."

New York

BUFFALO.—Local Buffalo will meet Thursday, Feb. 25, at Carpenters Hall, 475 Franklin street. Miss Charlotte I. Claffin, social worker, will discuss "Italy Under the Dictatorship."

YONKERS AND HEMPSTEAD.—Norman Thomas spoke under party auspices in Yonkers and Hempstead this week. State Secretary Merrill also spoke at the Hempstead meeting.

MOUNT VERNON.—A meeting for the purpose of reorganizing Local Mount Vernon of the Socialist Party was held last Thursday evening. County Chairman John Hagerty of New Rochelle, and State Secretary Merrill were present.

STATE COMMITTEE MEETING.—State Secretary Merrill contemplates calling the mid-winter semi-annual meeting of the State Committee of Fifteen for Feb. 28 in New York City.

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Free Youth

During a period of emergency the national organization of the Young People's Socialist League sent out a personal appeal for immediate assistance. All comrades responded. The organization desires to express its gratitude to the following:

Nat Turkell, Minnie Seidin, George Baron, Jean H. Cornell, E. and M. Gottlieb, Stein, Corle Three; Sol Marcus, Henry Rosner, Dave Kaplan, B. C. Viadeck, Mac Delson, Henry Fruchter, Samuel DeWitt, Dr. David Breslow, Dr. Sabloff, Mac Eisenberg, Marion Severn, Abe Wisotsky, Lawrence Rogin, Jack Ross, Bob Delson, Harry Davis, \$1; Albert Halpern, \$2; Morris Hillquit, \$5.

The Yipsel national executive committee will meet in Milwaukee Feb. 19 and 20, to arrange for financial and structural stabilization of the league so that organization work could be started immediately. Plans for the national convention will be drafted.

NEW YORK CITY.—Winston Dancis has been elected executive secretary of the Greater New York League. Abe Wisotsky was elected financial secretary. Dancis, an active member of the Y. P. S. L. and Socialist party for years, has acted as financial secretary of the league. The former executive secretary, Abe Belek, did not run for re-election.

PHILADELPHIA.—Ben Parker addressed the last meeting of Circle Two Seniors on organization problems. The group meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m.

YORK, PA.—A Y. P. S. L. circle will be reorganized. All those interested are urged to get in touch with Dorothy W. Burrough, 483 West Princess street.

LANCASTER, PA.—All interested in building a branch of the Y. P. S. L. should communicate with Bernard Mishkin, 40 South Prince street.

MONTREAL.—The Young People's Labor League has just finished a series of forums. The program included free speech in Canada, trade unionism, L. I. D. injunctions, etc.

BROXN, N. Y.—Circle One Seniors will hear Comrade Sol Marcus on "Practical Achievements of Socialism."

YONKERS, N. Y.—Two comrades of the Yonkers circle, Milton Rubin and Herbert Lubin, will participate on the educational program of the circle Feb. 26. The subject is "Causes of Unemployment and the Plight of the Unemployed."

BORO HALL, BROOKLYN.—A group of young people are forming a circle in the Borough Hall section of Brooklyn. They will meet at the party headquarters, 122 Pierrepont street, on Friday, March 4. All students and young workers interested are invited to attend.

UTICA, N. Y.—Two debating teams have been organized by the circle and are practicing on disarmament. The meetings are held on Wednesday at the Workmen's Circle Hall.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Two thousand cards advertising the Oscar Ameringer lecture have been distributed. A social is being planned and the proceeds will be used to print or mimeograph several thousand circulars advertising a youth rally.

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All Set for the Forward Ball On Saturday

Annual Socialist Dance Due to Attract Record Throng at 71st Armory

FOR several years past it has required but little effort to make an advance guess on the number of persons who would be present at the annual ball of the Daily Forward. One had only to prophesy that the largest auditorium available would be too small to contain the crowd. The biggest social event in the yearly history of the radical movement of New York will take place in the huge 71st Regiment Armory, 34th street and Fourth avenue, Saturday evening, Feb. 20th.

There will be companies, brigades and whole regiments of Socialists, their friends, their families, liberals, radicals and again, more Socialists. Hundreds will be present in costume depicting various phases of the labor struggle. Several prizes will be awarded for the most striking costumes and tableaux. Rudy Vallee and his famous orchestra will furnish the music. Tickets in advance for the Forward Ball are \$1. If sold at the door, \$1.50.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Monday, Feb. 12, at 8:30 p. m., at 96 Avenue C. The Sunday evening forum begins its sessions at 8:30 p. m. sharp. August Claessens is delivering a ten weeks' series of lectures on social problems, the social sciences and the Socialist philosophy.

