

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Vivid Pictures of Wrecked Capitalism Presented in Hoover Committee Report

EACH industrial crisis, beginning in 1884, has been followed by an elaborate investigation and report. The report of President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends follows precedent, except that it is not the work of politicians and three members of the committee have some standing in the social sciences. The official summary is cautious. That was to be expected; but a summary of the summary reveals some important facts. The report considers the physical and economic environment as the basic factor of social changes. It comes close to the Socialist interpretation of history, although the authors do not always follow the logic of their basic conception. Climate, soil and natural resources are fundamental. In this setting, "Scientific discoveries and inventions instigate changes first in the economic organization and then in the social habits which are most closely associated with them. Thus factories and cities, corporations and labor organizations, have grown in response to technological developments."

Secondary results follow. "The next great set of changes occurs in organizations one step further removed, namely in institutions such as the family, the government, the schools and the churches. Somewhat later, as a rule, some changes in social philosophies and codes of behavior, although at times these may precede the others. . . . All of these factors act and react upon each other, often in perplexing and unexpected ways."

How these forces have affected farmers, workers, the middle classes, politics, the churches, government and other aspects of our capitalist civilization is the theme of the report. It hints of classes and groups with divergent interests and ideas and of "dangerous tensions" in society. One thing is considered indispensable. "Willingness and determination to undertake important integral changes in the reorganization of social life, including the economic and the political orders, rather than the pursuance of a policy of drift."

The Making of Robots

As though looking down upon us from a lofty eminence the committee points out various defects of our ramshackle capitalism. "Even in the best years (of prosperity) millions of families are limited to a meagre living," and in this era at least 10,000,000 workers have no jobs. It is likely that the American standard of living will continue to decline because of the pressure of the jobless. Despite the fact that for 15 years there has been no increase in crop acreage nor in acre-yields in 30 years, "agricultural production has increased about 50 per cent since the beginning of the century." Power machinery and the gas engine have increased production, the engine releasing 10,000,000 horses and mules on the farms.

The agricultural output per worker "increased 22 per cent between the average of the decade 1912-1917 and the average of the decade 1922-1931" and "rural poverty areas" present a problem as truly as "urban slums." The farm population decreased over a million between 1920 and 1930, but since the latter year jobless workers have fled to the rural areas and reversed this trend.

Some idea of the mechanization of industry that is turning human beings into robots is given in the figures of the number of patents issued. "In 1851-1855, 6,000 patents were granted in the United States; in 1875-1880, 64,000; in 1901-1905, 143,000, and in 1926-1930, 219,000."

And the displacement of labor? "A larger proportion of work by machines and a smaller proportion of human labor is to be expected in the future. There are, indeed, a few cases of wholly automatic factories." Yet since the beginning of the twentieth

How Much Longer?



And will huge reports by Presidential Commissions lead us out of the mess? And if not, how will we get out of it?

century the output per worker in manufacturing industries has increased 50 per cent. Then in "several industries the hours worked were as high as 60 per week in 1930 and in others as low as 44."

The mass production that is flattening millions of human beings into uniform pancakes is also breaking down the diversity of rural life. That is to say, this levelling once attributed to Socialism has become a marked phase of the capitalist system. "Those groups of the population which change their economic and social habits most slowly are now objects of this pressure."

While the machine and mass production are shaping human life like dough in the hands of a baker the political framework of capitalism remains largely what it was when the "fathers" set it up in the eighteenth century. The local governments set up when we traveled by horse and based upon "wealth largely in farm lands are not suited to the extended areas of operations caused by the automobile and the railroad." We may add that ancestor worship is powerful in restraining us from scrapping the ancient work of the "fathers." Industrial change is revolutionary but politics and government are like an Egyptian mummy.

While there is a growing interest in science and clerical influence is on the decline, social philosophies resist change. "Their changes often lag behind the social organizations with which they are connected. Thus economic philosophies in regard to laissez-faire and competition persist in fields where the combination movement is an accomplished fact."

The committee must have had Herbert Hoover in mind when writing that paragraph. He and his allies ration out ox-cart ideas to keep the masses under the control of a machine-age capitalism. While these ancient ideas are passed down to the masses "large ranges of government have been dominated by avowed spoilsmen, corrupt, incompetent and partisan, or all three together, graft and buncombe have been common." In this to great cities "in the grip of organized defiant criminals" is but a step.

The Answer of Socialism

The need of more serious and vital thinking is obvious to the commission but many people "cling to ideas, ideals, institutions, blindly even when outworn, waiting until they are moribund and given a new meaning and a new mode of expression."

These are high spots in the report which reveal men with troubled minds. They do not say all that should be said or always state clearly what they mean. They are physicians examining a body of wrecked capitalist system. They are sobered by what they observed. They want us to know something of the trends of the system, but they do not want us to get unduly excited about them. They favor neither the numbskull nor the revolutionary point of view. They are content to throw up vivid pictures on the screen with the expectation that more of us will do some thinking about them.

Largely financed by a gift from the Rockefeller Foundation, we could not expect more from the commission; but much of the material in the summary indicates that the volumes that are to be published will be useful for Socialist education. Although cautiously worded the social and economic trends disclosed show that the American capitalism generated by millions is rapidly changing. What should replace it?

That is the question that will occur to the intelligent reader. And the Socialist answer is the organization of a class-conscious army of the masses to transform it into a Socialist Commonwealth where machines and mass production work for us and not for the enrichment of the exploiters.

"IS FUSION THE WAY OUT?"

will be the Subject for Debate at the

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1933

A "Progressive" Governor

GOVERNOR LEHMAN sent his message to the legislature this week and we are curious regarding its contents. He who passed the Democratic election plate in the financial district in 1928 is now Governor of the State of New York. He is a "friend of Labor" and hunger stalks throughout the state. He is aware of it. He declares that the number of the jobless is between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000, or 25 per cent of the working population. The State Temporary Relief Administration places the number as high as 1,750,000 and declares that the number is increasing. Governor Lehman asks us not to indulge in "utopia." "No panacea has been found for the cure of our ills. No panacea will be found." In other words he closes the door to any solution of the problem of guaranteeing employment, food, and shelter to workers who live in a society having the greatest productive powers the world has ever known! That point of view is basic to capitalism and we can understand how a man of wealth can hold it and sleep well. We doubt, however, if the suffering masses can subscribe to it. He adds that "all economic groups in the nation are mutually interdependent" and "no class can be benefited for the benefit of another." Moreover, "no excessive or unwise burdens" should be "imposed on industry."

What does he mean by "industry"? Obviously, he really means the owners of industry. The owners have closed the industries and have locked out millions of workers. Would it be a "burden" for the state to take over the closed industries and invite the workers to operate them in the interest of those who need them? If the capitalist owners cannot or will not operate them and workers want to but are barred from operating them, is there no other way available to operate them? Governor Lehman says: "There is no panacea."

But, he understands that the situation is desperate. He states that 350,000 families in the state are dependent upon relief although the State Administration places the number at 410,000. He admits that not only has private and public aid been insufficient to meet the "extraordinary requirements of the existing situation" and that the "strain on state, local, and private resources has . . . at last reached its limit." Conditions have become so desperate in the richest state in the Union that "We are forced to look to Washington for assistance."

He has had "progressive" Democratic governments in New York State for fourteen years and one after another he has gone to Washington to assume the executive power of the nation. All the brains at Albany have been unavailing in coping with this universal emergency and the state is now compelled to go to Washington with cap in hand for alms to care for the jobless, the cold and the hungry!

The only other suggestion Governor Lehman makes is "A program looking toward a system of unemployment insurance." Just what will come out of the legislative hopper as a result of this recommendation we do not know, but if it is anything, while the workers of the state will have to step up on the steps of the capitol and insist that a collection of "jokers" are not substituted for genuine insurance.

The working class votes invested in this Governor are stewing in unemployment insurance.

The World We Live In

A Socialist View of the Week

Political Action and
The Aims of Socialism

IN his own field of education John Dewey has no peer but we are unable to pay him that compliment in the field of politics. In a recent number of The Nation he considers the Socialist Party and the future of "radical political action." He sees divergencies in the party and so do we. We have always had them and will never be without them.

What does Mr. Dewey want? Aside from using the League for Independent Political Action for the purpose of bringing about a union of "radical" forces it is difficult to understand what he desires. "I do not charge the Socialist Party with standing for sectarianism and division," he writes. "I do say that we desire a union of forces to which Socialists can and should contribute." Lack of this union has "weakened liberal and radical forces in the past" and he is opposed to "the defeatist policy" which assumes that "no radical political action" is possible "until the majority of the population have sunk into the proletariat."

The latter assumption is Mr. Dewey's, not ours. We place confidence in the proletariat but we have not waited for a majority to be proletarianized. His references to "weakened liberal and radical forces" must be understood in the light of what he said at The New Leader dinner nearly a year ago. Mr. Dewey said that his aim was to found a political coalition that would be led by the middle class. This view is not inconsistent with what he writes in The Nation.

Now Mr. Dewey has the right to work for such a purpose but we have no hesitation in saying that the Socialist Party will not be a part of any such coalition. To urge middle class leadership of any movement is to urge organization of a middle class movement to serve the middle class. However much one may endeavor to recruit working masses for that movement its character remains the same. Moreover, it reveals lack of confidence in the working class. It is to be led, not lead, and that view does not differ from the view of the politicians who lead the parties of capitalism.

These times call for a frank appeal to the working masses to organize economically and politically for their own welfare and for their deliverance from exploitation, political servitude and social degradation. To urge them to reach up into economic layers above them for guidance is for them to admit that they are not prepared for an independent, courageous and self-directed movement, for their emancipation.

Middle class leadership simply means that the working masses will be used in the futile endeavor to check the decay of the middle classes. Even if that were possible the workers would be fighting the battles of other economic groups, not their own. A genuine movement for conquering capitalism will inspire the workers with confidence in their power and their future. It will tell the decaying middle class elements that they are fighting a hopeless battle against the upper ruling classes and that their future, welfare as human beings is bound up with the triumph of the proletariat. Mr. Dewey would reserve the process and have workers fight under the banner of middle class leadership.

A Two-Year Record
Of Economic Decline

ACCORDING to a report of the Federal Census Bureau the value of products of manufacturing, printing and publishing industries fell 41.3 per cent between 1929 and 1931. The values were \$70,434,863,443 in the peak year and \$41,333,108,998 in 1931. Other phases of a sick capitalism are reported.

In the two years the number of establishments fell 17.5 per cent from 210,959 to 174,136, while the average number of wage earners was reduced 26.3 per cent from 8,838,743 to 6,514,647. The bureau said that the rate of decline in the number of wage earners under 18 stated the true situation in that actual

WORMS

By William Allen Ward

WORMS make generals
And drafted soldiers equal;
They make dirt out of
Them.

Worms
Are more powerful
Than siege guns.

Give them time . . . they will make
All men equal.

we have shown above. They have been careful to get a government that they can milk while we have been content to feed the cow they milk. He wants "cooperation between voluntary groups within industry" which harks back to the Portland convention of 1923 and after nearly a decade of trial it was scrapped in Cincinnati last November.

Equally wise was Mr. Woll in a larger field. "Internationalism may be an idealistic profession, but it can likewise be a mistaken one. The world is not helped by professing internationalism, while America goes to pieces." That is to say, the United States is a hermit nation little affected by what occurs in the rest of the world. The exploiting classes think otherwise and even Mr. Woll has complained of American corporations exporting factories to Europe leaving workers jobless at home. That problem alone requires international cooperation with the working class abroad. It is a voice from the tomb that speaks while the working class "goes to pieces."

Nicaragua Safe for
American Capital

WITH the piety of a Uriah Heep the State Department late last week announced that the government had withdrawn its bayonets from Nicaragua after six years of armed occupation of that country. During this period it had supervised three national elections and the election last November resulted in the choice of Juan B. Sacasa for President. "This country has considered it a privilege to assist Nicaragua and will always look with friendly sympathy and satisfaction upon the progress which Nicaragua, through her own efforts, will inevitably achieve in the future," reads the statement of the State Department.

The new executive was inducted into office with an American Admiral and two army generals looking on as representatives of the United States. No doubt the country is "pacified" except for Sandino and his little band who are sworn to fight American imperialism. We assume that American banks and investors have been made secure in this Latin-American republic and that Sacasa will so use his power that American exploiters can give their attention to other little nations that are ripe for looting.

Menaces to Peace
In the Far East

HELL may be popping in the Far East at any time. After setting up Manchukuo and installing a Manchu as a puppet executive, Japan has turned to an attack on Jehol Province with the view of annexing it to Manchukuo. Japanese troops have taken the strategic city of Shanhaikwan which is now a smoking ruin. This is war on China. The Chinese Minister at London and head of the Chinese delegation to the League of Nations Assembly declares that "China's faith in the efficacy of the League covenant is approaching the vanishing point. A showdown must come."

Just as ominous is Japan's refusal to sign a non-aggression pact with Russia. The Soviet power has extended recognition to China and Japan is rapidly strengthening her army. Manchukuo may also be considered a thrust at Russia by Japan. Last year the Japanese and Russian press and officials exchanged some warm sentiments although the Soviet has accepted the status quo in

peace essential to the Russians and at this time the old monarchist clique in Paris led by Grand Duke Cyril raises its head. He claims to have reached the Soviet Army and Navy with a manifesto. This is buncombe but it is obvious that the czarists are fishing in troubled waters in the hope that the royal vermin will be restored.

Unemployment Aid
And a Federal Cow

SOCIAL workers in hearings before a Senate committee in Washington on the Costigan-LaFollette relief bill warned of "violent forms of expression" because of widespread unemployment. H. L. Lurie of New York reported that a survey in December covering 44 cities and 25 states showed increasing distress with declining resources to meet it. Relief work does not go much beyond seeing that "nobody shall starve" and yet deaths have been reported in a number of cities due to a lack of food.

However, there are some "persons" who are not starving. In law a corporation is a "person" and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been very generous in seeing that such "persons" get plenty of nourishment. John T. Flynn in the current number of Harper's Magazine, presents an inside view of the R. F. C. and its charitable work that is literally amazing. It is said that the article has been reprinted in the Congressional Record and it is possible that there will be a congressional investigation.

The big banks of the nation are supposed to have not been fed by the R. F. C. but Flynn shows that they were generously helped through the railroads they control. From time to time as suspicions arose regarding this federal cow Hoover issued vague statements indicating that the big fat boys were not getting the milk. Flynn shows that the fat boys were getting plenty. Compare this with the treatment of jobless millions. It is naked capitalist paternalism in contrast with the "self-help" offered

A Voice From the
Tomb Offers Wisdom

WHILE the above facts were before intelligent people Matthew Woll issued a New Year's bull. The "voluntary action" which was buried at the Cincinnati convention of the A. F. of L. was resurrected by Matt as a New Year's greeting to the ragged and the hungry. It was the old wearing the mask of the new.

He warned us not to have "too much dependence upon government." We haven't much but the fat boys have as employment or "man-hours" worked took no account of the increase in part-time employment during the period.

In the same way the reduction of 4 per cent in value of products overstates the quantity production because of the sharp reduction in prices since 1929.

Only those establishments were recorded which had a production valued at \$5,000 or more for the year.

The wages paid in 1929 totaled \$11,620,973,254 and the total in 1931 was \$7,225,587,464. Similarly the cost of materials was \$38,549,570,732 in 1929 as against \$21,420,124,017 in 1931.

These are dry figures but they give some idea of what has happened in a two-year period and there is little prospect of a change for the better.

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 opinions 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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By David Lasser

Rainbows of Hope in 1933

THE fourth winter of the Great Depression begins and the worker who turns hopefully toward 1933 asks "How long, oh Lord, how long?" If he has a job he wants to know how long he will hold it; what will be the trend of wages, employment and general business? What will be the attitude of the new masters of industry, the bankers, toward the crisis which is crushing the workers to absolute poverty?

The depression started in September, 1929, and a downtrend in business, employment and wages continued until July, 1932. Then occurred an upturn that lasted through October.

Considerable ballyhoo has appeared in capitalist papers about this recovery movement and it was stated that the bottom of the whole depression had been reached in July, and we were henceforth on the road to recovery.

The facts do not bear this out. At the end of 1931 a wave of panic overtook American capitalists so great that they were ready to sell our industrial system for what it would bring. For seven months there ensued a wave of financial deflation, unemployment, wage cutting and general business hysteria such as the country had never before seen. It was a decline so fast that if continued for a few more months the country would have plunged into complete bankruptcy.

Out of a Hole

It required the full power of government assistance to stop the deflation in July, 1932. When it was realized that capitalism was temporarily saved, a reaction set in, a recovery movement, in which suspended consumption was resumed and securities that had been thrown overboard were repurchased. Since the decline had proceeded too quickly, even for a capitalism sliding downhill, a temporary recovery was in order.

For example, the index of business activity of the New York Herald-Tribune based upon 100% as normal had declined to 67% by November, 1931. But the catastrophic decline of 1932 plunged the index of business down to 48% in July. In other words, by July, 1932, one-third of all business activity of seven months previous

Have the Workers Reason to Hope That Recovery Is in Sight?—Careful Analysis of Figures and Trends Shows Otherwise—Capitalism Is Swiftly Slipping.

had ceased! The autumn recovery movement raised the index to 54% by October, thereby recovering one-third of the ground lost in the seven months. But by October

every movement managed to put some 600,000 of these unemployed back to work by September, in October unemployment was again on the increase; and the A.F.L. esti-

ployed. Such figures applied to the entire working class make it safe to judge that 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 workers were on part time in October, 1932. A grand total, therefore, of some 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 of the country's 38,000,000 non-agricultural workers were totally or partially unemployed in October, 1932.

What about wages? In September, 1932, during the peak of the recovery movement there were 5,000,000 wage earners employed in our manufacturing industries, according to the Federal Reserve Board. This was a drop of more than 3,500,000 from September, 1929. In September 1929 the average wage was \$25 a week, and as late as November 1931 it was \$20.31 a week. In September 1932 it had declined to \$16.00 a week. Today it is probably lower still.

The wage necessary for a minimum standard of health and decency for a family of five (even at today's living costs) has been put at nearly \$40 a week.

The Share-Work Plan

Now if the Share-the-Work plan succeeds in putting half of the 3,000,000 totally unemployed manufacturing wage earners back to work, the average weekly wage of the 6,500,000 fortunate workers would be \$12 a week, barely sufficient to purchase food for a normal family.

But how about the "aristocrats of labor," the railway workers?

From September 1929 to August 1932 the number of railway workers declined from 1,700,000 to 996,000. At the same time the average wage also decreased from more than \$145 a month to \$121 a month. In September 1932, although the number of railway workers increased to 1,010,000, the total wages paid to the 1,010,000 men was less than that paid to 996,000 men. The average wage therefore dropped during this recovery movement to \$118 per month.

Railroad Wages

The roads wish to make a further 10% cut in wages. If they succeed, the average monthly wage will drop to \$107 a month; and

should the Share-the-Work campaign succeed in putting half of the 700,000 unemployed railway workers back on the job, the average monthly wage for the "aristocrats of labor" would be less than \$95 a month, or about one half of that necessary for health and decency.