YORKVILLE.—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, Feb. 25, at 241 East 84th street. A forum in the headquarters meets Sunday evenings at 8:30.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—A meeting will be held on Thursday evening, Feb. 25, at 600 West 181st street.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—Street meetings will be held Saturday, Feb. 20, at noon. Speakers report at headquarters before noon. The next branch meeting will be held Tuesday, Feb. 23, at 8 p. m. John Herling will speak on "The Garment Strike." The March dance will be held at 3109 Broadway, near 123rd street, Saturday evening, March 5. Admission 50 cents.

BRONX

The general county membership meeting met at Hollywood Gardens Feb. 14. It sent its fraternal greetings to the strike of the I. L. G. W. U. and pledged itself to assist in every way possible.

BRONX BALL.—Our annual ball is approaching. The tickets in advance are only 75 cents. A popular band will furnish music. The entertainment is being arranged.

1st A. D.—Our branch will hold an enrolled voters meeting Thursday evening, Feb. 25, 8:30 p. m., at 615 East 140th street. August Claessens speaker. Members are urged to be present as we wish to vote for the national convention delegates at the same time.

2nd A. D.—The regular meeting will be held on Tuesday, Feb. 23, at 8:30 p. m. An interesting program has been prepared by the educational committee. Last chance to vote for delegates to national convention.

4th A. D.—The branch will meet Feb. 23, Tuesday evening, at 908 Prospect avenue. Sidney Hertzberg will be the speaker of the evening.

5th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 23, at 908 Prospect avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

7th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 23, at 8:30 p. m., in the Workmen's Circle School, 789 Elmsmere place. Immediately following the brief business meeting, James O'neal will lecture.

AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE HOUSES.—A well attended meeting heard Simon Berlin on "Morality—

Socialist Workers Needed

HELP WANTED! Hundreds of volunteers are needed to circulate petitions for the nomination of Socialist candidates for the Spring primary in New York City. Practically every election district of the 62 Assembly Districts of the City will have to be visited and signatures obtained from enrolled Socialists. A large army of volunteers is necessary and must respond at once. The whole job has to be completed before the end of February.

Volunteers should report to their branch organizers at once for immediate duty. There are some districts in which our organization is as yet too weak to handle the big job and consequently comrades of other branches will have to lend a hand. Volunteers for such work should report at once to Organizer Claessens. Every Party member and Yipsel who can spare a number of evenings must volunteer. Signatures are obtained most easily around supper time when we are likely to find most people in. Apply at party headquarters, 7 East 15th street.

Social and Individual.—Comrade Scher of the Forward, will lead a discussion on the Socialist party and the labor movement at the next meeting. A special drive for new members and subscribers to The New Leader is being planned among enrolled voters.

A NEW BRONX BRANCH.—Another branch has been organized in the upper end of the 8th A. D., Bronx, under the auspices of the Jewish Socialist Verband. It is made up of people living in and around the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses and will conduct its work in the Yiddish language. It will be known as the Jewish Branch 3, Bronx County.

BROOKLYN DOWNTOWN.—The branch held a very successful card party and social evening last Saturday. Business meeting, Friday evening, Feb. 19, at 122 Pierpoint street. Alexander Kahn, one of the members of the branch and a well known labor attorney, will lecture.

BORO PARK.—Activities for the next couple of months includes a joint meeting of the branches in the 8th Congressional District to be held in the Labor Lyceum on Friday evening, Feb. 26. The branch social and dance will be held at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, Wednesday, March 2. An enrolled voters meeting addressed by Jacob Panken on Friday, March 25. The second annual barbecue, Friday, April 15. A mass meeting addressed by Morris Hillquit, Friday, April 29.

BENSONHURST.—Vigorous organization work has been commenced. Benjamin Rothstein has alone visited 25 delinquent members. New members

Tuesday, Feb. 23, at 8:30 p. m., at Monroe Court committee room, rear 43-13 47th street. This will be the last opportunity to vote for delegates to the national convention. The branch is busily preparing for the unemployment conference at P. S. 125, Friday, Feb. 26, at 8:15 p. m., to be addressed by James O'neal.

Lecture Calendar

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

SUNDAY, FEB. 21

B. C. Vladeck vs. Rabbi Alexander Lyons, debate, "Can Religion Contribute to the Economic and Social Regeneration of the World?" Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush avenues, Brooklyn Forum.

Dr. John I. Knudson, "Disarmament," 11 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, the Bronx. West Bronx Socialist Forum.

August Claessens, "The Love of Money," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan. 6th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, "The World Crisis—Can We Escape Catastrophe?" 600 West 181st street, Manhattan. Washington Heights Forum, Socialist party.

Tyrell Wilson, "Racial Antagonism—Its Causes, Effects and Remedy," 241 East 84th street, Manhattan. Yorkville branch, Socialist party.

Frances A. Henson, "Marx—Scientist or Revolutionist," 3109 Broadway, Manhattan. Morningside Heights branch, Socialist party.

TUESDAY, FEB. 23

James O'neal, "Early American Labor Philosophers," 789 Elmsmere place, Bronx. 7th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

William M. Feigenbaum, "International Peace," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn. Midwood branch, Socialist party.