The cry is made by bankers and their industrial mouthpieces that wages must come down because the cost of living has been reduced. Yet Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, showed that, although living costs had declined 18% in the last two years, employment had dropped 33% and wages at least 54%. Notwithstanding the offensive against wages is being pressed openly and subtly. Witness the report on employment in retail trade in November. Employment actually gained, but alas, payrolls dropped. More workers, smaller payrolls seems to be the rule today. The coming months should see new drives being made by the bankers to further burden the workers with the cost of the crisis. The battle lines are being more and more tightly drawn; the class struggle is developing in its fiercest form. The capitalists are fighting to guard at all costs the mountain of claims of bonds and mortgages against an industrial structure that can no longer support them.

The December, 1932, review of the National City Bank states its position slyly. "The great and pressing need at the present time," it says, "is for a lowering of production costs in all lines in which they are above the 1913 level." Since the prices for raw materials have already declined to that level and banks are resisting vigorous reduction in overhead (rents, interest, etc.) it is obvious, according to the National City Bank position, that is is the third major cost of production, wages, must be reduced to the 1913 level.

It is ironic that this load of mortgages which throttles all industry represents the wealth stolen from labor. It was the excess profits taken from labor during the boom years and given to bondholders and stockholders that was reinvested in additional and unnecessary plants

(Continued on Page Sixteen)



the recovery movement had spent itself and in November the index had fallen back to 49.5%, within striking distance of the July low. We have no reason to assume that the July lows will not be reached or worsened within a few months.

What has been the course of employment (or unemployment) and wages during this period? Here the utmost caution is necessary in reading the capitalist papers. Normally, when we speak of employment, we refer to the number of men employed for a normal working day and receiving a normal wage (little as it may be). Today no such definitions hold. The figures of employment now published refer only to the number of men at work, even though two or three men are sharing one job between them. The creating of this confusion appears to be part of the aim of the Share-the-Work campaign.

Unemployment Is Growing

Figures of the American Federation of Labor, recently released, show that unemployment (remember complete unemployment) increased from less than 3,000,000 in April 1930 to 11,460,000 in August, 1932. Although the autumn recov-

mates that a new peak of unemployment, reaching a total of 13,000,000 will be reached this winter.

Department of Labor figures for November show a drop of 1% employment and more than 3% in payrolls from October. This indicates, first, that perhaps 250,000 workers were fired during the month; and, second, that widespread wage-cutting and work-sharing occurred. Otherwise the increase in unemployment would have been considerably greater.

The success of the share-the-work campaigns will probably determine future unemployment figures, equally with the course of business. These campaigns aim not only to share jobs and wages to the further impoverishment of the workers; but also to drug the discontent of the jobless and to improve public psychology by showing that "unemployment" is not increasing.

The figures of the A.F.L. show, for example, that the number of part-time workers increased from 19% of the total A.F.L. membership in January, 1932, to 23% in October. The Federation estimates that almost as many of its members were on part time work in October as were fully unem-

A Manual for Socialist Speakers

by August Claessens

(Continued from last week)

It is an old joke and a true observation that the best impromptu speeches are carefully prepared. A public speaker facing an audience with little or no idea of what he is going to say is bound to ramble, and it is only by accident that he can be coherent and convincing. But why should anyone depend upon chance when the job can be done efficiently? To that end, the extemporaneous method is the most practical. It compels the speaker to plan the speech carefully, understand the material to be used, arrange it in logical and effective order and to think out the connections and the objective to be attained. The outline or memorandum is sketched out in brief notations or short sentences, with headings and sub-headings, and then, like the famous canned soups, all that is necessary is to heat and serve.

One may glance at the outline or notes while speaking, or, depending upon experience and ability, one may dispense with them altogether. It is important, however, that the speech be planned in advance. The working out of even a short speech on the back of an envelope or card is sufficient mental discipline for good speakers, and it

certainly produces the effect of unity, purpose and pointedness in their talks. Although one is and should be bound to an outline as the result of preparation, the extemporaneous method of speaking nevertheless permits the best in impromptu, namely, the freedom to choose words and phrases as they come to mind. It gives the speaker all the spontaneity and freshness so necessary in effective public speaking.

The Gathering of Data

TO make a good speech one must understand the subject. One must positively be full of the subject. A fine propagandist is an alert student whose interest in the subject is intense and continuous. Eventually the subject becomes a part of him and he becomes a part of the subject.

The sources of information are many and easy to make contact with. There are innumerable books, periodicals, etc., that every student can gain access to. There are also all kinds of research bureaus, committees and organizations that gather and compile information on most every economic social and political topic. To mention but a few: The National and State Labor Departments; The Rand School Re-

search Bureau; The League for Industrial Democracy; The National Child Labor Committee and many others. All scientific works and text books carry indexes which enable the student to turn quickly to certain pages to find what he may need. It is so easy to find material for speeches that there is absolutely no excuse for any speaker's facing an audience and not knowing what he or she is talking about. Those in charge of our propaganda meetings should firmly discourage and even refuse the platform to any speaker who is too negligent, lazy or indifferent properly to inform himself.

Many of us keep some sort of scrap books. All of us should clip, make memoranda and file in folders or envelopes all such material that we sometime use. Self-collected data are often superior to the prepared and digested material gathered by others. What one sees, hears, reads and thinks about usually impresses one more deeply, and can be related much more vividly than data that we are less familiar with.

Forgetting Part of One's Speech

THE average person is of the opinion that to be a good speaker one must have a phenomenal memory. This is not true. In fact, educational psychology states em-

phatically that the mind should be crammed with data; on the contrary, it should be encouraged and trained to select and think, to seek and obtain information. An encyclopedia is a marvelous instrument. Furthermore, the brain improves with use. The process of learning and remembering without great effort and no individual can forget much that is intensely and continually interested. In fact, when a subject becomes a part of one, there is greater danger of becoming set and biased than there is of forgetting, and we must be ever on the alert and open to new data and opinion and cultivate the critical faculty of genuine thinking.

A trained speaker also does not usually forget parts of his speech, because he does not depend upon memory alone. He usually knows what he is going to say, how it should be said and how much should be used. He does not burden himself with statistics, quotations and other material. These are on his notes and he quotes while speaking, and he quotes without bungling.

(To be continued next week)

by Mark Starr

Some Knocks at Technocracy

THE chief by-product of the depression seems to be the amazing amount of cures proposed. The bewilderment and perplexity of capitalist leaders throughout the world are reflected in the quick and intense discussion given to many new ideas. Not long ago every self-respecting economist had an economic plan as indispensable as his pair of pants. Socialists had attacked the chaos of capitalist society for many years and been scorned for their pains, but in the twinkling of an eye economic planning became the rage. All the quality magazines carried articles.

Gerard Swope of the General Electric even went to the extent of detailing actual proposals, but even his plan of trustification of industry by big business, with the trade unions left out of the picture, remained a mere pipe dream. Professor Charles A. Beard and Stuart Chase recalled in vain the mechanism for the conscious control of industry set up by the government under the stress of war-time. All these plans, however, lacking a clear purpose and without any power to carry them through, remained beautiful cobwebs and no more.

Now comes Technocracy which has leaped overnight into the current vocabulary. Every enterprising magazine has rushed to secure an article about this new proposal which foretells the abrupt breakdown of the present system and the coming beneficial rule of the technician. Three books are already definitely announced and others will surely follow. One of the most progressive of the trade union journals heads its current article on the topic, "Now for a Radicalism Which Fits America." An evening newspaper in New York entitles one article in a series on Technocracy, "Bankrupt Capital Seen Inviting Science to Remedy Nation's Ills by Technocracy."

A Big Promotion

What, way back in 1918-22, could only be found in the One Big Union Monthly is now being discussed everywhere. Howard Scott, the chief Technocrat, has become the mystery man of the hour, and not the I.W.W. but Columbia University now lends its prestige to the energy survey.

Technician Socialists will find at all new in the claims of Technocracy about the potential productivity of industry and the cumulative and accelerated production of men to produce.

What is good in Technocracy is what is new is vague and

many pages of call attention to the fact that more than half of the industrial revolution of the 20th century have startling examples of the increase in production. The Hoover Report and many books of Stuart Chase are witness to the same tendency.

Just as the Technocrats talk about the disruption of the "price system," Marx prophesied that capitalism would become a fetter upon production and that the constricting integuments would be burst asunder, although significantly he saw a militant working class as the guiding force in the process, and not a class of technicians.

What is being proven in the case of the Technocrats is that the increase in production does not break down in their general case. They

Noted British Writer Finds Nothing Particularly New in the Fad of the Moment—The Technocrats Mayn't Have Heard of Marx, But Marx Heard About the Things They're Talking About Long Ago.

have erred in good company in forecasting the imminence of social change. Liebknecht tells in his memoirs how Marx became very excited when he saw an early model of the electric engine which, he thought, would introduce revolutionary changes to the rapid undoing of capitalism. There is always, be it noted, a difference between theoretical and actual efficiency of men and machines. A pound of coal in a laboratory experiment yields many times as much energy as it does in the actual firebox of a steam engine or locomotive. Professor Moley at

Columbia may know all about the practice of good government, but what the President-elect will have to do and what Tammany Hall has done and will do are very far from the theoretical standards known to the experts.

Cows and Cars

It is easy to think that mass production can be applied to everything. But cows cannot be produced on the belt as are cars. Tubing may be produced by the new automatic process without the intervention of the human hand, but that does not apply to potatoes.

Of course, the chemist will come and revolutionize the food production industries as the technician has revolutionized the production of coal, steel, and automobiles. [In Great Britain the Imperial Chemical Combine is advertising a fertilizer which greatly enhances the crop yield.] To recognize this tendency at work and to notice its logical culmination in particular industries does not justify the assumption that in all industries it has been so well developed that capitalism faces a breakdown solely on this account.

There is something, too, in the

assertion that applied invention may extend the market for a given commodity by lowering its price. The new Watsonograph may mean cheaper printed material. The Technocrats argue that inventions are held up so that existing machinery will not be made obsolete. However, under the most rational form of society some attention would have to be paid as to whether the advantages of the new invention would compensate for the scrapping of the effort represented by the about-to-be superseded machinery. In Mr. Howard Scott's article in Harper's Magazine he contrarily suggests that the machines are often used up or scrapped before the loan used in their purchase is repaid. His critics have picked on this flaw in his argument. In many cases, indeed, the opposite is true; a machine is still used when the capital value it represents has long been written off and its value transferred to the finished products.

Luxury Trades

Another point apparently forgotten by the Technocrats is the fact that workers displaced from industry by machinery are in part transferred to other industries and particularly to luxury trades and personal service. It is common knowledge that the economies effected by mass production were lost by greater distribution costs which included the huge modern expenditure upon advertisements. In the past, new industries have absorbed some of the displaced workers, but of course that has been only a temporary refuge. The presence of 12 million unemployed endorses the idea that capitalism at the present moment is at a deadlock with the problems of starting new lines of production.

The newer industries such as electric refrigeration, cellophane, fool-proof airplanes, and television apparatus do not seem likely to fill the bill. Another war would be suicidal, although it would provide a business boom for a while. In past crises expansion in foreign countries has been a safety valve, but tariff and immigration restrictions and war debts and defaulted loans now block this avenue of escape.

Much written by the exponents of Technocracy is grist to the socialist mill. The much used argument that if all the income were shared out the individual share would be inconsiderable loses its point when the Technocrats bring additional evidence that but a minute fraction of productivity has yet been brought into play and that by 16 hours of labor weekly by each adult the wants of society could be satisfied. The too, it is easy to see that the fabricated house, the electric eye, and the mechanization of industry will further undermine the position of the craft unions which have retained a partial job monopoly until now.

Naturally we do not share the alarm of the capitalist thinkers when the Technocrats forecast permanent unemployment with a probable increase to twenty million in the near future.

Muddled Economics

However, the economics of the Technocrats are certainly muddled. Their pose of being superior to Marxists, economists, Fascists, soldiers, and politicians sounds affected, to say the least. They follow the tradition set by John R. Commons and his colleagues in their history of the American labor movement and talk about the

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

By Samuel H. Friedman

The Workers' Theatre Is Here

IN the theatrical world of today there is above all need for a workers' theatre not only for, but of and by workers, who shall not, however, be unfamiliar with the demands of the theatre. With the sounds of the crash of capitalism resounding in our ears, and with the moans of at least a sick theatre swelling the cacophony, the call for social and revolutionary plays, produced by proletarians and supported by the class whose interest the workers' theatre serves, waxes ever louder.

The commercial theatre does fine work—sometimes even in this very field, as when it produced plays like "Spread Eagle" and "Gods of the Lightning." But in the final analysis, the cause of labor and social justice can not be left to the whim, the magnanimity, the sense of values or the nose for what the public wants of the Rialto entrepreneur.

The workers must have a theatre of their own. The workers must have plays of their own. American workers must have American plays of their own. The American workers must support them.

Ahead there is not only awakening, there is realization. In this country there is a Workers' Theatre, which gave two weeks ago as the first production of its season "Cause," by Leonard Frank, adapted from the German by Ruth

Langner. This is listed as a social play, expressing individual protest against a capitalist society blind and stupid enough to maintain a dead system of education and an even deadlier system of criminal law. But perhaps because of its emphasis upon individual protest, perhaps because of its complete foreignness of locale and interest, the drama does not hit between the eyes as the all too infrequent performances of the Workers' Theatre should.

Which brings us back again to our main thesis. There should be plays written for a workers' theatre, expressing the aspirations, picturing the struggles of the workers here and now. This is a job for playwrights far transcending any other.

The Workers' Theatre announces that its second play will be by

Anti-Tammany Fusion Subject At New Leader Dinner Debate

"Is Fusion the Way Out?"

Disgruntled Republicans who have been left out in the cold in New York for many years hope there will be a fusion of all anti-Tammany forces in the fall elections, and as a corollary they expect to be the major factor in such a fusion and get most of the jobs resulting from a hoped-for defeat of Tammany.

Reformers, eager to defeat Tam-

many on any terms, are trying to promote such a fusion with the Republicans, themselves and other anti-Tammany elements as the main factors. They cannot, however, ignore the vote of a quarter of a million cast in November for the Socialist candidate for Mayor, and they are trying to create a situation that will compel the Socialists to join them.

The Socialist party will not join any fusion movement for reasons grounded in the very nature of the party and the philosophy upon which it is founded.

The whole subject will be discussed by at least four of the most competent spokesmen of various points of view at the ninth annual New Leader dinner February 10th, at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, head of the Citizens' Union and chief promoter of the projected City Party, will urge the fusion move-

ment, and he will be seconded by Congressman Fiorello H. LaGuardia, technically a Republican but actually one of the most independent of New York's political figures.

LaGuardia headed the Republican ticket as candidate for Mayor in 1929, and strove to make that campaign a "fusion" battle.

Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, two of the leading spokesmen of the Socialist party and candidates for Mayor on the Socialist ticket in 1929 and 1932, respectively, will present the Socialist party's position and explain why it cannot consider entering a fusion movement, even to insure the defeat of Tammany Hall.

The dinner and symposium following will be the opening of the city-wide discussion of the larger issues of what may well become the most significant and important battles in the political history of the city.

Saul C. Waldbaum, a young Philadelphian who is a member of the Workers' Theatre Authors' Group. The presentation of this new drama, which is heralded as "a grim lesson in economics forcefully dramatized, relentless in its logic," perhaps will answer the question: "Have we the beginning in this country of a body of authors ready to speak for the working class in terms of the theatre?"

The cast of "Cause" seemed immensely better than the play. The production, given especially its necessary limitations of time and money, was splendid.

The Workers' Theatre of New York, launched in the fall of 1930, represents in America the beginning of a movement already in full swing throughout Europe, especially in Soviet Russia and in Germany. In the Soviet Union, the workers' theatres have already become an integral part of the life of the people and constitute the chief driving force in the education of the masses for a new society. In Germany, where the proletarian revolution is rapidly gathering momentum, the workers' theatres under the slogan "Kunst ist Waffe" ("Art Is a Weapon") are easing into the forefront of revolutionary activity.

It is from the German wing of this movement that the New York Workers' Theatre draws most of its present plays material; for in the United States, where the workers as a class are only beginning to wake up, there are potential revolutionary playwrights who are still groping in the dark of an undeveloped struggle. Accordingly, the Workers' Theatre made its first public appearances last season (1931-32) with two plays by German authors on two different aspects of the German struggle. These were Richard Duschinsky's powerful "Dole Brothers" on the theme of unemployment, and Walter Hasenclever's "Gentleman Wanted," a neat little satire on bourgeois love, marriage and business. Of the few suitable plays under consideration this year, four are from the pens of German writers; and two of the four are excellent, unexampled treatments of the American scene (Haymarket riots and Sacco-Vanzetti case) in a revolutionary manner as yet unfamiliar to American playwrights and American audiences.

It will take a large class-conscious workers' audience, itself organized on a permanent basis, to make the Workers' Theatre a potent weapon. The Workers' Theatre is part of the nation-wide Federation of Workers' Theatres, and is affiliated with Rebel Arts.

By Herman R. Ansell

Making Workers Come Across

How the Community Chest Idea Works Out—Richmond Socialist Describes Destitution of the Masses and How the Wealthy Make the Workers Pay for Relief.

THE citizens of my city are kind and sympathetic. Their emotions can be easily aroused to acts of charity. They have been taught since their childhood days that "it is more blessed to give than take," and that the "Lord hateth the stingy man." Being a hospitable and God fearing (loving) people they have always endeavored to live up to the standards of righteousness.

In prosperous times the large majority of members of my community did not need the scientific and business-like urge to donate to charitable organizations. And in the fall of each year for several weeks in succession prior to our economic collapse there were appeals by many societies for donations from pedestrians as they trudged along the streets intent upon their various occupations. Yes, the wealthy contributed their minor portions and it was well advertised with pictures of the donors and the checks and heralded as the spontaneous humanitarianism of the rich.

With the arrival of the depression and the geometric increase of unemployed the old method of garnering cash proved cumbersome and anarchic. And the results did not measure up to anticipations. And so our society folks, the Chamber of Commerce, the Retail Merchants' Association, the Kiwanas, Rotarians and charitable societies united all hospitable appeals into one, "The Community Fund Campaign."

Greed and Altruism

The latter are not only vitally interested in the dispensation of relief, because they continually remind us that the present industrial system is the last stage in human development and is in conformity with inherent human greed, but in contradiction to the avariciousness of man there still remains that human element of succoring less fortunate brethren. That is their philosophy of life. Simultaneously the proprietors of the local press are participants in the activities of the campaign.

Unquestionably what they believe in is the fear of a turn in the course of events which may terminate a system whose very foundation is based upon exploitation and the hungry and destitute may become unmanageable, and in their blind fury may bring down the social structure upon the heads of the beneficiaries of the iniquities perpetrated upon them.

Says our mayor in part in a radio address for the Fund:

"One thing we should remember: that is that people are not going to starve. A weak individual may, here and there, but as a race we are too strong, too sturdy and independent, too firmly grounded in the humane and courageous philosophy of Thomas Jefferson to lie down in droves and await supinely the results of starvation. Our independent classes, thrown out of work by the world economic catastrophe, have marvelously patient, cheerful and courageous under frightful adversity.

"I think they have maintained their control and fortitude largely because of their confidence in the sympathy and understanding and eagerness where they have not met this sympathy and generosity problems graver than any we have faced in our city's history have arisen.

"In other old world countries, where the feeling of unity and brotherhood has never been strong as in our static land, communism has not been a success where the workers are unem-

ployed get their weekly allowances from the government in the same spirit with which employees accept their wages.

"I assume that most of you agree with me in the belief that our own system of voluntary giving is far better than any of its substitutes. It enables us to give as the emergency arises, instead of building a generation of idlers who are pensioned from their youth, before they have ever done a days work. I feel more strongly, I am sure, than I am able to indicate in this speech that our system is worth preserving."

His Honor Speaks

I quote his honor, a spokesman of our vested interests, to show what asinine statements can be uttered in one breath. After an admission of the gravity of a bad situation which the capitalist system has given birth to, he appeals to the more fortunate in our economic life that the brutal, chaotic and outworn system merits preservation.

The wealthy of my city are surely not worse than those of other cities. They may have the same interests, the identical desires to exploit, to use the governmental power in their own behalf. Last summer, despite a decided decrease in the revenues of the city and the increasing demands for expenditures on public works and contributions for unemploy-

ment relief, the wealthy property owners, through the Chamber of Commerce and the Real Estate Exchange, aided by the press, initiated a campaign for a decrease in the realty tax. The battle cry was, "The public demands it!" A docile city council immediately passed a measure furnishing a 15% decrease. The ink barely dried on the enactment that saved the wealthy \$300,000 per year when the same group, aided by the same media of publicity, began its agitation for a decrease in the wages of the civil service employees, large enough to equal the loss sustained by the city treasury in reduced taxes. Thus far the council failed to act, not out of compassion for their employees but because the individuals in the service of the city furnish the pivotal votes which carry ultimate success to the Democratic party machine.

The striking attribute of our wealthy class is the fervent interest displayed in the wretched conditions of the poor and particularly the unemployed. Despite the fact that a very large section of the working population is employed in tobacco factories which manage to furnish work three and four days to the week, still we have twelve thousand totally unemployed and twelve thousand more working part time at considerably reduced wages. The average wage of the female

worker is four dollars and the male about seven dollars per week.

Widespread Destitution

While destitution is widespread no untoward disturbances have yet occurred, but the rich are in constant terror of it. The sword of Damocles is over their heads. To prevent what they consider a probable tragedy is uppermost in their minds. But how can that be accomplished without parting with too much of their ill-gotten gains? Here is the plan:—

The capitalists, the bankers, and every shade of parasite plan to raise money by appeals to the people. Squads of small employers, their assistants, social workers and college students are organized in district committees to make their rounds from door to door. The press whip up "public responsibility" by front page appeals, cartoons and editorials; and they are off!

The Message

In the meantime the message is conveyed to the workers in all factories and shops that they are expected to do their duty to their fellowmen and particularly so when their executives are actively participating in the success of the drive. They are informed that they are expected to donate at least one day's pay and more if possible. That those who fail to do so are not only inhuman but may displease the management. Large posters are suspended at factory entrances which read:

PREPARE FOR THE COMMUNITY FUND DRIVE!

MORE PEOPLE THAN LAST YEAR ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO ASSISTANCE DURING THE YEAR 1933. WE WHO ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO HAVE JOBS SHOULD GIVE AT LEAST AS LIBERALLY AS LAST YEAR!

THE NEEDY OF RICHMOND MUST NOT SUFFER!

And alongside is a thermometer registering the rise of the dollars. The implication is obvious. To refuse or plead inability to do so may mean ostracism by fellow employees and disgrace which must eventuate in resignation. It may mean constant irritation and fault

finding by the overseers and terminate in dismissal. The fear being without work is a good incentive to contribute.

Another scheme of employment is to notify the workers on a day that one day's pay was transferred to the Community Fund Campaign so that the company may enjoy the reputation that employees, 100% strong, have "voluntarily" made their financial sacrifice in behalf of the afflicted of the depression and thereby enjoy the "Blue Ribbon" pennant. Those who protest, if not threatened with summary discharge must absent themselves from work for one day as a penalty. A disciplinary fine for the unfortunate employees who are arrears in redemption of the necessary food and fuel and cannot satisfy the threats of creditors. After that coercion the newspapers carried the following half-page hypocritical advertisement: "Firms and industries of Richmond who thus far have won the 'Blue Ribbon,' the highest Badge of Honor in the 1932 Community Fund Campaign."

"On this page you will see the names of Richmond firms and industries whose employees have earned the Ribbon Certificate for their wholehearted support of the Community Fund. They should be commended for the burden of helping other men and women who are unable to help themselves—Blue Ribbon firms are those in which each employee has contributed on an average of a day's pay." Then follow the names of the companies—free publicity for the sacrifice made by the employees—voluntary and forced.

And thus the cold calculating charity doled out to Richmond's despondent poor, reaching a total of \$805,904, comes principally out of the almost empty pockets of the producers of wealth, the semi-starved toilers.



The Chorus of Chaos

By James Oneal

WE have received the first issue of "Our America," a monthly paper modeled after "The Spectator" which appeared a few months ago. It is a "monthly of social critique" edited by J. B. S. Hardman, James Rorty and David J. Saposs, its contributing editors being Louis B. Boudin, D. W. David, Helen D. Hill, Ludwig Lore, William L. Nunn, Walter N. Polakoff and Art Young.

It is a very interesting publication. It is obvious from the names mentioned above that it cannot be classified. An editorial declares that old terms such as progressive, radical, socialist, etc., are "worthless today" and that "re-definitions" are necessary. Nothing short of "a clear-cut and realistic program of action will mark progress" and this group "proposes to function as an unaffiliated, collateral intellectual body to the labor movement as a whole."

Welcome to the chorus of chaos and in saying this we mean no offense. Just as the end of the great war brought a chaos of thought and organizations in the first few years following the armistice so the collapse of American capitalism in October, 1929, has brought a similar chaos. About twenty sects and organizations were rife in the former period; today they number about as many, the latest being "American Labor Associates," the publishers of "Our America."

Let's take an inventory. First the Communists which include the party group, the Cannon, Lovestone, Weisbord and Proletarian groups. Add to them the League of Professional Groups, the Communist intellectuals, six in all.

Of the Socialists, there are the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, Workers Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party (Minnesota) and the League for Industrial Democracy, five in all.

Of the unclassified there are the Conference for Progressive Labor

Action, the League for Independent Political Action, Technocracy, and the American Labor Associates, four in all.

In the economic field there are the A. F. of L., the I.W.O., the Industrial Union League, the group of independent railroad unions that act together, and other independents like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, five in all. All make a total of twenty organizations and groups. Each has a front and a number of fronts hope to bring all the others to its front. If others appear we shall not be surprised. Moreover, within some of the fronts there is also some chaos of opinion and this is even obvious in American Labor Associates. So long as they are confined to "social critique" they can hang together, but let them endeavor to formulate a fundamental program and philosophy and they will find some difficulties.

Boudin declares that "the radical movement can hardly point to a book or pamphlet of distinction on any fundamental question of American social reality." We think that judgment is correct but we may observe that it also applies to those who sponsor "Our America." Some of us at least can plead that so much of our time for years has been taken up in preserving the front where we serve that there has been no time left to do anything else. This plea cannot be made by some of the critics. When they give us a few pamphlets or books on some "fundamental question of American social reality" we shall welcome them even though we may not accept all that they may contain.

So we welcome this new addition to the chorus of chaos and wonder what the next one will be. If we could get representatives of the whole twenty groups into an orchestra, what a symphony this amalgam of communism, syndicalism, parlor bolshevism, socialism, impossibilism, opportunism, liberalism, progressivism, intellectualism, technocracy, radicalism and agrarianism would be!

Keep It in the Libraries

IN the drive for keeping certain public libraries on the subscription list for The New Leader we have received a few inquiries from readers as to whether one or more of these libraries are located in their respective states. These readers want to help. They are anxious that jobless workers may not be deprived of reading The New Leader.

Anticipating other inquiries of this character we print a list of these libraries by states. Look the list over. It is our opportunity to help many a jobless man and woman to have access to their Socialist paper. A party branch where a library is located may well send in the sub. An individual in a city may also be able to render this service.

The second installment of the list is before you. It is now your opportunity to act. Send your payment so that the library in your vicinity may be kept on our mailing list. Do so without delay.

Illinois

University of Illinois Library, Urbana; Peoria Public Library, Peoria; Illinois State Normal Library, Normal; Northwestern College Library, Naperville; Lincoln Public Library, Lincoln; Public Library, LaSalle; Public Library, Joliet; Public Library, Harvey; Public Library, Granite City; Galesburg Public Library, Galesburg; Henry M. Seymour Library, Knox College, Galesburg; Danville Public Library, Danville; Parkin Public Library, Canton; Belleville Public Library, Belleville; Garrett Biblical Institute Library, Evanston; Northwestern University Li-

brary, Evanston; Evanston Public Library, Evanston; Elmhurst College Library, Elmhurst; Periodical Division Libraries, University of Chicago, Chicago; Northwestern University Library, McKinnock Campus, Chicago; Newberry Library, Chicago; John Crear Library, Chicago; Crane College Library, Chicago.

Idaho

Public Library, Coeur d'Alene; Free Public Library, Caldwell.

Connecticut

Public Library, Bristol; Public Library, Ansonia; Greenwich Library, Greenwich.

Indiana

Workmen's Circle Library, South Bend; Public Library, Princeton; Public Library, Peru; Public Library, Muncie; Public Library, Martinsville; Carnegie Public Library, Kokomo; Public Library, Fort Wayne; Public Library, Elwood; Public Library, Crawfordsville; Public Library, Columbus; Public Library, Clinton; Indiana University Library, Bloomington; Public Library, Bedford; Carnegie Public Library, Anderson; Public Library, New Albany; Public Library, Logansport; Public Library, Marion; Public Library, Evansville.

Iowa

University of Iowa Library, Iowa City; Public Library, Des Moines.

Kansas

Pittsburgh Public Library, Pittsburg; Carnegie Free Library, Ottawa; Free Public Library, Oswego; Kansas State Agricultural College Library, Manhattan; University of Kansas Library, Lawrence; Public Library, Kansas City; Library, Goodland.

By Gertrude Weil Klein

A Woman's Point of View

HAVE been traveling about the Long Island country-side recently trying to bring "union" to the terrifically exploited girls in the children's wash suit factories, and I can't think—much less write—about anything else. By the time this is printed the Wash Suit branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will have pulled out to Bound Brook, New Jersey. We'll see how many girls succumbed to the cold fear which grasped them even as they agreed most passionately that the organizers were right and that something must be done, and how many had the courage to walk out.

Like the tom-toms in the Emperor Jones runs the nerve-shattering refrain: "But suppose we lose our jobs?" They come back to it in the midst of your most glowing argument. . . . point went home all right (you think). And then, "But suppose I lose my job?" Any job is better than no job. A starvation wage is better than no pay at all. My father has been out of work a year, two years and there are seven younger children." In practically every family visited the story is the same. The father is out of work. The brothers are out of work. Only the girls bring in anything and they "must not lose their jobs."



G. W. Klein

A Job for the Unions
What's the matter with the unions? Why don't they organize these girls? Girls working in Connecticut factories for \$1.50 a week. Skilled workers in the clothing trades earning \$8 a week, working 50 hours a week at top-speed and under unspeakable conditions. In one factory the employer follows the girls out to the "Ladies" room and hurries them back to the machines again. In another a girl who had worked several years at the job and was actually earning \$18 a week, was discharged because "there was no work for her" and the next day another girl was taken on in her place for \$10 a week. Stories, plenty of them that would make you sick at heart. And the chronic critics ask why anybody doesn't do something and especially why the unions don't do something my impulse is just to say "Oh yeah" and let it go at that.

As bad as conditions are, and nobody can exaggerate them, "union" does not go over with the country girls. What can the organizers promise? That the union they represent will throw all of its resources back of the fight to organize the factory and win a shorter work-week and higher pay. It has been done before. It can be done again. So far so good.

Decayed Factories

But in every country-town you tumble over the carcasses of factories that some union, at one time or another, had tried to organize. And always the story smites you like a physical blow—"There used to be a leather goods factory in town. Then the union came and now it's closed up." "Yes, and do you remember the hat plant?" "One of the older sisters will ask, 'Gee, there was a lot of trouble there when the union came. Yeah, and now it's closed down.'"

And you start your arguments over again. "The union isn't doing for trouble. The union just makes trouble. We tell you to be nice and quiet and at

Out Into the Long Island Field to Organize the Shop Girls—What Can the Union Do for Them?

peaceful, not to get rough with anybody. All you have to do, when you see the committee come into your shop, is get up from the machine and walk out. That's all. Just get up and walk out. Never mind what the boss says, or what anybody says. You just walk out quietly and go over to the union hall."

All they have to do is just walk out. That's all. It's as easy as all that. The union does the rest. And all the way home each night in the dismal, cold rain that cursed every night last week, the thought of those shut-down factories with their staring, sightless windows, gave me the creeps.

A Terrifying Prospect

The plant that you are out to organize is the only plant working the town. Five years ago you might have found two or three. Five years ago the girls you tried to organize were just "helping out" their families by their work. Now they are

the sole support.

They are terrified at the possibility of losing their jobs. Under different conditions they might be just angry or annoyed. But terror, that kind of terror can't be talked down so easily. It freezes into your own bones after a while and you feel yourself slipping. You find your mind wandering, wondering what it would be like not to have anything to worry about but maybe just taking care of a house and raising a couple of young ones.

Those empty factories. At once a torch of victory and a signal of defeat. Victory—because where they are empty due to union activity, it means another scab-nest wiped out which in turn means more work in the union market in the city at higher wages and where it can be controlled and checked without the almost insuperable obstacles presented by a country-town, even a union country-town. And a signal of defeat because every non-union manufacturer driven out of business through the union leaves behind a trail of disappointed, bitter workers who will slam the doors in the face of the next union organizer who comes their way.

By William M. Feigenbaum

God Rest You Merry!

HAPPY NEW YEAR!

We weren't feeling so good about the New Year and about this and that until we came across the latest issue of our favorite publication, and now we're feeling great . . . optimistic and gay and cheery and everything.

The publication is the Lamp, house organ of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, of which the president is that cheery optimist, Walter C. Teagle whose main contribution to sweetness and light has been that noble invention, the "Share-work" swindle.

The main article in the Lamp is headed, "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen"—and for refraining from spelling it Merrie many thanks indeed.

Dear John!

The article begins quite properly with an anecdote about John D. Rockefeller the Elder: "John D. Rockefeller tells of a friend who stood for hours on the shore of Lake Erie looking for one of his ore ships which was long overdue. 'Can you see her yet?' asked one of his associates.

"No, not yet," admitted the owner, 'but she's most in sight!'"

After the Bruce Barton, co-discoverer of Jesus Christ, swings into action: "Eight years ago Bruce Barton wrote: 'Once, when pessimism was everywhere, a well-informed man told me that the business depression would last for several years. Immediately I thanked God and took courage. I knew from the remark that we must be on the very threshold of better times.'"

"We were when that was written. The next four years saw the highest peak of commercial and industrial activity in all history. Almost, there was a chicken in every pot, an automobile in every garage." . . . Yea. Verily; almost.

After that, we learn, "Man is mercurial."

"He rises to heights of exultation where caution is thrown to the winds," says the Lamp. "He falls to the ground and refuses to believe that ever again will he taste the rarefied atmosphere. Look at a chart of the course of security

And If You Don't Believe It, Read on!—Say It, But Smile When You Say It.

prices for twenty years back; you cannot discover a horizontal as wide as the head of a pin. The most certain of all things is change. "We close the year 1932 with the world at sixes and sevens. Our system of distribution has jammed. In the United States eleven million of the wage and salary earners of 1929 have been out of work. Granaries filled to bursting, people hungry; banks embarrassed by their holdings of gold, people without enough money to purchase a hat. Verily, the times are out of joint.

'Twill Pass

"But everything passes. This, too, will pass. The economic revolution works inexorably to correct distortion. A war that consumed two hundred billions of capital and millions of lives has grown impatient at the delay in settling its accounts. It demands adjustment; it is exacting payment with accumulated interest. The process is painful, but if it cannot be avoided, its severities may be lessened through sympathetic handling.

"It is not likely that business will improve to a marked degree in the near future. There are too many problems unsettled, and with strong minds differing as to their solution.

"On the other hand we can make



Thomas Denies Story He Had Lost Faith in Unionism

A WHOLLY false interpretation of a recent speech based upon a newspaper report was corrected by Norman Thomas in a letter to the New York Times Sunday. A number of Socialists had wondered if Thomas had been correctly quoted in the usually accurate Times as having said that "Labor Unions gave little hope because they had adopted the racketeering practices of capitalism itself."

Thomas was also quoted as having said that "Faith in Russia as a solution had dwindled rapidly in the last few months."

In correcting the item Thomas wrote that the Times story was "a condensed story of a rather long discussion I led before one of the sessions of the League for Industrial Democracy conference," and he said,

"I considered our assets and liabilities, and in the course of listing them mentioned the objective fact that in my experience at forums and elsewhere I found less hope in the Russian answer now than six or seven months ago, largely because of reports of food shortage. This did not represent my own final judgment by any means on an event of such great

significance as the Russian Revolution.

"In like manner I recorded the objective fact that the contagion of racketeering taken over from capitalism into some parts of the labor movement was one of several factors which brought it to pass that we could not merely copy the methods of the British Labor party in forming a strong working class political movement.

"This is a very different thing than to find 'no hope in unionism,' which is the way one of your sub-heads reads. It is also different from saying, as the article itself reads, 'Labor unions,' he continued, 'gave little hope because they had adopted the racketeering practices of capitalism itself.'

"I expressly called attention to the great significance of the movement against racketeering which had begun in the American Federation of Labor under the auspices of President Green himself. I believe that a great many of our labor unions must clean house, but most emphatically I believe that there is hope in labor unions. To say this is entirely consistent with calling attention to the enormous harm that has been done to our whole American life by the poison of racketeering."

CURSES! DISCOVERED!

Gem of purest ray serene from that eminently veracious sheet, the official organ of the Communist Party:

"The Socialists are bellowing about a new city party, about fusion" . . .

Yes, indeed. We had hoped that we could keep it a secret by means of vigorous articles attacking the idea of fusion in a new city party, by party resolutions, statements to the press, by lectures and speeches—but you can't fool James Casey, the wisey who found out that we are "bellowing" for fusion in such a party, and who tells the credulous readers of the Communist sheet about it.