Bradford Young, "Amos and Andy—Symptoms of Industrial Waste," 218 Van Sicklen avenue, Brooklyn. 22nd A. D. Branch 3, Socialist party.

Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Machine and Us," Columbia Club, Far Rockaway.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 24

Prof. LeRoy Bowman, "The Cooperative Movement in Our Future Society and Its Function," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23rd A. D. branch, Socialist party.

THURSDAY, FEB. 25

Jacob Bernstein, "Social Forces in American History Which Retarded the Growth of Socialism in the United States," 1466 Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn. 18th A. D. Branch 1, Socialist party.

August Claessens, "Our Economic Chaos," 615 East 140th street, Bronx. 1st A. D. branch, Socialist party.

William Karlin, "Unemployment Insurance," Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard, 163rd street, Jamaica. Socialist party branch.

FRIDAY, FEB. 26

Prof. E. M. Burns, "The Crisis in the British Labor Movement," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

Morris Paris, "Socialism in the Hinterland," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. Socialist party, 23rd A. D. branch.

Abraham I. Shipplackoff, "The Two Greatest Problems in Human Nature," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx. Labor Forum.

August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature," Lavenburg House Forum, Goerck street, Manhattan.

Speaker and topic to be announced, 327 East 9th street, Manhattan. 8th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

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BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local No. 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Al Bayler, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Rec., Corresponding Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION Local 234, A.M.O.&B.W. of N.A. 7 East 15th Street. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 p. m. Sec'y-Treas. Leff, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local 174, A.M.O.&B.W. of N.A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday 4-6 p. m. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board. 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. Hymen Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS—Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 131 E. 8th Ave. Phone Orchard 4-9380-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 p. m. Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 6-0068. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. Local 101, 103, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 26 West 31st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7932. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

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

HERREW TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Drydock 4-8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman. M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St. Phone W. 7-3011. 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.

THE INTERNATIONAL 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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MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 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. Mendelovitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 17th St. Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hoffa, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.

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PAINTERS' UNION, Local 261 Office, 62 East 106th Street. Tel. Lehigh 4-3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 E. 104th St. M. L. H. Fin. Sec'y-Treas. Greening, 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; Hymen Novodor, Sec'y-Treas.

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NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6. Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. C. 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. Fahy, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: Peter Monat, Manager. 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 4-2107. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfeld, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 17th St.

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REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932
Make Reservations Now

23rd A. D.—Sunday evening, Feb. 21, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, the Socialist party branch of the 23rd A. D. will hold another of its well known "Vetcherinkas."

MIDWOOD—Morris Rosenbaum was nominated candidate for Assembly in the 2nd A. D. The forum continues on Tuesdays. The bridge party takes place evening of Feb. 217, last Saturday of month.

QUEENS COUNTY COMMITTEE.—This is the last call for the victory dinner for Queens Socialists on Sunday, Feb. 21, at 6 p. m., at the Jamaica Royal Restaurant, 162-17 Jamaica avenue, Jamaica. James O'neal will speak on "Washington." Sam DeWitt will be toastmaster which assures a jolly evening.

SUNNYSIDE.—The branch will meet

THE NEW LEADER

Eighth Annual Dinner

MARCH 7, 1932

Make Reservations Now

"Blessed Event," A Big Event at the Longacre

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

KIDDING THE COLUMNIST

"BLESSED EVENT." By Manuel Seff and Forrest Wilson. At the Longacre.

Within our memory, there has been no play that approaches "Blessed Event" in the speed and unremitting succession of well-directed wisecracks. The tabloid columnist who goes for his dirt is exposed without reservations, a good enough fellow at heart, quick to start, and quick to repent when his items hurt any one—but never sparing them first. The various devices by which the scandalous items are secured or faked are neatly caught on the stage; the attitude of those around the columnist deftly shown; all at a swift and hilarious pace, as he goes from the advertising department to the best paid job in journalism. Roger Pryor carries the role with a brusque ease, and several fair ladies—Mildred Wall, Lee Patrick, Thelma Tipson—in their varying degrees make the evening irresistible. Manuel Seff has been watching Broadway wisely, and has gleaned a gorgeous garnering.

Substituting in the absence of the regular columnist, Alvin Roberts gets the idea of bribing a maternity ward registry clerk to let him know what "blessed events" are anticipated (though the tab columnist should know that "anticipate" may mean to block, to prevent!) and by printing the social gossip he boosts the paper's circulation some dozens of thousands. Everywhere he goes news is his search; one fellow, trying to be funny, when asked what he knows says: "Hoover's President." Roberts retorts: "They've asked me to keep that secret." Other bits of crackling repartee, which do not bear being snatched from the mood and the occasion, make constant repercussions of laughter in the audience.