And that, dear readers, gives you a rough idea of what any Communist attack upon the Socialists is worth.

would be sweeter if shared with some who wonder if Santa Claus, too, has been laid off by the depression?"

Sing Hey—Nonny Nonny

It is wonderful to be cheery and merry and glowing with optimism and good nature and altruism and busting with good advice for other folks, but it comes easy to those who have.

Once the Czar said, "I will get to Berlin if it costs me my last moujik." And the masters of industry, who glow with warmth and who give generously to See it Through tell us to keep the smile on our faces even if things are lousy.

But try to pay the rent with a smile; offer cheery good wishes to the garage man for gas; sing a Christmas carol to the butcher for your chops; utter an optimistic sentiment in exchange for a suit of clothes or a pair of shoes. . . .

Happy New Year, indeed! To all who toil and all who suffer, to all in whom lie whatever hope there is for a better world or even for survival.

But with the good wishes, also a tip. It is this:

Whatever progress they are to make they must make themselves. There's no hope in anybody else.

"Yours for growth" is the manner in which Katherine Hosmer-Norris of Connecticut describes herself, in a letter to the night subs. She also writes the column of The New Leader.

Communist 'Union' Sought Schlossberg's Deportation

Canadian Opposition to Amalgamated Clothing Workers Stands Charged With Amazing Perfidy.

MONTREAL.—A Canadian Communist leader named Zarkin stands accused by one of his own followers of being guilty of the amazing perfidy of seeking to have two members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers deported from Canada and of trying to get the Canadian immigration authorities to prevent Joseph Schlossberg, general Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated, from speaking in Montreal.

The charge is made by Morris Hart, manager of the "United Clothing Workers' Union," a Com-

munist opposition of the Amalgamated, that Zarkin instructed him to go to Ottawa, capital of Canada, to submit the deportation petition to the Canadian immigration authorities. The case created a profound sensation.

When the charge was made that the immigration authorities had been petitioned by a certain Montreal "union" to deport the Amalgamated men the official head of that Communist organization vehemently denied it, adding that "perhaps some members of our Board of Directors did it without my authority."

That statement was not generally believed, but there was no proof that it was a lie until Hart made his sensational charge, which has not been denied or refuted.

BUTTON WORKERS INSTAL OFFICERS

New officers for the coming year, chosen to administer the affairs of the Button and Novelty Workers' Union, were installed at a well attended meeting of the union by David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who at the same time installed the union as Local 132 of the I.L.G.W.U.

The following are the officers: Seymour Stein, Chairman; Harry Bergman, Vice-Chairman; Sam Weiner, Rec. Sec'y; Max Scharf, Fin. Sec'y; Joe Kernberg, Sergeant at Arms; Irving Kogan, Business Manager; and B. Block, S. Orenstein, A. Newman, M. Fudin, M. Faber, H. Newman, L. Lampert, J. Greenberg, B. Blaine, L. Tittleman, H. Sutin, A. Rosenkrantz, H. Kohl as members of Executive Board.

The meeting was also addressed by the unions legal adviser, Samuel Korn.

Perkins and Manning Head Label Trades

CINCINNATI.—The annual convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the A. F. of L. elected the following officers for the ensuing year:

President, George W. Perkins, Oak Park, Ill., former president of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America; secretary-treasurer, John J. Manning, Washington, D. C.; first vice-president, Matthew Woll, Washington, D. C., first vice-president of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; second vice-president, Joseph Obergfell, Cincinnati, secretary of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America; third vice-president, A. A. Myrup, Chicago, secretary-treasurer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; fourth vice-president, Charles P. Howard, Indianapolis, president of the International Typographical Union; fifth vice-president, John J. Mara, Boston, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

All of these officers were re-elected with the exception of Mr. Mara, who is a new member of the label trades official family.

WORKERS' SPORT ALLIANCE

The first public exhibition and dance of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance of America, First District, will be held Sunday, January 29th, at 5 p. m., at the Rand School. Preceding the exhibition the annual district meeting will be held in the afternoon.

Sheehan Chosen Cigarmakers' Head

MILWAUKEE.—James P. Sheehan, Socialist member of the county board of supervisors and general organizer for the Federated Trades council, was re-elected president of Cigarmakers' Union, No. 25, for the 20th time in the annual election in Brisbane Hall, the Socialist and Labor headquarters of this city.

LABOR COMMITTEE NOTES

The Labor Committee is working on plans to secure at least one million signatures for the Unemployment Bill to be introduced in the current session of the Legislature. Those who wish to co-operate are asked to get in touch with the Labor Committee, 7 East 15th Street.

All members of the Socialist Party who hold union cards are requested to make no appointments for Saturday, January 14th, 3 p. m. A general discussion will take place on: "What Shall Be the Attitude of the Socialist Party Press on Trade Union Internal Affairs?" Several prominent trade union leaders and editors have been invited to take part in the discussion.

Though the affairs of Local 306 of the Moving Pictures Operators' Union are still in court, the strike continues against the various theatres that have locked out its members. Before entering a theatre, make sure the members of Local 306, which is the legitimate union, are employed in the theatre.

The International Bakery Workers' Union have been locked out in many bakeries. You can help them if you insist on the union label.

Word has been received from Local 584, Teamsters' Union, that many drivers who deliver milk are signing up with the union. The employers have put through a cut in wages, and another one is expected shortly. You can aid the union if you insist that your milkman carries a card of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Cleaners and Dyers Drivers' Union, and the Cleaners and Dyers Pressmen's Union are conducting four strikes, called in reply to a lock-out by the World Cleaning and Dyeing Company, the Victory Cleaners and Dyers, and the Astor Cleaners and Dyers, all of Mt. Vernon, and I. Wohl of Brooklyn and Long Island City. The employers discharged some of the union help, which was in violation of the agreement, it is claimed.

CRISIS CAUSING CLOSED SCHOOLS

Children Losing Happy Lives as a Result of Distress.

WASHINGTON.—Grace Abbott, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, has given a grim account of the losses in opportunity for a happy life, suffered by American children in 1932.

"At the end of this and every year," she said, "it is appropriate to ask what we have done or neglected to do to safeguard the nation's children. In spite of the great efforts that their parents and many community agencies have made, a check-up reveals that millions of children lost what we have long regarded as the inalienable rights of children in America.

"In a steadily increasing number of communities, the public schools, our most characteristic institution, have closed their doors, thus denying children the right to an education. In many more, school budgets have been so cut that one after another activity has been abandoned.

"On lonely farms and in crowded tenements children have been driven from their homes by mortgage foreclosures and by landlords who must have rents. Millions whose parents a few years ago faced the future unafraid are today sinking in an abyss of destitution. Malnutrition is leaving its scars on children in mining towns and in industrial districts. The budgets of the child hygiene and public health nursing divisions of many health departments have been dangerously cut. Appropriations for mothers' assistance allowances have been cut, and the number of children who are being removed from their parents is increasing. Thousands of boys are transient wanderers. Stealing is on the increase among those who are of juvenile-court age. With millions of unemployed adults, thousands of children are still able to get jobs. . . .

"A more carefully planned economy is needed. America's children are her seed-corn, there can be no question that our resources, however much they may have decreased in value, are still adequate for the needs of childhood. Nature has been kind to the children. Extraordinarily favorable climatic conditions and an unusual decline in the contagious disease rate have kept the death rate down. But we must do more than keep our children alive. To secure to them what we can only regard as the irreducible minimum rights of children we shall have to plan more intelligently and be prepared to sacrifice other cherished plans in their interests."

WHILE MILLIONS LACK CLOTHING

WASHINGTON.—"World wool production in 1932," says the Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "it is expected, will show no marked decrease as compared with production during the last few years. Preliminary estimates place total production in 19 countries at 2,793,000,000 pounds this year, a decrease of only 14,000,000 pounds from the record clip of 1931. These 19 countries supply about 80 percent of the world clip outside of China and Russia."

On Dec. 7, Senator Bankhead of Alabama spoke for two hours in the Senate in favor of federal restriction of the production of cotton—a measure which he argued was necessary because too much cotton is produced for the purchasing power of the people.

Iglesias to Write On Puerto Rico Next Week

THE fascinating and thrilling story of the rise of the Socialist Party in Puerto Rico until it was able to elect a Resident Commissioner to Congress is told in a series of articles that will begin in The New Leader next week.

Santiago Iglesias, Socialist Commissioner-elect and founder and president of the Socialist Party in the Island territory.

Iglesias was a delegate to the convention that organized the Socialist Party of the United States in 1901, and has been leader of the Socialist forces in Puerto Rico since the American occupation in 1898. For years he was a Socialist Senator in the Island legislature, and since 1918 he has been secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Iglesias has lived a full, rich, colorful life, and much of the color of his life is in his articles.

YOUR PAPER IS A NECESSARY ADJUNCT TO A WELL-ROUNDED HOME CIRCLE WITH CHILDREN GROWING UP WHO HAVE A RIGHT TO BE WELL INFORMED ABOUT THE WORKINGS OF OUR CRAZY SYSTEM OF LIFE AND LIVING. PLEASE DON'T FAIL ME WITH A SINGLE ISSUE. MORE POWER TO THE NEW LEADER AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

John G. C. Sohn,
Indianapolis.

VOTE AND JOB

CLEVELAND.—"If a man is to be deprived of a job because of the way he votes as a citizen, then I don't want to be a citizen," said Charles Gregory, giving his citizenship papers back to Asst. U. S. Atty. McDermott. Gregory worked 20 years as a city ash collector and was discharged when the Democrats took over the city government.

Solomon-Barnes Debate

Charles Solomon and Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes will meet in debate at the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667 Eastern Parkway, Monday night, January 9th, on the following subject: "Has Democracy Outlined Its Usefulness?" Dr. Barnes says "yes" and Solomon "no."

McDonough and Spencer Head Building Trades

CINCINNATI.—President M. J. McDonough and Secretary-Treasurer William J. Spencer of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor are serving the first year of three-year terms. The annual convention of the department held here elected the following additional officers:

First vice-president, John J. Hynes, Washington, D. C., president Sheet Metal Workers International Association; second vice-president, Lawrence P. Lindelof, Lafayette, Ind., president of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; third vice-president, P. J. Morrin, St. Louis, Mo., president of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; fourth vice-president, William J. McSorley, Cleveland, president of the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; fifth vice-president, John Joseph, Washington, D. C., president of the International Union of Operating Engineers; sixth vice-president, Joseph V. Moreschi, Quincy, Mass., president of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

CHILDREN TO VICTIM

WASHINGTON.—affected in more ways by "the present period business insecurity and change," says the U. S. Bureau, in a statement labor problems at the of 1933.

"It is affecting their home environment, their schooling," the Bureau.

"The first and most effect upon the employment children has been to decrease opportunities for child employment along with the general decrease in employment. However, de-brought about in this was not be permanent—unless are taken to assure that now displaced do not go work when business picks.

"A second effect of the depression has been to drive into employments, such as trades, industrial home work, domestic and personal service, industrialized agriculture, the least regulated and most to abuse. In such occupational opportunity exists to exploit children by working them for hours at low wages.

"A third effect of the depression has been a tendency to lower standards of child labor. Under the pressure of business conditions, existing protective legislation for young workers is endangered or in some actually set aside. The acute for work at any wage, on the hand, and the urge for however small, on the other, lowered wages and brought a return of sweatshop conditions in certain manufacturing industries.

"In Scranton during the six months of 1932 the wage for a group of 14 and year old children was \$4.94 for boys and \$4.20 for girls; in Pittsburgh, \$5.43 for boys and \$4.14 for girls. In Philadelphia, where a higher wage level usually exists the median for a somewhat older group—just under 16—was \$7 for boys and \$6.65 for girls. Wages for girls in domestic service were very low, often merely nominal.

"Complaints against sweatshops have been raised in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland. . . . An investigation by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission is spring disclosed that rates as low as 10 cents, and in one case cents, an hour were paid to workers in Fall River; hundreds were earning less than \$5 a week. . . . In New Bedford it was found that wages paid were even lower than in Fall River, and check-up at later dates revealed that even after investigation by the Minimum Wage Commission, wages were continuing downward.

"In New Jersey the Consumer League reports \$2.50 and \$3.50 a week as the average wages for hundreds of workers in clothing shops. In Baltimore the fall of 1932, as the result of strike of garment workers against some of the largest manufacturers in the city, an investigation—the request of the mayor—covered ample evidence of wages, bad working conditions and illegally long hours of work. The worst conditions were found in the smaller contract shops. Twenty-three per cent of the women employees, in a selected group interviewed, were found to be under 20."

PROSPERITY NOTE

(From the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier)
WANTED to sell myself, soul and body for a job of honest work; I have a wife and little children almost starving; who will give me a bid? I am a middle-aged man, experienced caretaker, stock raiser, and farm manager. Answer "Thomas," care this office.

Enthusiastic Over A New Ship But Bill Inquires Whether It Is Manned by Pirates or Rebels

By Autolycus

"the gods on high Olympus, 'I've got you where I want you,' said Joe as he grabbed Bill by the collar at the entrance to the Rand School.

"The ship has arrived in the harbor now?" Bill asked in surprise.

"It bears the name of Technocracy and she has dumped her arm and other isms at sea," said Joe. "Get aboard, Bill, sail with a winner."

"How long do you think that you could live in a vacuum," Bill asked.

"A few seconds, I suppose," Joe replied. "What do you think?"

"I imply that Technocracy pumps out of capitalist society the most important factors and leaves much of importance in a vacuum," Bill replied.

"What do you mean by a factor in a vacuum? You talk of a man in a coma," said Joe with impatience.

The Vacuum of Technocracy

"You who are asleep, Joe, and I'm trying to wake you up," said Bill. "In emphasizing the displacement of labor the Technocrats are doing a good job. Their theory of energy determinants may also be of value, but as biologists they do not appeal to me. They leave much in a vacuum and assert that all thinking from Plato to Marx is bunk."

"But what's in the vacuum?" asked Joe.

"The whole important issue of power to effect a change in the capitalist system and the character of the change itself," said Bill.

"Socialism has an answer but the Technocrats not only do not face the issues of power and the issue of change that is necessary; they even sweep aside those who do face these issues. In the field of technology they are scientists; in sociology they are negative dogmatists. When they timidly venture into economics, and they rarely do, they get beyond their depth."

"How come? Get down to brass tacks," said Joe.

Desire, Value and Utility

"WELL, take the article sponsored by Howard Scott in the January Harper's. To give an idea of value they quote Marshall, a bourgeois economist, who defined it as 'the measure of desire.' That is to say, that the value of a commodity is according to how much we desire it. This is a old confusion between utility and value. A jobless man on the breadline may want a sandwich more than he does a typewriter, but his desire does not measure the value of the sandwich. It simply means that the sandwich has more utility for him than a dozen typewriters."

"That certainly was a bad slip," Joe observed; "but what of power and change?"

"Simply this. Whatever changes in capitalism the Technocrats have in mind, these immediately bring up the question of POWER to effect them. The capitalist class dominates our whole economic system. If the changes will not be the exploiters of labor they may accept the changes; they will injure that class there will be a fight to prevent any alteration of the system. So we arrive at a vital and basic conception of revolutionary sociology a class struggle for POWER."

Back to That Class Struggle

"I MIGHT have known that it would come back to this class struggle of yours," said Joe with a gesture of weariness. "You might have known but you didn't," Bill replied with earnestness. "I think that we will now agree that the Technocrats leave much in a vacuum. Am I right?"

"Oh, I suppose so, you pest," said Joe, nonplussed for an answer.

"But I'm not through, yet," Bill continued. "Further technological changes mean more displacement of workers and more suffering for them. Eventually this will help bring on the class struggle for power. The working class will strive for that power and the capitalist class and its retainers will strive to hold it. Technocracy is today secluded in a vacuum apart from that struggle. Will it remain isolated as in an airless chamber when the struggle becomes a class struggle? It will either be ranged with the revolutionary workers or with the reactionary capitalist class."

The Motive Power of Social Change

"TECHNOCRACY," Bill continued, "lays much stress on the accumulation of energy in productive power but it does not understand the accumulation of energy in every epoch to overthrow an exploiting system. That motive power of social revolution accumulates in a suppressed class and leads to the destruction of an oppressing class. So Technocracy emphasizes the accumulation of economic energy but ignores the importance of its by-product—the class struggle, which is essential to the realization of a more human social order."

"Perhaps the Technocrats are holding back their views of power and change," said Joe.

"They may be," Bill replied, "but in the next few years they may have to face it. In that event we may even observe the Technocrats split into conservatives and revolutionaries as there is no vacuum into which the issue of POWER can retreat. Then the shade of Marx will be grinning at those who think of social change without summoning the wage slaves of capitalism to battle."

"My ship is leaving port," said Joe ruefully.

"It will come back manned by pirates or revolutionaries," Bill replied as they parted.

Manifesto is Issued for Socialist Party in India

To Support Nationalists, But Opposes Violent Methods
—Democracy Stressed and Dictatorship Opposed.

WORD has come from Bombay of an endeavor to form a Socialist Party in India. A manifesto has been issued by a group headed by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta calling for the organization of such a party, with a program of peaceful political and industrial action.

The New Leader knows nothing

about the movement, nor about the man whose name is appended to the manifesto, and the information we have is from New India, a Bombay Nationalist publication. The information is given for whatever it is worth.

"The Socialist Party," says the manifesto, "will follow democratic methods. It does not believe in dictatorship of any kind, because dictatorship destroys liberty of association and freedom of speech, the two most elementary rights of democratic citizenship. Socialism without democracy is as inconceivable as democracy without Socialism."

"The existing social order has inherent tendencies for strife, and makes class war in one form or other inevitable; but we do not wish to forget our common humanity in the heat of battle and to work for violent expropriation of the capitalists. The Party, however, realizes from the experiences of the Socialist Parties of other countries that capitalists as a class will resist, with all the force at their command, any attempt that promises to be successful at transformation of the present order of society into a Socialist one. In the event of such a contingency, the Party will unflinchingly call upon and organize the exploited and expropriated masses for resistance. Mass meetings, demonstrations and other educational propaganda will be ceaselessly pursued, and the capture of political power through all constituted bodies, whether Municipal, Legislative, Local, Provincial, Central or Federal, will be an important item in the program of the Party."

A Democratic Appeal

"The Party appeals to all progressive and democratic forces in the country for support. We know that in the present condition of our country Nationalism makes an irresistible appeal to the best elements in the community; to the extent that the Nationalist movement works for the political freedom of the people, the Socialist Party will be its greatest ally; but a free country in the grip of capitalism is exposed to no less deadly risks than a subject race under Imperialist domination."

"The Socialist therefore works not merely for political but also for the economic freedom of the country; further, our Nationalism must be strictly consistent with Internationalism, which is the only hope of the world if it is to be free from wars, jealousies and hatreds. We have a firm faith that civilization and culture will have a chance for the first time after the establishment of international Socialism."