Roberts' pet aversion is Bunny Harmon, radio singer (for Shapiro's Shoes) and night club sweet-boy, and the tale of their hate-

hunting is a joy. There is a scramble of gangsters cleverly sauced, and more amusing mockery of the gossip-giver and the public that takes it, than pages of comment could bring to life. Go and try "Blessed Event!"

ESCUERO'S DANCING

Vicente Escudero, outstanding male exponent of the Spanish dance, lets us discover at once that he is an excellent showman. Throughout his work, indeed, we never forget that aspect of his skill; and in his "Rhythms," without music save of eloquent feet and fingers, it is engagingly predominant. Through all the rest of his program, however, (he will be seen in recitals, the next two Sundays, at the Chanin) a more fundamental quality brings him close to the very origin of all dancing.

The dance began as bullying, or as wheedling. It was an actual supplication or a conquest in advance, a rite of prayer to appease a god or a magic of victory to summon success. Escudero's work inevitably suggests the second of these early dances—with one added note—the teasing of the conquered before they are devoured. The early conquest dances were mainly against the elements or hostile tribes; later (as with Escudero) against the enemy sex.

In Piano Recital Sunday Night



Gieseking will be heard at Carnegie Hall this Sunday night in his only New York Recital of the season.

With his partners, the haughty Carmita and the vivacious Carmita, he softens somewhat, but the threat remains: he will toy with them, enjoy them, but if they cloy, destroy them. In his single dances, his dark hair low-parted slanting down over straight sinister brows, he is intensely alive and gripping, the embodiment of the dominant male.

Eva Le Gallienne Returns

Among the items of considerable interest this week, it is especially pleasing to note that Eva Le Gallienne is back from Europe, rested and wholly recovered from her serious burns. She is completing her plans for the next season of the Civic Repertory Theatre, and will gather about her the nucleus of the old company, which has done excellent work in many worthwhile plays. The season will start, Miss Le Gallienne announces, with "Liliom," in which she starred some years ago at the Garrick Theatre with the Theatre Guild, and which is one of Molnar's most effective pieces. This is to be followed by the dramatic version of "Alice in Wonderland," to which we have long been looking forward, and which will come fittingly in the hundredth anniversary year of its author. These will be the first novelties of the Civic Rep season, and will be alternated with other plays from the Company's previous successes.

Miss Larrimore's Portraits

Oil paintings depicting Francine Larrimore in the various roles she has played in "Scandal," "Nice People," "Chicago," "Let Us Be Gay" and "Brief Moment" are being completed and will be placed on display in the lobby of the Cort Theatre the latter part of this week.

Larry Rich's Revue on Stage of Albee—"Lady With Past" on Screen

Larry Rich will bring his revue, composed of 40 vaudeville artists and the Rich Rhythm Band, to occupy the stage of the RKO Albee Theatre beginning this Saturday. Billed as "Enemies o' the Blues," the Rich show features such vaudeville favorites as Cheri, Phil Rich, Alice Adair, Tommy Long, the Andrew Sisters and Leonard Olsen. Fast moving dances, international vocal wares and comedy skits highlight the program, while the Rich Rhythm Band furnishes a series of original arrangements.

On the screen, Constance Bennett will be seen in her latest RKO-Pathe starring vehicle, "Lady With a Past," supported by David Manners and Ben Lyon.

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.
Continuous—Popular Prices

At last!—the answer to why
firemen wear red suspenders
JOE E.

BROWN

in "FIREMAN SAVE MY CHILD"

A First National Picture

N. Y. STRAND

Broadway & 47th Street

Brooklyn STRAND

Brooklyn & Rockwell

BENN W. LEVY'S

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

Arthur Byron Basil Rathbone

Robert Lorraine Mary Nash

Diana Wynard Cecilia Loftus

Ernest Thesiger Ernest Cossart

SELWYN THEATRE, W. 42nd St.

Eves. 8:45, 11 to 12. Mats. THURS.

and SAT., 2:45, 5 to 7:30

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

Best Seats on Sale at Box Office

QUEENIE SMITH

In the New Musical Hit

A LITTLE RACKETEER

"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.

44TH ST. THEATRE, W. of E'way

Eves. 8:30

Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

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, 52nd Street.

West of Broadway

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 8:45

Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:45

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

SAM H. HARRIS presents
Mary BOLAND J. Harold MURRAY
FACE the MUSIC

A MUSICAL COMEDY REVUE

by IRVING BERLIN and MOSS HART

Book Directed by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

NEW AMSTERDAM THEATRE West 42nd Street

MATS. WED. & SAT.

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 IRA 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

Mats. This Week—Thurs., Fri., Sat.

ERLANGER'S THEATRE, W. 44th St. PENN 6-7963. Mats. Mon. & Sat.

OPENS MONDAY MATINEE (Washington's Birthday)

CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO. (MILTON ABRON, Mng. Dir.)

FRANZ LEHAR'S GLORIOUS OPERETTA

The MERRY WIDOW

DONALD BRIAN BEPPIE de VRIES

as Prince Danilo as "The Widow"

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"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."

—Robert Garland, World-Telegram

A Musical Love Story by

Jerome KERN and

OTTO HARBACH

GLOBE THEATRE, E'way & 46 St.

Evenings at 8:30

Mats. Wed. and Sat.

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.

West of E'way

Eves. 8:30, Mats. Wed and Sat.

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

LAST 2 WEEKS

George White's 1931 Scandals

with Rudy VALLEE Ethel MERMAN

Willie & Eugene HOWARD

Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER

GALE QUADRUPLETS

THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW

GIRLS ON THE STAGE

"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."

JOHN ANDERSON, Eve. Journal.

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PLYMOUTH THEATRE, W. 45th St.

Eves. 8:30, N'ts 11-1

Extra Mat. Thurs. & Sat.

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IMPERIAL THEATRE, 45th St. W. of Broadway. Eves. 8:45

Mats. Wed., Sat. and Washington's Birthday

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(THE PERFECT FOOL) in

The LAUGH PARADE

with JEANNE AUBERT

LAWRENCE GRAY and others

"By far the best and still funniest entertainment in town."

—GARLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM

BELLE

DID JAH

Dance Recital

SUNDAY EVE.

March 6, at 8:45

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1932 Vaudeville-Revue

Lou Holtz - Clark & McCullough

Vincent Lopez

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Boswell Sisters - Lyda Roberts

Vanita Gould - Jay Brennan

And Other Broadway Stars

Critics in Europe and America Acclaim

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ONLY NEW YORK RECITAL

CARNEGIE HALL—SUNDAY, FEB. 21, at 8:30 P.M.

TICKETS \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50; Also Student Rates

Mgt. Charles L. Wagner (Baldwin Piano)

"The Final Edition" Newspaper Tale, Has Premiere at Hipp

Newspaper Story and Vaudeville Program Complete Bill at Hipp

Many times the story of how a newspaper story is gotten is more interesting than the story itself. The perils of the press reporter are frequently as great as those of detective or secret service agent, but they are not so often heard about because the reporter is an unsung hero.

"The Final Edition," now having its first New York presentation at the Hippodrome, is the story of how a newspaper scoops all its rivals in a murder mystery because one of its girl reporters had the nerve to risk her life to get the goods on the guilty man against whom there was only the slightest evidence until she trapped him.

Pat O'Brien and Mae Clarke play the featured roles. O'Brien as the city editor, and Mae Clarke, the sob sister. Howard Higgin directed "The Final Edition" from an original by Roy Chanslor.

The new vaudeville program at the Hipp will include Stuart and Lash Revue; the original Joe Jackson, pantomime comedian; Frank Swane and Joe Daly; Grad and Rafferty with the Carolina Strutters; The Daveys, Lois Torres and her Barcelonians; and other RKO acts.

"Road to Life" Now in Fourth Week at Cameo

"Road to Life," the first Russian talkie, which has been breaking every record at the RKO-Cameo theatre, now is in its fourth week, at that theatre.

So successful has been the adaptation of super-imposed English titles on this Russian talkie, that the management announces that hereafter all foreign language films shown at the RKO-Cameo theatre will follow this method of presentation.

All fear that Russian talkies would not be as successful as their silent predecessors has been allayed by the tremendous success of "Road to Life," and the Cameo now announces that several outstanding Russian films including, "Close Ranks!", "Golden Mountains," "Soil Is Thirsty" and "The House of the Dead," will be presented this season at the Forty-second street theatre.

"A Waltz by Strauss" Held Over for 3rd Week

"A Waltz by Strauss" ("Ein Walzer vom Strauss") the Viennese screen hit which is entering its 3rd week at the Little Carnegie Playhouse promises to equal the record runs already scored in Vienna, Berlin and London. The engaging simplicity of the story, the fine portrayals of the characters by an excellent cast of players and the old, yet ever new and beloved fully and appropriately introduced Strauss melodies which are woven into the theme all help to create a charming and attractive picture.

Belle Didjah in Dance Recital This Sunday

For the third time in four years, Belle Didjah, young American dancer, will mount the concert platform in a new group of original mime and character dances at the Martin Beck Theatre on Sunday evening, March 6. Having made her professional debut in New York in 1929, Miss Didjah returned the following season under the sponsorship of Eva Le Gallienne, who entered the managerial field in this single instance in order to assist the young artist who had delighted her with her skill and promise. Since that time, Miss Didjah has devoted herself, both here and abroad, particularly in Germany, to the development of her technique and the creation of a series of new dances, preparatory to her forthcoming recital.

"La Juive" at the Metropolitan Feb. 22

The first performance this season of Jacques Hale's opera "La Juive" at the Metropolitan Opera House will take place the afternoon of Washington's Birthday, February 22, for the benefit of the Women's Association of American "Ort."