"We especially invite the great Trade Union Movement and the Cooperative Movement to rally round us and we also rely on the radical elements in the community who have become intellectual converts to Socialism. In short, we appeal to those who are feeling and thinking as we do to help in organizing a solid Socialist Party as early as possible, and we invite them to attend the first All-India Conference of the Party to help onwards the march of Socialism in India."

To Aid Nationalists

With respect to the special problems of India the manifesto says: "Owing to the peculiar position of India as a subject country the task before Indian Socialists is made far more difficult than it would have been if India had been free. Indeed, a Socialist state in a subject country is a contradiction in terms. The Party therefore stands for the fullest and the most complete freedom in India and will be prepared to lend all its support to Indian Nationalists in their fight for Freedom consistently with its principles and methods; a Free India is a condition precedent to the establishment of a Socialist state in this country."

The body of the manifesto is a statement of the main aims of Socialism.

PLAN WAR ON MATCH TRUST

STOCKHOLM.—Although the financial troubles of the Swedish Match Trust due to the revelation of the crooked deals engineered by the late Ivar Kreuger, one-time darling of the "success" story writers of all the world, are handicapping that organization's activities somewhat, it is still a formidable problem for organized labor.

This is due to the fact that many of its some 150 factories in about 40 different countries, which produce about 80 per cent of the world's matches and employ around 60,000 workers, are located in South America, India and other Far Eastern countries where living conditions are quite different from those in most European nations and North America.

Consequently, the Joint Council of the Swedish Match Workers' Union has started a move for a conference of match makers from various countries in the near future at which a common program of defense against the Match Trust may be laid down. It is hoped to begin by uniting the match workers of Europe and the United States and then to extend the organization to other countries with lower standards of living and less labor solidarity.

On Very Good Parchment

DETROIT.—"You can't eat a resolution, can you?" Councilman Jeffries remarked when Eddie Tolan, Negro athlete and world-beating Olympic sprint star, winner of the 100- and 200-meter races at Los Angeles last August, was given engraved thanks from the city fathers, and asked a job instead.

Mayor Murphy saved the situation by promising Tolan a city job. "It's getting pretty tough when you have to beat the world's best sprinters to a job in the Department of Public Works," one worker commented.

IT COSTS YOU NOTHING TO
SELL THE NEW LEADER
AT YOUR MEETINGS, ON
THE CONTRARY, YOU CAN
MAKE SOME PROFIT FOR
YOUR ORGANIZATION.
PLACE A STANDING ORDER
FOR YOUR PAPER, THE
NEW LEADER.

Socialist Party Henry Mayer

"If I Were King," Bernard Shaw once said, "I would hang Hyndman and make him Admiral of the Fleet, thinking that it is two separate things."

H. M. Hyndman lived a life of contradictions, and he died a contradiction. A man of wealth, education, culture and brilliant attainment, he deserted his class and gave himself to the cause of Socialism. A pioneer Socialist to whom nothing in the service of Socialism was too mean a task, he never gave up the outward trappings of aristocracy, the tall silk tile, the correct frock coat, the gloves and the cane, in which garb Shaw insisted Hyndman must have been born.

A socialist so devoted that he turned his back on career, family and wealth, to serve the proletarian cause, he was intolerant, despotic and the cause of more dissensions in the British Socialist movement than was Daniel DeLeon — with whom he was often compared — in this country.

In the '80's and early '90's three bearded men would often go to the poverty-stricken East End of London to carry on street-corner propaganda; arm-in-arm, William Morris in his inevitable blue shirt, Bernard Shaw in his soft browns, and Hyndman in the immaculate garb of the British gentleman. Once a Cockney flung a taunt at Hyndman for flaunting his wealth in the faces of the desperately poor; Hyndman retorted with ironic thanks to the working class for maintaining him in luxury; but he added an appeal to them to throw off the yoke and make such exploitation impossible in the future.

Hyndman may be called the actual founder of Social Democracy in England. He was not the first British Socialist, and he did not found the Labor Party. But he founded the Social Democratic Federation in which was carried the seed of sound, Marxian Social-

ism that bore through the S. D. later.

Hyndman was a great scholar and



H. M.

journalist and a tutor, and, according to some, a Socialist history. Shaw, "has" and is the worst of his work end eternally count in the socialist world.

Henry Mayer was born in 1842, and forty years lived to a very interesting life. He was an educated, free-thinker, a monarchist, English leaving Cambridge barrister and a lived in Melbourne 1869—an episode of the most fascinating of his fascinating life. He saw war at first hand in 1866, and he responded with the United States his mining property the earth several

Whaddo Th

"THE difference between the Socialists and the Communists," Sherwood Anderson was recently quoted as saying, "is that the Communists mean it."

Which is an informal announcement of a partnership between Elinor Glyn, Clara Bow and Sherwood. Hail to the It Trio!

Mr. Anderson, of course, means IT only about 50 per cent. He means it enough to be abusive toward Socialists, but not quite enough to subject himself to the discipline of the IT boys.

The half-baked Communist is the fellow who wants to remain in the Dough stage. I understand the Communists have a little by-law about members paying income tax to the cause. Sherwood writes his check to Uncle Sam and expects Uncle Stalin to live on best wishes for a prosperous new year.

I never knew until I read that statement that Anderson went in so heavily for the MEAN stuff. Anderson publishes two newspapers—one is Democratic and the other is Republican. The difference between the different Sherwood Andersons is a mean one.

Anderson is typical of a lot of literary lads who'd like to have a nice, merry class war so that they might have something to write about for a rainy day.

Can't blame them for trying to sell the S. D. their publishers profit.

The Communist but it takes a psychological explanation just why way the literary to the Cause, the soon be able to in every pot, and are popular.

The MEAN but tirely in the hands Mr. Anderson should twirls a mean swastika; the flag it in the world Bonaparte, grade chopathic ward, when he orders the hung out for drying Pole.

Mr. Anderson may ested to know that about to boot out lion meanies from Party. All power

The trouble is that they don't Communists say.

Now, the Communist different. They don't say. That deal.

The Communists

Profiles Hyndman

—though not many years ago a Marxian, a historian, a great

He lived a fine lusty life, his innate British rebelliousness taking itself out in free-thinking secularism, belief in democracy and opposition to sterile Liberalism.

In 1877, on a trip to the United States, someone handed him a book in German as he was leaving Salt Lake City. It was "Das Kapital", and on his trip home he read and digested it. There followed in quick succession his complete acceptance of Socialism, his book, "England for All", the first statement of Marxian Socialism by an Englishman in terms of English history and experience, his acquaintance with Karl Marx (which soon broke off in the first of Hyndman's historic quarrels), and his organization in 1881 of the Democratic Federation, which a year later became the Social Democratic Federation—and still is, to the honor and glory of Socialism.

From that moment Hyndman belonged to Socialism. He founded Justice, a publication that continued for well over forty years, he went into the streets for corner propaganda, he addressed vast meetings, he marched in parades of the unemployed and was arrested and tried for rioting—at a time when it was considered treason and treachery for a man of wealth to desert his class and associate with the rabble. He wrote many books, all of them contributions of real value to Socialism and history. His "Awakening of Asia" can be read today as a background for an understanding of what is going on in that troubled continent.

As a contributor to Socialist philosophy, as a creator of Socialist thought it is impossible to appraise Hyndman too high. He stands with Kautsky and Guesde, with Bauer and Vandervelde, as a great interpreter of Marxism in the light of changing conditions.

But as a party leader and tactician he was a ghastly failure. He drove William Morris out of the

By Joseph E. Cohen

You Cannot Fight Depression Armed Only With a Toothpick

The Workers Have a Big Program to Force Upon the Attention of Congress—The Unions Lead the Way.

AT the next session of Congress the industrial question will be to the fore. When prosperity was here nothing was done by the Government to make it a permanent fixture. So when it ran its course it went.

Now the depression is here. It has made itself right at home. And certainly it is not going to leave until plenty is done to speed the parting guest.

If capitalism cannot shake off the depression the depression will take capitalism with it when it departs.

Meantime the whole population of those who depend upon their own effort for a livelihood are the innocent victims. There are too many of these by plenty to be just

S. D. F. and into his own Socialist League—although Morris later handsomely admitted he had been in the wrong and Hyndman right. He did not build a party—he merely created a nucleus of sound Socialist theory.

When war clouds loomed he became strongly anti-German. He could not abide Bebel in International congresses, and believed all the German Socialists to be conscious or unconscious German militarists. He urged a greater and greater navy to meet the German threat, and he did not join Hardie and MacDonald, Snowden and Jowett in their opposition to the war. Indeed, he went into Italy urging that that wavering country join the war on the side of the Entente.

The war came to a close, and Hyndman resumed his Socialist work. He was an old man, but there was no diminution of his mental vigor. He saw in Bolshevism a denial of all democratic Socialism, and he flung himself into the fight against it. He never gave up. And he died in 1921 at the age of 79, one of the noblest of the breed of Socialist pioneers.

"In the Labor movement," said Shaw, "the experienced man will allow Hyndman no public virtue except this, that he has kept the flag flying—the red flag. And there are so many public men who have every public virtue except this, that the exception suffices."

W. M. F.

(Next week; Professor William Macon Coleman.)

On WEVD

Radio Station WEVD announces the following features for the week of January 8:

Sunday, 11 a. m., Forward Hour; 8:30 p. m., The Group Theatre; 10 p. m., Debate: "Shall New York Adopt the Seabury Charter Plan?" Paul Blanshard vs. Assemblyman Cuvillier.

Monday, 4:45 p. m., Amy Vanderbilt briefs important books; 5 p. m., American Birth Control League—talk; 5:45 p. m., William Kay Wallace: "Our Obsolete Constitution."

Tuesday, 8:15 p. m., The World Tomorrow Program; 10 p. m., The Compinsky Trio.

Wednesday, 5:30 p. m., Isadore Gorn, concert pianist, with A. Weiser, violinist; 8:15 p. m., The Nation Program—Oswald Garrison Villard.

Thursday, 10 p. m., National Negro Forum; 10:30 p. m., Russian Art—Music.

Friday, 8:15 p. m., Hendrik Willem Van Loon; 10 p. m., Harry Cumpson, concert pianist—"Thumb Nail Sketches of Composers"; 10:30 p. m., The Author Reviews His Book.

Saturday, 4:45 p. m., Jess Perlman, "Interviews with a Psychologist"; 6:15 p. m., Cooperative League of America.

THE CHATTERBOX

Some Fine New Year's Poems, And a Nice Story for You, and Some Pleasant Thoughts

By S. A. DeWitt

America and the Debts

As Byron Might Have Written It Today

THE Shylock among nations, there she stands,
Alone and friendless in the depths of woe;
An empty purse within her crooked hands
Whose coin she loaned at interest long ago.
Great Lincoln's entombed bones are restless now
And the historic White House tenantless
Of statesmen—Columbia, must you go
Hated of nations with averted face?—
Rise you rebellious Reds and mantle her disgrace!

—W. W. Christman

With all their hymns of hate against Social-Fascists, as they please them to call us, our dear friends the Communists furnish us from time to time with very pleasant tales. This one comes out of the Co-operative Bronx Apartments, run exclusively for and by the Jewish section of the C. P.

Comrade Mrs. Winefsky was admonishing her little girl against playing with little Joe Stalin Epstein, the next door neighbor's son. . . . And the warning came in this fashion: "Dollink Rosalie Luxemburg, please don't play with that bad boy Yoske Stalin, he spits on everybody. . ."

Shadows for the New Year

COMRADE

His heart was saturated in the strife
Of holding high the fervent flame of light;
To that great cause he dedicated life—
Then Death came like a scoundrel in the night.

STRIKER

When he defied the masters of his job
One night within a mournful, misty town,
A versed and vicious "bought and paid for" mob
Denounced him with their guns and shot him down.

CALIFORNIA

Her ears are deaf; her soul is made of stone;
Her eyes are shut while countless hearts bewail
The crime for which she never can atone—
While Mooney is compelled to rot in jail.

STRIKER

His beaten body lies beside the mud;
His pulse is still. His battered head
And broken arms are steeped in blood,
While my heart mourns for one who's dead.

Have pity God! In your compassion, go
And lift him from the place he fell;
Let Heaven ease each bitter blow
For he has had enough of Hell!

—Douglas B. Krantzor

It is pleasant adventuring these days when I go about the job of godfathering little branches, or "twigs" as Gus Claessens call them. The fine faces, the dream-filled eyes and the subdued demeanor of the newcomers give you a thrill for having helped in their round-up.

Of course, we old 'uns see a little ahead. We know the way of all flesh and mind once these fledglings start to sprout right and left wings of their own. We know how they will find a way of interpreting the gospel of St. Marx according to their own light as their days of reading and study transpire. . . .

Just now, however, it is only fair not to confuse them with wranglings and long-winded debates over differences that we older fellows know exist and in which we align ourselves pro and con. . . .

Never in the history of our party was there a more stringent need for self-restraint on the part of our dogmatists and impeccable philosophers, and a stintless devotion to the humanism of the social and pure comradeship, that being in the Socialist movement implies.

Gosh, I know how hard it will be for many of us who have become recognized champions of one phase or another of our basic tenets, just to pitch in and be a regular feller until the new members are sufficiently acclimatized for the heavy work of making Socialist knowledge out of the whole cloth of "Das Kapital."

However, there is a hidden virtue for all of us, if we can remember at times that none of us are the acknowledged guardians of the Holy Temple of Sociology, nor has any one of us been given the irrevocable rights of ownership and patent papers on any particular brand of Socialism. . . . For a while then fellows and lassies, let's lay off on the rigorous deep stuff, and go about the job of welcoming the newcomers with a smile.

W. H. RICHARDSON

411 West Ave. Indianapolis, Ind.

Mean? . . .

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instances,

don't say that they want a dictator-
ship over the proletariat. But how
they mean it!

Stalin means so much that
Trotzky means so little.

When the Communists say they
want a united front they mean they
want to separate it from the rear
and saw the proletariat in half.
It's their favorite act.

A different way of defining the
difference is to say that Socialists
want Socialism for the people,
while Communists want the people
for Communism.

When you hear Anderson talking
about politics, please try to remem-
ber that he's written some re-
markably good fiction stories. Some
of the lesser literary lights that
constellate about him don't even
observe the law of compensation.

The unhappy ending school of
novelists is finding Communism a
favorite unhappy ending. Wild
west story writers are turning to
wild east story writing. The French
once staged a revolution to give
Charley Dickens material for "A
Tale of Two Cities" and the Russians
have produced more novels
than the five-year plan called for.

But don't forget that the Com-
munists MEAN IT! Mean what?
Read between the lines of their
papal boners and cherish every
typographical error. It's rare stuff,
sacramental!

P. H.

General Spills the Beans in Debate With Thomas

GENERAL SMEDLEY DARLINGTON BUTLER, the devil-dog war-hero, and Congressional Medal of Honor man, in debate with Norman Thomas on "Dare We Disarm?" made an excellent commentary on our capitalist civilization and the it breeds.

General Butler first became interested in the army during the Spanish-American War, began General Butler. "It wasn't such a good thing, but it was the best that the capitalists could get at that time. I thought that the war was a noble thing. I was young then, and we are foolish when we are young."

The Spanish-American war was set up by a few capitalists who wanted all our wars. Also—Bill Hearst wanted to get us messed up with the rest of the world, and he did."

The Spanish-American war was set up by a few capitalists who wanted all our wars. Also—Bill Hearst wanted to get us messed up with the rest of the world, and he did."

General Butler said that while he was an army man he was a good Quaker and a member of good standing in the Society of Friends. The reason I'm a member in good standing," he said, "is that I pay my dues. You can be a member of any society if you pay your dues."

One argument against immediate disarmament was that armaments are a necessary evil. "People are selfish, especially our leaders who are controlled by capitalists. We can't disarm while we have a capitalist-controlled country."

The general reiterated that wars were not launched to "make the world safe for Democracy or freedom of the seas or some other humbug. Wars are made by the capitalists, and here's the way they do it:

Why Wars?

"Suppose now that two nations are at war. The capitalist sends out supplies. His ship is sunk and he loses money. He rushes down to the President and tells him that he's losing money. He does not get paid until he delivers the goods, and he tells the President that he wants him to deliver the goods. So the President and the capitalist put a flag on a ship. This ship is sunk and everybody gets excited, especially the women. Then they put a couple of guns that mean nothing on some ship. This ship is sunk too. And now more people get excited. Then some other fool goes rubbernecking in the war zone and gets hurt. Now we all go to war."

"Remember this! ALL THESE WARS ARE ARRANGED FOR! Then the pink-cheeked boys are drafted. Not capital. If we drafted capital we would have no war. But everybody is drafted unless you have enough money to be exempt. Laws, you know, are made for those who can't pull out of them."

"We teach the boys to kill and take glory in it. I know, because I did it. We promise them the sun, the moon, the earth and the stars—and then send them off to kill."

General Butler was of the opinion that little could be gained in the way of disarmament by setting an example. He claimed that we attempted to set an example at the Washington Arms Conference but no one followed us. Since then all the countries had built ships. "And what are they building them for," asked the General, "for ornaments?"

Wall Street's Bill Collectors

He reiterated that the marines were merely bill-collectors for Wall Street. "I personally have been on fourteen bill-collecting expeditions to Haiti, Santa Domingo, and so on," he said. "As a matter of fact, we never collected anything. It cost \$26,000,000 to keep the marines in Nicaragua, and the bill was only about \$13,000,000. And then we didn't collect it."

In speaking

the Haitians, the general said: "I did not want to enslave the peasants down there to raise sugar for the National City Bank, so I was canned."

"Soldiers do not make wars," he said. "They merely collect debts. The banks pull the strings and the politicians send us down. I did not like to do it, but it was my bread and butter. Moreover I had taken an oath. I remember once in Philadelphia I took an oath as a policeman to uphold the laws of the U.S., of the State of Pennsylvania and of the City of Philadelphia. Then I got into trouble because I had the fool idea that the ordinances had to be enforced on everybody."

When the General was asked by one of the audience who had served in the army what was the difference between himself and General Butler on the one hand and the gangster on the other, Butler replied: "Gee, what a question. I guess there isn't so much difference. The gangster works for one boss; we work for another."

General Butler ended by asserting we need an army for the same reason that we lock our doors when we go to sleep at night. We do not know who will rob us but someone may, and we should play safe."

Thomas Speaks

When Norman Thomas rose to reply there obviously was not much debate left. "This year begins with a comradely spirit," began Thomas. "I address myself to Comrade Chairman, Comrade Butler, and comrades and friends."

Thomas pointed out that General Butler's argument concerning the locking of doors was contradicted by his own statements. "We did not go to war to protect anything but J. P. Morgan's investments, as General Butler pointed out. After a career of singular gallantry General Butler has come here to confess that he merely participated in

glorified bill-collecting agencies for the capitalists. We are not an example of a set-upon nation but an aggressor nation. General Butler has been used not to fasten any locks but to pick locks."