Constance Bennett's latest starring vehicle, "Lady With a Past," opens at the Mayfair Theatre today. Based upon Harriet Henry's

The Perfect Fool, As He Appears in One of Season's Smash Hits



Ed Wynn, the one and only, has one of the biggest successes of his career in "The Laugh Parade," still standing them up at the Imperial.

new novel of the same name, the picture deals with a wealthy society girl who wages a unique fight to gain popularity and attract masculine attention.

"BEST PICTURE IN TEN YEARS!"
Regina Crowe-American.

MARLENE DIETRICH in "Shanghai Express"

A Paramount Picture
JOSEF VON STERNBERG
Production
CLIVE BROOK
Anny May Wong - Warner Oland
EUGENE PALLETTE
NITE OWL SHOWS EVERYNITE!
POPULAR PRICES

RIALTO House of Hits
B'way at 42nd

"I URGE ATTENDANCE!"
—John S. Cohen, Jr., Sun
ERNST LUBITSCH'S
MASTER ACHIEVEMENT
"THE MAN I KILLED"

"BROKEN LULLABY"

A Paramount Picture with
LIONEL BARRYMORE
PHILLIPS HOLMES
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Twice Daily: 2:45-8:45

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POPULAR PRICES!

RONALD COLMAN in Samuel Goldwyn's "ARROWSMITH"

UNITED ARTISTS PICTURE with
HELEN HAYES
From SINCLAIR LEWIS' story
Adapted by Sidney Howard

RIVOLI

UNITED ARTISTS
B'way at 49th

JOAN BENNETT

in "SHE WANTED A MILLIONAIRE"

—On the Stage—
FRED WARING
and his sensational music makers
Washington Memorial
with Ellsworth Woods
and the Famous Roxettes
HARRISON & FISHER

"JEWELS"
with Beatrice Belkin
Patricia Bowman and
Ballet Corps

ROXY 7th Avenue
& 50th St.

"Washington . . . The Man And the Capital" at The Warner and Bklyn Strand

Joining the entire nation the Brooklyn Warner Stand theatre, Fulton street and Rockwell place, and Warner Bros. Theatre, 50th street and Broadway, as part of the Washington Bicentennial celebration presents this week in conjunction with the feature picture, "Washington—The Man and The Capital," a patriotic subject on the life and career of the Father of our Country.

The role of Washington is stirring portrayed by Clarence Whitehill, star of the Metropolitan Opera Company whose one ambition was to play the part as he bears a striking resemblance.

GILBERT MILLER presents
EDNA HERBERT

BEST MARSHALL

There's Always Juliet

A Comedy by John van Druten
"Utterly Delightful"
—JOHN MASON BROWN, Eve. Post
EMPIRE THEATRE
BROADWAY at 46th STREET
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30
Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

HELEN HAYES

in MOLNAR'S New Comedy

The GOOD FAIRY

"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable, entertainments in town."

Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American
HENRY MILLER'S
Theatre, 134 W. 43rd St.
Eves. 8:40; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40
Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

Gilbert Miller and Leslie Howard Present

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
Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

8 RKO ACTS
including
STUART & LASH
"The FINAL EDITION"
with
Pat O'Brien
Mae Clarke
HIPPODROME
5th Ave. & 42nd St.

Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

CONSTANCE BENNETT



"LADY WITH A PAST"

DEN LYON
DAVID MANNERS

LARRY RICH & CO. of 49
RKO ALBEE
Albee Square
Brooklyn

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

9th Edition—All New—with
WILL WILLIAM MITCHELL
MAHONEY DEMAREST & DURANT
Fifty Notable Principals and a
Company of 200 Featuring
75 of the most beautiful
girls in the world
Nights Entire Orch. \$3. Bal. 50c
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday
Entire Orchestra \$2
SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT
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EARL CARROLL Theat. 7 Av.
& 50th St.
Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Senate Deserts the Unemployed—Still a Chance for Action—Japan, China and France—The Dewey Program

CLASS GOVERNMENT UNDISGUISED

NO more viciously inexcusable demonstration of class government in the United States and the power of the pocketbook has ever been given than the defeat of the LaFollette-Costigan bill for direct federal aid to the unemployed. The bill's only fault was that it was inadequate. The arguments against it were hypocritical, mere rationalization of class and personal interests.

What makes matters worse is that the same bi-partisan majority which defeated this bill and will, of course, defeat a bill for public works for the unemployed, has passed the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation and will pass the banking bill which will not only aid wobbly banks but permit a general inflation of credit and currency. I have already criticized the Federal Reconstruction Finance bill for its tendency to maintain the levels of securities and to put the burden of deflation on labor. The banking bill seems to me to be about the best one can expect under the capitalist system in an emergency. It should have been passed a year ago in order to help restore the price level of 1926-1927, but it should have been accompanied by direct federal aid to the unemployed and by a big program of public works. The failure to do this means not only an increase of actual starvation this winter. It means that the policy of the bi-partisan combination in control of Congress is to put the whole cost of deflation on labor. Now that wage cuts have become general under plea that the price level has fallen and therefore money wages should come down, the administration and Congress begin a policy of inflation to bring up prices—already stocks have begun to rise—and let labor carry the whole cost of deflation by a combination of unemployment and a reduction in wage scales. That's what capitalist government means in America.