He quoted statistics to show our military expenditures from 1891 to 1931 had increased from \$66,000,000 to \$700,000,000. "This was doing pretty well for a pacifist nation, thank you. We have the further distinction of having the greatest military expenditures of any nation since 1913. In our years of most drastic economy the army and navy suffered least."

"I have no interest in being a bill collector," said Thomas. "And if we are to attack capitalism, we must attack its military ally. As the working class marches toward its goal it must march along many fronts. One of these is the anti-militarist front. I am willing to take the risk of disarmament. And I do not think it is so great a risk if we send out no bill-collecting agencies."

As an example of the army psychology Thomas referred to General Butler as a "man who could see so much of the way wars are made and still be ready to fight at the drop of a hat. It was this same instilling of fear and hatred for foreign nations, this patriotic set of mind, that prevents the workers of the world from awakening and uniting."

Millions For . . .

"At a time when starvation is found at every doorstep it is criminal and indicative of our crazy civilization to spend millions for military budgets. These millions could be used for homes, hospitals, and social welfare, and would be so used in sane civilization. We maintain the army by taxing the poor. We maintain it by keeping alive the spirit of hate."

"No nation ever prepared for war to get peace. You get what you prepare for in this world. We need not the gallantry of war, but the gallantry of peace."

Dr. Henry Newmann presided as chairman. The debate was held under the auspices of the New History Society and the Brooklyn Forum, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

John R. Kelley of Elmira bats five new subs into the office.

The liveliest question that J. S. Holland of California knows anything about is keeping the Socialist press in the field. Advanced in years and a victim of the depression, he remains on the firing line for THE NEW LEADER.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

SOVIET RUSSIA AS I SAW IT, by Dr. William J. Robinson. New York: The International Press; \$2.00.

TWO years ago the Bolsheviks were announcing that 1931 would be the decisive year in their gigantic plans of industrial building, but as the year 1932 dawned it became apparent that Russia faced a grave situation. As the months passed the food problem became more acute and dissent in the Communist Party was met by the expulsion of Zinoviev and some twenty odd other leaders. As the year ended conditions had not improved and a wholesale "purging" of party members was going on.

One is curious to get the impressions of Communist sympathizers who have been in Russia in the past year. Dr. William J. Robinson recently returned from Russia and has recorded his views. During the year, Walter Ruckeser, an American engineer, and Ellery Walter, an American journalist, the first having served the Soviets and the second having travelled extensively in Russia, published books. Both men went to Russia as sympathizers. Ruckeser was somewhat gloomy yet hopeful in his book, but Walter lost hope. Robinson returns disheartened and shocked.

These three books published in the same year measure the evolution of the views of men who had visited Russia in successive periods of last year's crisis. Some impressions and views are similar in the three books, but each varies in some particulars. Even Robinson follows the course of the other two in trying to strike a balance between what is gain and what is loss, but his final judgment is one of aversion and hopelessness. He gives the impression of a man who has received a blow, one whose fondest hopes have been dashed.

Little of the historical argument is offered by any of these writers, but each is objective in the presentation of his views. Robinson apparently writes under restraint and yet a hysterical note appears here and there as he jots down various phases of Russian life and especially the power exerted through the G. P. U. in rooting out dissent. At the same time he pleads for official recognition of and aid for Russia. "All nations must help Russia," he writes. "For the fall of the present regime would mean chaos and anarchy in other parts of the world, and it would mean bloodshed the like of which the world has not yet seen. Instead of considering Russia a sort of outlaw or giving her only half-hearted, grudging recognition, she should be given wholehearted financial aid and unequivocal support."

SUCCESS OF FASCISM IS SUBJECT OF DEBATE

"Is Fascism an Economic Success?" will be the subject of the next Sunday night debate under the auspices of the Brooklyn Forum, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music next Sunday night.

Two Italian professors, both now teaching in American universities, will debate the question. Professor Carlo Flumiani will contend that under Mussolini's leadership Fascism has been a success, while Professor Gaetano Salvemini will take the negative.

Professor Salvemini was a Liberal Deputy in the Italian parliament just before the Fascist coup d'état, and he continued fighting Fascism until exiled from his homeland by the Duce. He has written several books on Fascism, and is known as one of the leading authorities on the subject now in the United States. He is on the Yale faculty.

AMERICA MADE YOUNG

FOLLOWING the method of Plato's Dialogues, "America Made Young" is an attempt at a discussion of present-day institutions and the possibilities of shaping them to further the welfare of the masses. While the arguments of the author, Duval McCutchen, are put forth with considerable skill and logic he believes that the changes will be brought about by "intellectually honest men who are not committed to any party or doctrine." The author seems to overlook the fact that the last few years, especially, have not been propitious ones for "leaders." The last stand of the political hero worshipers seems to be the adulation of dictators. America Made Young is published by the Humanities Pub. Co., Philadelphia (\$2.00). B. B.

Questions and Answers

Confiscation

I believe in the principles and platform of the Socialist Party, but am of the opinion that when the proper time arrives to socialize industry same should be taken from the capitalists by confiscation and not by compensation of any kind to the parasites who did not create the wealth. Will you please answer in the columns of The New Leader, if I am eligible to membership in the Socialist Party, while holding those views?—Edwin A. Federsen.

Our opinion is that you are eligible to membership. The whole matter of taking the industries, with or without compensation, is one that belongs to the period of a revolutionary crisis. We have said before that a good case can be made out for confiscation even from the standpoint of American precedent but it is a matter of the easiest way out. To avoid civil conflict a revolutionary administration might well agree to some measure of compensation, especially for the lesser property owners. The Russian Communists specifically singled out small owners of stock in their program. In the case of the Civil War it is evident that to purchase the freedom of the slaves would have been cheaper than paying the cost of the war. Socialist theory justifies confiscation but not under any and all circumstances.

Another Fascist Outrage!

PROFESSOR VLADIMIR G. KARAPETOFF of Cornell, one of New York's leading Socialists, was arrested last summer in Genoa for insulting Benito Mussolini. Details of the outrage have just arrived in the United States by dogsled, carrier pigeon and word-of-mouth, complicated by a letter from Karapetoff himself—five months late, but who cares?

But let the professor go on:

Shares Columbus' Fate

"In Genoa I was on a sightseeing bus, and the guide showed us a tremendous statue of Christopher Columbus. Of course, I was rather flattered to see a fellow-citizen of mine so highly honored. But then the rascal showed us a ramshackle tenement house over two hundred years old and claimed that Columbus had been born there. Of course, I would not stand for a fake of this sort, so I told those dumb foreigners in the bus that Columbus had been named after a city in Ohio from which his father came, that he lived in the Second-Mortgage Row on Broadway, where he

Prof. Karapetoff Arrested in Genoa for Insulting Mussolini—But He Makes a Profit on the Transaction.

round, and that the place is therefore still known as Columbus Circle. Had he been born in a Dago city, his wife could not have belonged to the Daughters of the American Revolution, which I knew for sure she had.

"The guide started arguing, and when he saw me getting the best of it, he said in an offended tone of voice that Mussolini was a great man. I casually remarked that a neighbor of mine had a dog by that name, and mangy at that. This was the first lie I had told outside my classroom for nearly a week, because I do not speak Italian. . . .

"The jail was stuffy and full of bugs; I could not sleep, so I figured out my line of defense. The next day I told the judge that 'mangy' meant a breed of dogs distinguished for their beauty and intelligence, and that my neighbor intended to honor the great man in his native way. Half a dozen

staying at the same hotel confirmed my statement under oath. One of them, of minus Ednawallacean youth, told me later that this was the first lie she had ever told outside her classroom (which was either her second lie or a dead giveaway that she had never had a beau).

"Anyhow, I was left off with a fine of one hundred lire; I do not know how much this is in real money, but when I gave them a ten dollar travelers' check they gave me back in change such a lot of silver and nickels that I did not know what to do with them; I never got so much for a ten dollar bill at a regular exchange bank."

"The guide demanded an apology, which I finally extended to him in exchange for his public statement that Galileo was born in Hoboken, New Jersey. The hotel charged me for the room which I did not occupy that night, and to add insult to injury the turnkey demanded ten per cent of the fine for his services, in lieu of a tip. Fortunately, I had with me some standard American stocks which he agreed to take at 1928 prices, so that in the end I made a few cents on the whole incident."

Socialist Party Progress

VIRGINIA

Newport News.—Local Newport News at its last meeting adopted two resolutions, one condemning the subservience of President-Elect Roosevelt to the bankers in accepting their instructions in the matter of pay-cuts in New York, and one denouncing members of congress who accept election and pay, but who do not attend sessions of Congress regularly.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco.—The following is part of the program of work of the local in the forthcoming weeks: Kameradschaft.—Movie at Filmarte week Jan. 14—21 showing workers' solidarity, for benefit of the local. Meetings and Classes at 1141 Market, Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall. Open Forum Every Thursday at 8 p. m. January 12—Dr. Guy E. Talbot of Council for Prevention of War, "War Debts". Jan. 19—Miss Oleta O'Connor, U. of C. "Future of the Socialist Party". Jan. 26—Prof. E. H. Staffebach of San Jose State Teachers' College on "The Crisis in Taxation in California." A new class in the fundamentals of Socialism starts Sun., Jan. 8. Classes in city govt. at 7.30 Tuesday followed by class in Marx at 8.30. 50 Comrades are now calling in their neighborhoods. Young Peoples' Socialist League, 8 p. m. Fridays.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee.—Andrew Biemiller, new educational director of the Milwaukee County Socialist party will start a series of discussion talks on current events in an educational course sponsored by the women's division.

The Milwaukee Vorwaerts, German Socialist Weekly, has suspended. The paper, founded as a daily by Victor L. Berger more than forty years ago, became a weekly when the German population of Milwaukee no longer required a socialist daily. Since 1911 Heinrich Bartel has been editor.

TEXAS

A new constitution has been drawn up for the use of the Socialist party in the state.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston.—Oscar Ameringer will

speaking Friday, January 27, 8 p. m. at Tremont Temple on "Technocracy and Social Planning."

Newton.—The Newton local, which was organized Nov. 14 with 15 members, has increased its membership to 32. We are very proud of this number and of the 401 votes Norman Thomas received in this city because Newton is considered one of the most conservative cities in Massachusetts. So far we have held 6 well attended meetings at the home of Comrade Samuel Grinspoon in Newtonville. Beginning Jan. 9th meetings will be held in Colby Hall, Institution Ave., Newton Centre. The program for Jan. follows: Jan. 9—Henry W. Pinkham—"Socialism and Democracy." Jan. 16—Study Class—John Hall of Harvard University, leader. Jan. 23—Albert Sprague Coolidge of Cambridge. Jan. 30—Prof. Edgar S. Brightman of Boston University.

On Dec. 17 the Newton and Cambridge locals held a joint Charter Festival to celebrate the formation of these two new locals. Messages of greeting from officers of National and State headquarters were read, a word of greeting was delivered by State Sec. Alfred Baker Lewis, and the remainder of the evening was devoted to an entertainment of local and professional talent and to dancing. There was a large attendance.

New Bedford.—The first general membership meeting of New Bedford will be held on Sunday, Jan. 8, at 2 p. m. in the large hall of the Labor Temple, Pleasant Street. The newly organized City Central Committee consisting of the three branches in the city will present an agenda containing plans for 1933 organizational and general party activity. The Branch (Center) has a Rand School study class under the leadership of E. R. O'Brien and H. Cote. The local Y. P. S. L. circle is being reorganized and will meet Tuesday evening, January 10th, in the North End Polish Clubrooms. Attempts to start an orchestra are under way and every other meeting of the Center Branch a lecturer sent from the State Office will address the membership. The Branch has been

getting bundle orders of The New Leader right along.

NEW JERSEY

Irvington Branch meets Friday night at the home of Mrs. Anna Marr, 335 17th Ave. After this week the branch will move to new headquarters in the V.F.W. hall at Springfield Ave.

Hudson County.—General membership meeting will be held Sunday, Jan. 8th, 2 p. m. at Fraternity Hall, 256 Central Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

Newark.—Samuel Weiss will speak for Branch 1 at 34 Park Place, Monday night on "Fundamentals of Socialism."

The Young People's Socialist League of the State of New Jersey will hold a conference in Camden, Jan. 8, to begin at one o'clock, with afternoon session ending at five thirty. Following supper there will be an evening session. The main speakers of the day will be Comrade Frank Manning, one time National Director of the Y.P.S.L. and Julius Umansky, National Chairman. The purpose of the conference is to have a general discussion to outline organization work for the future and to bring the members of the circles into closer comradeship and solidarity.

New York State

Intensity of Organization.—State Secretary Merrill announces that a computation of the average paid-up membership of the party organization for the year 1932 shows that Tompkins County has more good-standing members in proportion to population than any other county in the State of New York. Schenectady County ranks second, and then come Saratoga, Chautau,

LECTURE NOTES

Rev. T. Darelly Allen will address the Ingersoll Forum in the Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St., Sunday at 8. Subject: "If a Man Die Shall He Live Again?"

Morris Gordin is giving a course of Wednesday evening lectures on "Literature and Ideals" at the Clarion Club, 318 E. 9th St.

Louis Waldman will speak on "The Citizen Helpless in the Grip of the Magistrate" at the Community Forum, 550 W. 110th St., Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:15. V. F. Calverton will speak on Jan. 12th, and G. F. Beck on Jan. 13th.

"Moral Man and Immoral Society" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address on Sunday at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near East 172nd St. This address will be based on Prof. Reinhold's recent book by that title.

There will be a symposium held in the Community Forum, 550 W. 110th St., Sunday at 8, on the subject of "Pro-Semitism versus Anti-Semitism." Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes and Rabbi Louis I. Newman will participate. At the 11 o'clock services in Town Hall, Prof. William Lyon Phelps will speak on "The Great Poets of Religious Teachers."

Professor Harry F. Ward will speak on "Is Russia Returning to Capitalism?" on Sunday at 7:45 in the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave.

The following is the program of the People's Institute lectures to be given in Cooper Union: Jan. 6, Dr. Everett Dean Martin, "Hugo Grotius: The Law of War and Peace—Is Right Based on Power?" Jan. 8, Prof. Scott Buchanan, "The Nature of a Higher Education: Medicine—The Philosophy of Nature." Jan. 10, Dr. Charles R. Stockard, "The Scientific Method: Accident and Discovery."

"Resolved That the Marxian Approach to Literature Is the Correct and Scientific One" will be the topic of a debate between Michael Gold and Ernest Boyd, to be held under the auspices of the Pen and Hammer Club, in the Engineering Club, 25 W. 39th St., Jan. 13, at 8 p. m.

Samuel A. DeWitt will be the guest speaker of The Freethinkers of America, Sunday at 3:30, in the Steinway Building, 113 W. 57th St. DeWitt's subject will be "A Post Looks at God."

qua Rockland and Cattaraugus counties in order. All six upstate counties have a better average than the average for Greater New York.

Legislative Program.—One of the things which the State Committee will consider at its forthcoming meeting is a legislative program for 1933. The model Unemployment Insurance and Short Week bills introduced as "request" measures in the State Legislature of 1932 may find a number of imitations in the 1933 session.

Winter Lectures.—The L.I.D. lecture course is to be given in seven upstate cities this winter—Binghamton, Albany, Schenectady, Saratoga Springs, Rochester, Niagara Falls and Buffalo. This course begins this month. A subcommittee of the party will recommend to the State Executive Committee a Socialist Party course of lectures to begin on or about March 1st.

Hempstead Branch, Nassau County Socialist Party.—Business meetings second and fourth Wednesdays of every month. Meets on January 11th at the home of Mrs. Florence Mulford, 380 Howard Ave., Woodmere, L. I., N. Y.

S. E. Nassau Branch, Socialist Party.—Business meetings first and third Wednesdays of every

month. Meets on January 8th at the office of Edward Marks, 65 W. Sunrise Highway, Freeport.

Rand School Study Class meets every Friday at 8:00 p. m. at the home of Winnie E. Branstetter, Seventh Street, Valley Stream, L. I., N. Y.

HELP WANTED

By P. M. O'Kara

As a Socialist, recently arrived in Tampa, Florida, I am appalled at the lack of organization and cooperation of those interested in Socialism. This I find to be due not to lack of willingness but rather to a lack of funds. I have suggested to the local, in view of the thousand Socialists who have lost interest because of the stagnation that they start a series of lectures, thereby interesting the public and these Socialists.

To do this will require funds. A collection could be taken and proceeds used for educational lectures. It would only be a matter of time until these meetings would be self-supporting. Therefore, through The New Leader, I am endeavoring to locate a few comrades in Socialism who may be able to start these meetings. Donations should be sent to: S. Parks, 8007—9th St., Sulphur Spring's Station, Tampa, Fla.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

"BIG NIGHT"

Presented by THE GROUP THEATRE

at the Maxine Elliot Theatre

Preview of this new comedy for the benefit of the SOCIALIST PARTY, WOMEN'S COMMITTEE, and YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Friday, January 13, 1933

Tickets, including tax, \$2.75; \$2.25; \$1.75; \$1.45; \$1.10, and 55 cents. On sale at the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-2620.

Debate: 'IS FASCISM AN ECONOMIC SUCCESS?'

SUNDAY, JAN. 8th Prof. CARLO Prof. GAETANO
8:30 P. M. BROOKLYN FORUM FLUMIANI VS. SALVEMINI
B'ly Academy of Music
30 Lafayette Avenue
near Flatbush Avenue
Tickets—\$1.10, 55c, 25c at Box Office or Rand Bookstore, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.
Sun., Jan. 15th: Symposium—"What's the Matter With New York?"
Paul Blanchard—Louis Cuvillier—Wm. J. Schieffelin

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

550 West 110th Street East of Broadway

Sunday, 8 P. M.—Symposium:

"PRO-SEMITISM VS. ANTI-SEMITISM"

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes—Rabbi Louis I. Newman

11 A. M.—Sunday Service, Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St.

PROF. WILLIAM LYON PHELPS—"The Great Poets as Religious Teachers."

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th Street

SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents

January 8th

Rev. T. Darley Allen, D.D.

"If a Man Die, Shall He Live Again?"

Questions and discussion

MICHAEL ERNEST GOLD BOYD

AFFIRMATIVE NEGATIVE

RESOLVED: That the Marxian Approach to Literature is the Correct and Scientific One. Friday, Jan. 13, 8 p. m., Engineering Auditorium, 25 W. 39 St. Henry Seidel Canby, Chairman. Reserved seats 75, 50, 35 cents. Auspices of Pen & Hammer, 114 W. 21 St., N. Y. C.

FREETHINKERS OF AMERICA

Sunday, 113 W. 57th St., Steinway Bldg.

Regular lecture, 3:30 p. m.

Mr. Samuel A. DeWitt

"A Post Speaks About God."

Major Joseph Wheelless

"The Douay Vs. The King James Bible."

Class in Bible Criticism, 2:30 p. m.

Admission free—Questions & Discussion

The Ninth Annual Dinner of THE NEW LEADER

will be held Friday evening,

February 10, 1933.

Keep the date open!