NORMAN THOMAS

tries and running them under a general economic plan. Without this, as even The New Republic has observed, the L. I. P. A. plan scarcely amounts to more than an attempt to catch up with the more advanced European countries which still have plenty of troubles of their own. (2) A more fundamental defect is the fact that the L. I. P. A. ignores the class division of our society and suggests no inspiring philosophy of workers with hand and brain of cooperation and the need of a new system to give hope and vigor to men. This is fundamental to any effective plan or to any effective organization. So far as organization goes, I want again to insist, simply as a matter of objective fact, that there is no probability and scarcely any legal possibility of the rise of an important third party movement which will get on the ballot. There is a chance for effective cooperation of sincere groups with the Socialist party. Such cooperation is the logical thing to expect if these groups are as nearly in sympathy with us as they profess to be.

C. P. L. A. LOGIC

NOT only do we have the L. I. P. A. but the C. P. L. A. The latter organization in The Labor Age has seen fit to reprint a World-Telegram editorial criticizing me for not pushing to the bitter end and in the midst of a strike my criticisms of Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators' Union in New York. One can understand the irresponsible righteousness of The World-Telegram in an issue in which its own interests are not affected. But the C. P. L. A. is a labor organization. Does it really think that I or any other friend of labor unionism should help defeat a very well conducted strike against company unionism with lower wages, worse working conditions and, it is rumored, some potential racketeering alliances? Local 306 is still far short of my ideal of a union. It still has to solve the problem of the permit men, which I have no intention of dropping. But Local 306 has made progress. It did not give its president a \$25,000 "gift" last year. It permitted a fair election campaign and conducted a fair election. There are no more complaints of personal violence from the minority. The election campaign showed that the so-called official opposition was, to say the least, no better than the majority in ideals and vision. Some men unreasonably kept out of the union or suspended from it have been taken in or reinstated. It is possible that even the permit system will be dealt with fairly. Under these conditions what does the C. P. L. A. want to do? Does it want to encourage a bosses' union? The line it takes can have no other result.

MAKE THE HOUSE TAKE ACTION

WE simply cannot afford to accept the defeat of the LaFollette-Costigan bill as final. Already public pressure forced long consideration of a bill that the old guard of both sides of the Senate was determined to bury. Under pressure the number of supporters of the bill grew from eight to thirty-five. A similar bill is before the House of Representatives. There ought to be a genuine rising of labor, employed and unemployed. Such a rising can by non-violent means compel Congress to listen. Even in New York State, the richest of states, where the unemployed fare better than in some other states, on the very day that the LaFollette-Costigan bill was defeated, the Commissioner of Charities of New York called for a two hundred million dollar bond issue and said that ninety million dollars would be needed in the city alone for the balance of the year. On the same day the police announced that they were going to destroy those amazing and ingenious dug-outs and huts which the unemployed had built for themselves on vacant lots on Charlton and West streets. But there is no substitute provided by capitalist government! Let Congress hear from us in no uncertain terms! Let the givers of doles to banks consider men! Let the workers compel the Mr. Facing Both Ways candidates for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency to declare themselves on this one small and meager expression of interest in the unemployed.

FOR PEACE IN CHINA

THE war danger in the Far East does not lessen. The United States and the League of Nations in different ways are putting some of the pressure on Japan which unitedly they ought to have put on long ago. Our policy should be: No war under any conceivable circumstances, but the maximum of cooperative moral and economic pressure on Japan. Moral pressure means that we set an example by getting our marines out of Haiti and Nicaragua. Even Smedley Butler has admitted in an interview that marines go abroad not to civilize but to protect the dollar.

FRANCE FEELING THE PINCH

IT may be that the fall of the Lavale Cabinet in France under pressure from the Left means a better French policy at the Geneva Disarmament Conference and in the Far East. It is too soon to be sure. France's "prosperity," like our own, is not proving immortal. Unemployment has increased greatly. Under pressure from the workers the French government may be a little less cocky and militaristic.

THE L. I. P. A. "FOUR YEAR PLAN"

IN my rapid travels round the country I find some interest in the "Four Year Presidential Plan" of the League for Independent Political Action, but more interest in straight Socialism. I usually tell inquirers that the L. I. P. A. plan is likely to have a valuable educational effect; that it is in substance a watered down Socialism with some useful elaboration of certain points long ago made by Socialists. My chief criticisms of the plan are two, both of them based primarily on what it does not contain: (1) The plan nowhere emphasizes as it should the necessity of socializing basic indus-

THE DRESSMAKERS' STRIKE

THIS comment on the C. P. L. A. leads me again to urge that our weak forces want to keep the maximum of cooperation even when we have to differ on policies. We want to state our differences fairly and give the common enemy no occasion for rejoicing over stupid and unnecessary divisions. This applies within and without the Socialist party. It applies above all just now to the tremendous strike which New York's dressmakers have been forced to begin against sweatshop conditions. That such a necessary struggle in these difficult times should have been begun by troubles among the strikers provoked by the Communists is a genuine tragedy. At any rate, the rest of us must get behind relief for the dressmakers in their great struggle to prevent a return to the terrible days before 1910.

CARDOZO AND SOME OTHERS

JUDGE CARDOZO'S nomination to the Supreme Court is the best thing President Hoover has done and about the wisest politically. Judge Cardozo is a great jurist who can carry on the Holmes tradition. He is not a Socialist and has even praised Governor Ritchie. Nevertheless he will probably do as much as any one Socialist could to help liberalize the court. Even a Socialist majority on the Supreme Court, given the chains of the constitution, the weight of precedent, and the psychology of the law, would not be free to abolish a judicial oligarchy which threatens the cause of peaceful social progress and change in America. We want good judges, but even more we want a better judicial system and a better Constitution. Speaking of good judges, Hoover's nomination of one good man to the Supreme Court ought not to let labor and progressives, to say nothing of Socialists, forget to fight his abominable nominations of those anti-labor judges, Messrs. MacIntosh and Wilkerson, to higher judicial posts.

ROOSEVELT'S MOUSE

THE mountain of the interstate unemployment insurance conference has labored and brought forth the mouse of an insultingly inadequate bill for unemployment insurance. The maximum benefits are \$10 a week, regardless of the size of the family for a maximum of ten weeks, and even that won't be paid if the individual firms which have to bear the weight of the insurance can't pay it. And many of them can't, as the breakdown of various voluntary schemes has proved. This is a characteristic liberal gesture. That arch pussyfoot, Governor Roosevelt, will let the Republicans turn the bill down and get credit for endorsing it. Incidentally Mr. Roosevelt is hurt that all the newspapers estimate his conduct of the Farley case in terms of politics and not of right and wrong. He has no one to blame but himself and his own record in dealing with Tammany.

Science and the Workingman

"Neither Song Nor Sermon"

UNDER this title Ferdinand Lassalle published the speech which he delivered in a Prussian courtroom in January, 1863, when on trial for having "incited the unpropertied classes to hatred and contempt of the propertied." It did not save him from condemnation—nay, it earned him an additional sentence for contempt of court. But it inspired many thousands of German workingmen with respect, not for Lassalle only, but for themselves and for their class.

Seventy years is a long time, but that pamphlet is still live. Americans may read it in a translation made by the late Thorstein Veblen.

I mention it now in connection with the subject on which I have

written more than once of late, and which is the subject of the first paragraph of the declaration of principles tentatively adopted by our recent city convention.

Lassalle was a man who could, without danger of contradiction, say to his judges: "Ask my adversaries, and they will tell you that I write every line armed with the entire culture of my century." It was true, and he was not one to undervalue himself. This makes it the more significant that he, as well as the yet more learned Marx, did not for a moment doubt that the working people are capable of understanding a scientific argument, of thinking in the scientific way, of using scientific knowledge in their struggle for emancipation.

He did not dilute Socialist theory to fit it for popular consumption.

He did not talk down to the level of the ignorant. He called upon the workingmen to rise to the level from which he addressed them. And they responded.

It never occurred to Lassalle, any more than to Marx and Engels, that science might be regarded as a harmless diversion for do-nothing Socialists, but as excess baggage for those who carry the burden of the party's work. That grav economic problems can be solved by rule-of-thumb, that good will and "horse sense" are sufficient guides for the most momentous social movement in history, that society can be reconstructed from bottom to top by the method of trial-and-err—would have seemed to these men as fantastic a notion as that engineers and navigators might do their work without knowing mathematics, physicians without knowing phy-

siology or chemistry, and teachers without knowing psychology.

If ever there was a man of action, a man with a keen sense of reality, a man whose words were deeds, such a man was Ferdinand Lassalle. Him, at any rate, no one can call a pedant or a pundit. Whatever else he was or was not, he was the most dramatically successful party-builder our movement has ever had. And Lassalle thought it eminently practical to write "science" on the banner of working-class revolt in letters quite as large as those in which he wrote "Justice" and "Freedom" and "Solidarity." He would have thought it altogether impractical to do otherwise.

How this fearless fighter, this tireless worker, this magnetic leader of men—who was also the author of a treatise on the philosophy of Herakleitos and of a pro-

found historico-legal work on "The System of Acquired Rights"—how he would have laughed to scorn the idea, which in these days some of our American comrades have borrowed from an unacknowledged source, but the habit of scientific thinking produces a paralysis of the will!

A. L.

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

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