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union, 8th St. & Astor Pl.

at 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday evening, Jan. 6th

Dr. Everett Dean Martin

"Hugo Grotius: The Law of War and Peace—Is Right Based on Power?"

Sunday evening, Jan. 8th

Professor Scott Buchanan

"The Nature of a Higher Education: Medicine: The Philosophy of Nature."

Tuesday evening, Jan. 10th

Dr. Charles R. Stockard

"The Scientific Method: Accident and Discovery."

New York City

Forward Ball.—The annual Forward Ball under the auspices of the Socialist Party and allied organizations will be held Saturday, Feb. 18, at the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave. All organizations will take note and arrange no affairs to conflict.

Symposium.—The first of the series of symposiums for Party members will be held in the Rand School, Thursday evening, Jan. 12, at 8:30. Topic, "What Is the Basic Difference Between Socialism and Communism?" Speakers, J. B. Matthews, Alexander Fishandler and Bela Low. Chairman, Anne Bericowitz. No admission charge and admission by membership card only. There will be four symposiums on other controversial questions during February, March and April. Dates, topics and speakers will be announced shortly.

Theatre Party.—The Socialist Party of the Greater City and the Women's Committee have arranged a theatre benefit performance for Friday evening, Jan. 13. The play is "Big Night" at the Maxine Elliot Theatre, under the auspices of the Group Theatre. Tickets are available at prices considerably lower than at the box office. An arrangement has been made with branches by which special discount rates will be allowed for tickets they may dispose of.

City Executive Committee.—A meeting of the committee will be held Wednesday evening, January 11, at 8:30, in the city office, 7 East 15th St.

Rand School Public Speaking Class.—The annual Rand School class in Public Speaking, Instructor August Claessens, will begin Monday, Jan. 8, at 8:30 p. m., and continue for fifteen weeks. Branch officers and members generally are urged to make note of this announcement and every comrade interested in becoming a speaker for the Party should register at once.

Karl Marx Memorial Meeting.—Executive Committee of Local New York City is arranging for an impressive commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx at the Town Hall, Sunday afternoon, March 19. A very fine program is being arranged of speakers, tableaux and music.

Women's Committee.—The class in Socialism and Public Speaking, with Instructors Esther Friedman and August Claessens, will continue its session Monday afternoon, Jan. 9, at 2:30.

Saturday evening, Jan. 7, at 8:30, Paul Blanchard will speak. Musical program and refreshments; admission 10 cents.

MANHATTAN

3rd-5th A. D.—Meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30, in the cafeteria of the Cooperative House, 433 W. 21st St. Following a brief business meeting, Organizer Claessens will deliver a short talk.

4th A. D.—Meeting of the 4th A. D. will be held Friday, Jan. 6, at 8:30, at 126 Delancey St. The public is invited to attend a lecture which will start at 9 p. m., after the close of the business meeting. Abraham P. Conan will discuss: "Proportional Representation and Its Importance to Socialists."

6th A. D.—Meeting will be held Monday, Jan. 9, at 8:30, at the clubrooms, 48 Ave. C.

8th A. D.—The Branch has moved into larger and more attractive headquarters at 144 Second Ave. Announcement will be made shortly of a number of new activities.

Upper West Side.—Branch meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:15. Election of officers and delegates to the City Central and Executive Committees.

Yorkville.—Branch meeting on Thursday, Jan. 12, at 8:30, at clubrooms, 241 E. 84th St. The Sunday evening Forum will open on Jan. 15 (Continued on Page Twelve)

New York City

(Continued from Page Eleven)

James O'Neal as lecturer. On the Sundays following the lectures will continue with the following speakers: Maurice Gordin, August Claessens, Samuel Beardsley, Herman Salzman, Louis Waldman, William E. Bohn, Frank Cross-waith, Wm. Duffy.

Chelsea.—Monday, January 9, at 8:30, there will be a discussion on "Capitalism on Trial." The defender of capitalism is Carlton Webster, well-known lawyer and members of the Committee on Law Enforcement. Judge Panken will present the indictment. The affair will take place in the headquarters, 52 W. 8th St. Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30 p. m., branch meeting. Wednesday, Jan. 11, Rebel Arts night.

12th A. D.—An excellent meeting of this new branch was held last Tuesday in the home of Comrades Thomas. About 40 people were present. Comrades Tyler, DeWitt, Thomas and Claessens delivered short talks. A goodly number of applicants were received. The branch is steadily growing in membership, thanks to the fine canvassing work done by several of the new members.

19th-21st A. D.—Branch will meet Monday, Jan. 9, at 9 p. m., at the clubrooms, 2005 Seventh Ave. The officers recently nominated will be formally elected and inducted into office. Our Forum (The People's Educational Forum) will open Sunday, Jan. 8, at 3 p. m., with August Claessens as the speaker.

17-18-20th A. D.—Branch meetings will be held every second and 4th Wednesdays in the new clubrooms, 1539 Madison Ave.

Washington Heights.—In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee our branch has changed its meeting night to Monday, the next to be held on Jan. 9. In the future we shall meet on the second and fourth Mondays of the month. Executive committee meets on all Mondays when there is no branch meeting. Sunday night Forum opens Jan. 8 at headquarters, 4046 Broadway (170th St.); sessions every Sunday night with interesting speakers; admission is free. J. C. Kennedy will continue his series on Marxism on Tuesday, Jan. 10, at headquarters.

BRONX

Bronx Ball.—The Annual Dance and Concert of Bronx County will take place on Saturday evening, March 18, in the Winter Garden, Tremont and Washington Aves., Bronx. Tickets can be obtained at County headquarters, 9 W. 170th

St., and at the various branches. Contract blanks for the Ball Journal are available.

2nd A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30, at the clubrooms, 9 W. 170th St. Following the business meeting, Julius Hochman will speak.

5th A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30, at the Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect Ave. Dr. Louis Hendin will deliver an educational talk after the business meeting. The branch is taking an active part in the Thursday night forum at the Bellamy Club sponsored by the House Committee. All members and friends are asked to attend both functions.

6th A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held Tuesday, Jan. 17, at 8:30, in the Pelpark Palace. Organizes Claessens will speak.

7th A. D.—Branch meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30, at 789 Elmsmere Place. At last meeting the following officers were elected: Organizer, A. D. Sussman; Fin. Sec'y, A. I. Nissenbaum; Rec. Sec'y, Dorothy Jaffe; Educational Director, Alfred Breslaw. The next lecture of the branch will be announced at next meeting.

8th A. D.—Branch meeting will be held Thursday, Jan. 12, at 8:30, in Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Election of officers and committees for the coming year, after which Dr. S. J. Fried, educational director, will speak on "Socialized Medicine." On Thursday evening, Jan. 26, a card and surprise party will be given by the branch. All are welcome. A small admission charge will be made. The Y.P.S.L. meets Sunday afternoons. The executive committee also meets Sunday afternoon in the Burnside Manor.

BROOKLYN

All Kings County members are urged to keep open Sunday afternoon, Jan. 15, when a general Party meeting will be held. Important matters affecting the County organization will be discussed. An interesting feature of the meeting is that John Haynes Holmes will make his first appearance as a Party member and will deliver a short address.

Midwood.—The new and commodious headquarters recently obtained by the branch at 1722 East 12th St. will be formally opened by a house-warming, entertainment and card party Saturday evening, Jan. 7. Organizer Claessens will be present and help in the entertainment. Admission charge, 50 cents. Branch will hold its business meeting on Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30. Election of officers for the new year will be held.

New Lots Branch.—Organization

committee is actively engaged in an attempt to form a branch of the Party in the New Lots section of the 2nd A. D. It has had several meetings in the offices of the Co-operative Bakers, 209 New Lots Ave. The branch is now looking for headquarters. The group meets every Friday evening. Temporary officers are: Organizer, Harry Sapkowitz; Fin. Sec'y, Ben Kantor; Rec. Sec'y, Sarah Malachowsky; Corr. Sec'y, Tillie Sapkowitz.

5th A. D.—The newly organized branch will meet every second and fourth Wednesday evenings in the home of Comrades Friedman, 329 Stuyvesant Ave. At the meeting of Jan. 11, Henry J. Rosner will be the speaker.

Borough Park.—The executive committee at a recent meeting completed an interesting schedule of winter and spring activities to include lectures, symposiums, debates and social "Camraderies." Constant enrollment of new members has brought some splendid workers. Weekly meetings every Tuesday evening at Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 1377-42nd St. Samuel A. DeWitt will be the guest speaker at our second "Camraderie" on Jan. 14.

Bensonhurst.—At the last meeting the following new officers were elected: Jacob Handler, organizer; Harold Siegel, financial secretary; Milton Tomash, recording secretary, and Harry Haskel, educational director. Executive, House, Ways and Means, and Literature Distribution Committees were organized. The second of the series

of Friday evening forum lectures will take place on Jan. 13. J. B. Matthews will lecture on the subject of war. On Saturday, evening, Jan. 14, a package party will be held by the Women's Unit in conjunction with the Party Branch.

The Bensonhurst Unit of the Socialist Women will meet on Wednesday, Jan. 11, at 2 p. m., at headquarters, 7368 Bay Parkway. Esther Friedman will speak.

18th A. D., Branch 2.—Sunday school meets at headquarters, 844 Utica Ave., every Sunday morning at 11:15. The New Year's Eve social gathering was a huge success. About 150 people attended. Branch meetings and lectures continue every Tuesday evening. Card party and social gathering has been arranged for Saturday evening, Jan. 28.

21st A. D.—Election of officers will be held Monday night, Jan. 9, at headquarters, 2239 Church Ave., at 8:30. With a new, large clubroom, a greatly increased membership, and a generally more favorable public sentiment, our opportunity for Socialist work is greater than ever.

22nd A. D., Branch 3. elected branch officers: Organizer, Sam Block; Treasurer, M. Singer; Secretary, Larry E. Selmon. The East New York Forum conducted at headquarters, 218 Van Sicklen Ave., Tuesdays, at 9 p. m., is assuring new recruits in the ranks of our movement. Literature is distributed and Sunday discussions are being held at various homes of the comrades.

23rd A. D.—With the assistance of our comrades we are certain

that the "Organization Drive" will be a huge success. The branch has arranged a series of lectures for every Monday evening. Henry Rosner will speak at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum on Jan. 9 at 8:30 p. m. The members will remain so as to formulate plans for future activities.

QUEENS

A new Forum arranged under the auspices of the Queens County Committee will open Sunday evening, Jan. 15, at Woodside Labor Temple, 4132-58th St., and will continue on alternate Sunday evenings. The first event is a debate on the topic "Does New York Need a City Party?" Speakers: Louis Waldman, and Dr. William J. Schieffelin of the Citizens' Union. Course tickets are being sold at \$1 for five meetings; single admission, 25 cents.

Astoria.—Meeting of the branch will be held Friday evening, Jan. 6, at 8:30, at Bohemian Hall, 2nd and Woolsey Aves. Election of officers for the new year and change of meeting night will be decided upon.

Elmhurst.—Branch will meet on Thursday, Jan. 19, in the home of Comrades Gooding, 9418-54th Ave. Maurice Gordin will be the speaker on the educational program for the evening.

Far Rockaway.—Branch will shortly announce the formation of a class in "The Fundamentals of Socialism," with a number of capable speakers, to begin Wednesday, Jan. 18. Program will be announced shortly.

Flushing.—Branch is making excellent progress. Thursday evening Forum is well attended.

THE FRIENDS OF NATURE

Our English Section will hike Sunday, January 8th, to the Palisades. Meet Dyckman St. Ferry, 207th Street, at 8:30 A. M. Fare 20c. Leader: Ruth Matthes.

The German Section will hike on the same day to Bryn Mawr. Meet Van Cortlandt Park Station at 9:00 A. M. Fare 15c. Leader: Hugo Koch. Walking time is 4 hours. No participation with automobiles.

City Activities

Our various Sections have now their General membership meetings. Brooklyn Section meets Wednesday, Jan. 11th, at Queens County Labor Lyceum, 785 Forest Ave., Brooklyn, and Manhattan Section Thursday, Jan. 12th, N. Y. Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. Election of officials and other important business is to be transacted. Entire branch New York will have General membership meeting on Jan. 26th, at Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th Street.

Group Activities

After the holiday season all our groups will begin their regular activities again.

Agitprop Group meets every Monday, 8:30 P. M., at NF. Center. **Chess Group** meets every Friday, 8:30 P. M., at NF. Center.

Gymnastic and Dance Group: Exercises Tuesday and Friday, 7 P. M., at E. Segals' Dance Studio, 77 5th Ave.

Music Group meets every Tuesday, 8:30 P. M. sharp, at NF. Center.

NF. Center is located at No. 12 East 17th Street. Keep this time table for future reference.

YOUNG CIRCLE NEWS

Sports.—Saturday, Jan. 7, at 8 p. m., the Y.C.L.A. Basketball Team will meet the Almont Athletic Club in the first game of the season at the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave.

The Young Circle League Soccer Team will play Union City in an Eastern District Soccer League Contest at 1 p. m. at Jasper Oval on Sunday, Jan. 8. In their last engagement the team played a tie game with Queen City.

Dramatics.—The Intermediate Dramatic Studio will hold its first meeting Sunday afternoon at 2 at the Y.C.L.A. Center, 3 W. 16th St.

Intermediates.—The Intermediate Central Committee will meet at the Y.C.L.A. Center Sunday afternoon at 4.

Where Your Union Meets

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 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. Fred Plam, Pres.; Al. Bayerle, Vice-Pres.; Charles Plam, Fin. Sec'y; Milton Rowcroft, Rec. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Business Agent.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Phone Algonquin 4-6500-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9360.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, New York City.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of The INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 28 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; Stagg 2-0794. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Morris Reles; Vice Pres. Joseph Karrass; Business Agent, B. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

HEBREW TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Drydock 4-8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Phone WI 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

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

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalthone Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Caserio, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thonen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 1st and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 Fifth St. Chas. H. President and Business Agent; Max Lieble Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone Algonquin 4-7084. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS UNION, Local 261 Office, 62 East 106th Street. Tel. Lehigh 4-3144. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday the office. Regular meeting every Friday at 210 E. 164th St. M. Galt, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.; A. Greeninger, Recording Secretary.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION, New York Joint Board, Affiliate with the Amer. Federation of Labor. General office, 53 W. 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 5-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Abe Stein, Manager.

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

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION, Local 1, 11 East 28th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-8107. Julius Berg, Pres.; Wm. Lehmann, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

Always Look for This Label
Workers: Eat Only in Restaurants
That Employ Union Workers

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-5754-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

Courses for Socialists

The Rand School courses offered for the Winter Term offer a wide variety to appeal to Party members. An unusual number of advanced courses are featured, to appeal to those who are familiar with the elementary principles of the movement.

Advanced Courses

"Studies in Modern Socialism," given by Jacob Bernstein, will run for thirteen weeks and will cover, in lectures, discussions and reading, topics like: Historical Materialism and the Class Struggle; Outstanding Class Struggles of History; Socialism and the State; the Family, Religion and Morality under Socialism; Law and Socialism; Karl Marx, the man, and his Historical Significance to the Proletariat; Problems of the Social Revolution; Political Dictatorships and the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Haim Kantorovitch will continue the course in "The Philosophy of Marxism," which was so popular last year. He will discuss the relation between Marx and Hegel, the offensive against materialism represented by such men as Eddington and Jeans and the whole relation between Marxism and present scientific tendencies. Bela Low's course in "The Materialist Conception of History" will give a thorough introduction to this much

misunderstood theory. In his course on "Social Attitudes," August Claessens will give to his students the best work of modern Psychologists and Sociologists and show how their facts and theories square with Socialism and can be used by Socialists.

More Elementary Studies

Chief stress will be laid on the things demanded by the great majority of persons interested in Socialism. Socialist principles and practices and the programs and history of the movement will be studied in a wide variety of courses. David P. Berenberg will give again "The Principles of Socialism" and "The Program of Socialism." Nathan Fine will offer "American Socialism at Work," in which he will cover actual Socialist work and the practical problems faced by the Party. Algernon Lee will teach "The History of American Socialism," and Siegfried Lipschitz will give a course in "The History of the German Social Democracy."

Two Practical Courses

August Claessens will train speakers, as he has been doing for years past. All those who hope to take his course should apply early, for there is sure to be an overflow. A new course, to be given by Terry Donaghy, is designed to teach Socialists how to put themselves over in the press.

YPSL Reports Progress

ST. LOUIS.—The National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League at its meeting here surveyed its recent gains and prepared activities for the next few months. Arthur McDowell of Pittsburgh, Industrial Director of the League, presided over the meeting in the absence of National Chairman Julius Umansky, and the meeting was attended by George Smerkin of Chicago, National Secretary, Milton Weisberg of Pittsburgh, Jim Duffy of Detroit, Jack Jaffe of Chicago, Hy. Fish of Cleveland, William Quick, Jr., of Milwaukee, Sam Bakely of California, and Aaron Levenstein of New York. National Chairman Umansky and N.E.C. member Winston Dancis of New York were in session at the same time with the Socialist Party Youth Committee in New York.

Since September 15th, 41 new Yipsel circles have been chartered, numbering 523 new members, not including new members admitted to already existing circles. The new groups are located in 31 cities in 20 different states. The Eastern District, including New York, reported it has sent out eleven field organizers.

The growth of the League has created certain difficulties in relations with the Party which require the definite formulation of a policy. The following statement was sent to the Party youth committee: "It is the sense of the N.E.C. of the Y.P.S.L. that the advancement of Socialist activity among youth requires a national youth organization possessing a reasonable measure of autonomy. We therefore request the N.E.C. of the party to instruct its units that local party branches cannot overrule decisions of the N.E.C. of

the Y.P.S.L. by ordering Yipsel groups under their supervision to disregard their own N.E.C. rulings. Wherever local party units feel that such decisions are inapplicable to the needs of local situations and wish to set them aside, they have recourse to the Yipsel N.E.C. and finally to the party N.E.C."

The N.E.C. addressed an appeal to all circles to cooperate with all youth organizations particularly in anti-war conferences. It endorsed the anti-war conferences held recently in New York and Chicago and urged that the continuation committees of both be amalgamated to form one united front against war.

"We urge planned and disciplined participation of the units of the Y.P.S.L. in all such attempts at united youth anti-war agitation and action. Such participation is permissible on any minimum part of the program set forth in the resolution of the national convention of the Y.P.S.L. Under no circumstances shall a participating Y.P.S.L. group give slightest grounds for belief that they surrender any part of their complete program."

In the Southern Illinois area, where the Progressive Miners of America have been active, the national office of the Y.P.S.L. has maintained organizers during the past few months. The N.E.C. reaffirmed the position taken at its Buffalo meeting with reference to the Progressive Miners of America. It called upon all members of the League to assist in the gathering of funds and clothes for the miners, using the Midwest Striking Miners' Relief Fund established by the Springfield Local of the Socialist Party as its agency.

Tentative preparations were made for the calling of the next convention of the Y.P.S.L. The tentative date has been set as the middle of July.

MAURICE SCHULMAN DIES

Socialists will be grieved to hear of the death in the closing hours of 1932 of Maurice Schulman of Brooklyn, formerly one of the most active of the younger Socialists of that borough. Schulman had long been inactive because of his illness.

Maurice Schulman was a son of A. H. Schulman, one of the most active of the members of the Jewish movement and former vice-president of the Workmen's Circle.

Lecture Calendar

(All lectures begin at 8.30 p. m. unless otherwise indicated.)

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7
Paul Blanshard: "What Is the Matter with New York?" 7 East 15th St., Manhattan; Women's Committee.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8
Prof. Ray Clark Hannaway: "What I Saw in Russia," 11 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.; West Bronx Socialist Forum.

August Claessens: "What Socialism Is," 3 p. m., 2005 7th Ave., Manhattan; People's Educational Forum.

G. Salvemini versus C. Flumiani: "Is Fascism an Economic Success?" Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush Aves.; Brooklyn Forum.

Jacob Panken: "A New Deal for New York City," 48 Ave. C, Manhattan; 6th A. D. Branch.

August Claessens: "Nature and Nurture," 4046 Broadway (170th Street), Manhattan; Washington Heights Branch.

Samuel Lederman: "How a Rent Strike Was Won," 800 Fox St., Bronx; 3rd A. D. Branch.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9
Samuel A. DeWitt: "A Socialist World," 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn; 6th A. D. Branch.

Bela Low: "Socialism in Europe," 4046 Broadway (170th Street), Manhattan; Washington Heights Branch.

Henry J. Rosner: "Should the Socialist Party Participate in a Fusion for Proportional Representation?" 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn; 23rd A. D. Branch.

William Karlin: "Unemployment Insurance," 250 South 4th Street, Brooklyn; 4-14th A. D. Branch.

Frank Marcus: "Technocracy—Friend or Foe of Socialism?" 52 W. 8th St., Manhattan; Chelsea Branch.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10
William M. Feigenbaum: "Reform or Revolution," 218 Van Sicklen Ave., Brooklyn; 22nd A. D. Branch 3.

Herman Salzman: "Is Proletarian Art Possible or Desirable?" 844 Utica Ave., Brooklyn; 18th A. D. Branch 2.

August Claessens: "The Future of Socialism in the U. S.," Cafeteria, 433 W. 21st St., Manhattan; 3rd-5th A. D. Branch.

Julius Hochman: "Problems Facing the Labor Movement Today," 9 W. 170th St., Bronx; 2nd A. D. Branch.

Tucker P. Smith: "The Socialist Program for Peace," 100 W. 72nd St., Manhattan; Upper Westside Branch.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11
Henry J. Rosner: "If New York Were Socialist," at home of Friedman, 829 Stuyvesant Ave., near Macon St., Brooklyn; 5th A. D. Branch.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12
William Karlin: "The New Epoch," 1439 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn; 18th A. D. Branch 1.

Samuel A. DeWitt: "A Socialist World," 183-10 Northern Boulevard, Flushing, L. I.; Socialist Party Branch.

Speaker and topic to be announced: Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect Ave., Bronx; Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13
William E. Bohn: "Technocracy—Myth or Miracle?" 411 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn; Socialist Party Branch.

Matthew M. Levy and George Gove: "A Housing Program for New York City," symposium, Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome Aves.; Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

August Claessens: "Can Wealth Be Equitably Distributed?" 144 Second Ave., Manhattan, 8th A. D. Branch.

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The Ninth Annual Dinner of
THE NEW LEADER

will be held Friday evening,
February 10, 1933.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

Central Committee.—The next meeting will be held Saturday, Jan. 7, at 4, at 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Brooklyn and Queens Borough Councils.—Representatives of each of the Y.P.S.L. groups in these boroughs will hold separate meetings Saturday, Jan. 7, at 2:30, at East 15th St.

Circle 2 Sr., Kings.—"Is There Santa Claus?" will be the subject for a forensic display this Sunday, Jan. 8, at 5, at the Crownville Labor Lyceum. William Turgell will take up the subject for Santa and claims that he will prove his existence beyond the shadow of a doubt. Nathan Spatin, the old iconoclast who has holes in his stockings, claims that there ain't no Santa Claus. Let the future decide!

Circle 5 Sr., Kings.—Conrad Labelson will speak on "The Poetry of Revolt" Sunday, Jan. 8, at 4, at 1377—42nd St.

Circle 2 Sr., Manhattan.—Dancing all evening will feature the exposition at 4046 Broadway (170th St.) on Saturday, Jan. 14. Admission 12 cents.

Circle 6 Sr., Manhattan.—A. Kaufman will speak on "Socialism and War Resistance" Sunday, Jan. 8, at 8:30, at 1539 Madison Ave. (104th St.)

West Side.—The next meeting will be held Sunday, Jan. 8, at 8:30, at 100 W. 72nd St. Comrade Goldenpaul will speak.

Greenwich Village.—McAllister Coleman will speak on "What Makes a Revolutionary," Saturday, Jan. 7, at 8 p. m. sharp. A social will follow at the new headquarters, 52 W. 8th St., second floor, and 10 cents will be charged. The following evening, Sunday, a debate will be held on "Capitalism vs. Socialism." A gym period is being held every Saturday from 8 to 4:30 p. m. for young men only at Judson Gym, Thompson and W. 4th Sts. Bring shorts and sneakers for boxing and basketball—free.

Bronx School Committee.—A meeting of the newly elected delegates to the High School Committee will be held Sunday, Jan. 8, at 8:30 p. m., at 9 W. 170th St.

Bronx Junior Groups.—J. M. Diamond will speak on the "Socialist Movement in America" at the 6th A. D. group Friday, Jan. 6, at 4:30, at the home of Rosenblatt, 2440 Radcliff Ave. Another Junior group is meeting at 1575 Washington Ave., Apt. 4 (near Claremont Parkway), on Fridays at 8 p. m. Those between 14 and 17 years of age in these neighborhoods are invited.

Circle 3 Jr., Bronx, will hold a Youth Rally Friday, Jan. 13, at 8:30, at 904 Prospect Ave. Admission free.

Circle 4, Flushing.—The weekly meeting was held at S. P. headquarters, where Comrade Sam Friedman directed the group in the singing of rebel songs. The circle has very recently been organized and the meeting was very instructive.

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Hurok Brings Beauty From Four Distant Lauds

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE OLDEST ART
INTERNATIONAL DANCE FESTIVAL. S. Hurok presents Uday Shan-Kar, Mary Wigman, and Escudero. At the New Yorker.

The history of the dance has been a series of long windings, ever back to its ancient start. From its origin in fear and love it has moved to ritual and to orgy; whenever it has sought to pass beyond, it has grown ensnared in its own beginnings. Out of fear of natural forces, personified as gods, the dance came as magic to overpower, then religion to placate; formalized in ritual, it came merely to present the olden stories. The "modern" dance that seeks to evoke the spirit of the machine-age, or show the "angel of fate" removing gas-masks from soldiers, is doing just what the ancient Hindu did, as we behold, watching Shan-Kar kill the elephant-demon. The pleasant aspects of nature, the essence of spring joy, grew into dance with love; in most dancing, formalized, we can trace the history of sex. But always of the dance strives from music toward sculpture, to advance from emotion toward idea.

The art of Shan-Kar superbly illustrates the formal dance, wherein emotions have found patterns of beauty to constrain the passions into ordered flow. Shan-Kar is a revolutionist; by having a high-caste, Grahmin woman dance in public he is defying convention more than were President Hoover to marry a Negress; but in his dances he is reawakening an ancient art, rescuing the dance

Eileen Crowe



Who appears with the "Abbey Players" in their repertoire of plays at the Martin Beck Theatre.

from the brothel, restoring its traditional modes, bringing it close to the staid beauty of ritual. In every dance of Escudero, on the other hand, sex smiles or lurks or summons. The very click of the castanets is an invitation, a defiance, a command. Freer, though still formal, Escudero's dancing moves with the spontaneous joy of springtide playing, the varying banter of love. Out of Germany something much more serious is to be expected; and Mary Wigman is the leading exponent (after Isadora) of the dance of mood and idea. Shan-Kar uses 56 musical instruments, each for a set harmonious part; Escudero's rapid movement takes little more than the

emphasis of a tapped rhythm; Mary Wigman's work needs no music at all. The music is redundant, for the dance has taken over its function, the dance wakes the mood. Yet the negroes in Harlem who "dance their troubles away," and the ancient savages who tried to do the same thing, dancing a magic rite to bring rain or expel a demon, are at bottom close to Mary Wigman's "most modern" dancing. Our civilization is more complex, our moods more subtly analyzed; but the veneration of the Ganges, and the snake-charmer's pride, as Shan-Kar shows them, do for moods and moments of the mystic Orient precisely what the plastic movements of Mary Wigman seek to do for impulses and patterns of existence in the western world today. The diverse movements of the dance, in all lands and times, spring from the same two needs as motivate political and economic system, from the same two emotions, fear and love, and the same two needs: to live, and to let live; to continue one's existence as an individual, and through the race. The dance is the fluid pattern of these persistent, primal needs.

INTERNATIONAL THEATRE
TEATRO DEI PICCOLI. S. Hurok presents Vittorio Podrecca's Marionettes at the Lyric. At last New York knows what a marionette show can be! The Teatro dei Piccoli, fresh from triumphs everywhere else in the world, has come to be blazoned here. Aside from the singing and instrumental music which accompany a puppet show, its elements are three: the little wooden (but on occasion very life-like) players themselves; the story that puts them through their paces; and the art of their manipulation. In all three of these the Italian company

"20,000 Years in Sing Sing"
Due at Strand Mon.

"Silver Dollar" starring Edward G. Robinson will be replaced at the Strand Theatre next Monday evening, January 9th, by "20,000 Years in Sing Sing," the picturization by Warner Bros. of Warden Lewis E. Lawes' real account of life and drama in the state's big penal institution. Wilson Mizner and Brown Holmes wrote the screen play from Warden Lawes' novel and Courtney Terrett and Robert Lord adapted it to the screen.

excels. Most American marionettes are designed for children—though the comic-strip figures and the polysyllabic stories (words like "obsequious" and "profligate") of Tony Sarg ill fit the child: few more than the Levinn figures, and the work of The Yale Puppeteers, are for adult enjoyment. But these Piccoli transcend limitations of age, as of language; as Podrecca puts it, they are for children from 3 to 93.

The three balancing gentlemen of the Chinese ladder act, the little acrobat who swings far out into the theatre while twirling through his stunts, fall so little short of human that we almost convinced the Singing Boys from Vienna (who were excitedly watching) that these were really little men. The pianist whose performance closed the play had no more exact timing—his hands on the puppet-

"Men and Jobs" Remains a Second Week at Cameo

"Men and Jobs," the new Soviet sound comedy, remains for a second week at the RKO-Cameo Theatre.

"Men and Jobs" was directed by A. Macharet and tells the story of the building of the 5-Year Plan with the aid of American engineers. The American engineer speaks English and throughout the remainder of the dialogue complete English sub-titles are superimposed.

piano, and the hidden piano that really played—than the Yale puppets of their piano duet; but the rest of his body shows how mellowed in humor the Italian work has grown. These high lights bring even old lovers of marionettes to new enthusiasms; and the body of the program maintains the standard these set. The tropical revue, with its chorus and principal performers—including a svelte Josephine Baker—and a crooning cradle-song, is also hilarious in its evocation; helping to prove—to those who still require proof—that the marionette is a self-sustaining and effective creation in the showman's art.

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Greatest Revue Cast ever assembled
Harry RICHMAN-Bert LAHR
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ABBY THEATRE PLAYERS
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REPERTOIRE FOR WEEK OF JAN. 9th
TUES. EVE.—"THE WORKHOUSE WARD"
"THE PLAYBOY OF THE WESTERN WORLD" by J. M. Synge
TUES. EVE.—"THE FAR-OFF HILLS"
WED. EVE.—"THE SHADOW OF THE GLEN" by J. M. Synge
WED. EVE.—"THE WHITEHEADED BOY"
THURS. MAT.—"JUNO AND THE PAY-COCK" by Sean O'Casey
THURS. EVE.—"THE NEW GOSSOON"
FRI. EVE.—"THE BIG HOUSE"
SAT. MAT.—"THE FAR-OFF HILLS"
SAT. EVE.—"RIDERS TO THE SEA"
& "THE PLAYBOY OF THE WESTERN WORLD" by J. M. Synge
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LION FEUCHTWANGER Author of "POWER," "JOSEPHUS," etc. Says of MAURICE SCHWARTZ'S Stupendous Production

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THE NEW YORK ORCHESTRA, Inc.
NICHOLAI SOKOLOFF, Music Director and Conductor
Program:—Beethoven: "Eroica"; "Debussy": La Mer; Sibelius: Finlandia
Tickets — 50c - 75c - \$1.00 - \$1.50 - \$2.50
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Xtra Mat. Mon. Jan. 2nd

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WALTER, Conductor
Metropolitan Opera House
Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 8, at 3:00
WAGNER-STRAUSS PROGRAM
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Jan. 12, at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, Jan. 13, at 2:30
HAYDN—BRUCKNER
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Jan. 14, at 8:45
Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 15, at 2:30
Soloist: JOSEF HOFMANN
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Friday Eve., January 20
at 8:30
Josef
Hofmann
Piano Recital
Mgt. Copley. (Steinway Piano)

Money's Worth at Arthur Klein's Broad-way Laughs

GOOD VAUDEVILLE

The wave of lower prices is hitting the theatre; and the all-vaudeville program at Arthur Klein's Broadway Theatre, at \$1 top, is an excellent sample of what can be had for the new price. Teo Healy is high man of a merry crowd; his own happy stooges can crowd the stage with broad comedy; but a real brown bear and four white horses come to the assistance of the human performers. There is a long list of good workers: Joe Frisco; Ann Codee, the fatal Frenchie; Jack McLallen among the funny folks; 'Twelve Aristocrats'; the Mosconi Brothers; De Wolfe, Metcalfe and Ford, among the deft dancers. A good deal of the laughter, when it is not slapstick, is sheer—but pleasant—nonsense; it will be long before we forget the artist, painter of men and women—who paints MEN over one door, and WOMEN over the other! Vaudeville at its madmerriest.

J. T. S.

THE MATRON-MARTYR

"*LUCECE*." Translated by Thornton Wilder from the French of Andre Obey. At the Belasco. Katherine Cornell, who has given many good things to the theatre, has ventured an experiment in the present version of the old tale of the rape of Lucece. Told with present-day realism, the story of the faithful wife upon whom the wild Tarquin violently wreaks his imperious will, might prove—as Lamb feared for the story of "King Lear"—too close to our sympathies, too human, too poignantly at hand. To make such tales endurable, we must push them away, so that our impulse (as with the blind beggar) will be not to help but to contemplate. This remoteness Obey tries to secure, in the present version, by devices of the theatre, such as the two "narrators," whose role seems a cross between that of the Greek chorus and that of an inner voice, such as the pantomime that only at times breaks into dialogue, such as the Elizabethan effect of the costumes: "doublet from Italy, hose from France." Then, from the distance at which this artificiality sets the story, it is the likeness of the actress, by her spell, to bring it home to the hearts of the audience. The power of the playing of Katherine Cornell, sweetly magic, and the noble assistance of her companions, almost effect this triumph of the player's art. Two spectacles unconsidered, two essential bridges unbuilt, leave the piece remote. What a better rendering than the wordy, obvious ineptitudes of the Obey-Wilder

The Royal Family of Broadway in "Rasputin and the Empress"



Lionel, Ethel and John Barrymore as they appear in the new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film current at the Astor Theatre. This film was directed by Boleslavsky, formerly of the Moscow Art Theatre and author of "Way of a Lancer."

script might do, one can but guess. Had these men kept in mind, not merely the Shakespearean version of the rape, but that of Thomas Heywood, they might have availed themselves of an inestimable device: Heywood has the servant Valerius constantly singing at his tasks; in the early morning, just before the servants find their desolate mistress, he carols one of the most exquisite of our English songs:

Pack clouds away and welcome day,
With night we banish sorrow—

and adds beauty and dramatic irony to the force of the impending doom. Beyond the weakness of the present version, however, lies a remoteness inherent in the theme: our notions as to the importance of the central deed have changed. Few women would commit suicide, like Lucece, after a similarly ravished innocence: the Roman concept of the family, even the feudal (chivalric) concept of the wife as chattel-holder of the family honor, rings with a distant faintness in our ears—we just refuse to be thus much concerned. With a theme not universal, and a version inept, the performance is reduced to a tour de force; yet the experiment is decidedly interesting, and Katherine Cornell is always one of our stage's best.

J. T. S.

Alton Jones in Piano Recital

The committee on Music of the MacDowell Club will present Alton Jones in a piano recital at the Club House on Sunday afternoon, January 22, at 5.



The Critics Raved About It! MEN AND JOBS

Titles in English
"This film is to be regarded something decidedly important."
—Herald-Tribune

"An extraordinary arresting picture—livened by comedy."
—Post

RKO CAMEO 42nd St. & B'way
AND SOVIET NEWS REEL

"Afraid to Talk" in Brooklyn Premiere at the Fox — New Stage Revue Has Pop. Names

That singular phenomenon of government, the American political part, is taken apart, and dramatically scrutinized to form the interesting and timely theme of Universal's "Afraid to Talk," which opens at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today. And while to most of us politics are for the most part a mystery, "Afraid to Talk" shows how they can become a menace when public indifference permits it.

Sidney Fox enacts the featured feminine lead as the loyal wife of the bell boy who is crucified for political purposes, played by Eric Linden. Tully Marshall, as the district attorney, Louis Calhern, Mayo Methot, and Edward Arnold provide other highlights of the film.

"Hello 1933," Charles A. Niggemeyer's new revue, is the stage offering at the Fox Brooklyn. Those

"Goodbye Again" Chosen the Play-of-the-Month

John Krimsky, president of Play choice, announces that "Goodbye Again," the new comedy success at the Masque Theatre, has been selected as the January Play-of-the-Month. Arrangements were made with Arthur Beckhard, the producer, who last season brought fourth the still popular hit, "Another Language." Osgood Perkins and Sally Bates are featured in "Goodbye Again," the work of Allan Scott and George Haight.

featured on the bill include well known Broadway talent: Frank Radcliffe and Gene Rogers, Fred Reynolds and Allie White, Gus and Will, Dave Jones and Peggy with Marjorie Johnson and Emille Verdi, and the Sixteen Fox Dollies whose dances are created by Miss Dollie. Fox Movietone News and other short subjects round out the program.

Max Gordon Cuts Prices in Half for "Flying Colors"

Max Gordon announces a drastic reduction in the box office prices for "Flying Colors," the Howard Dietz revue, in which Clifton Webb, Charles Butterworth, Tamara Geva and Patsy Kelly are starred. The change in prices took effect last Monday.

The prices have been reduced by half. The orchestra seats for evening performances, which were formerly \$4, will be on sale at the box office at \$2. The matinees will be played at a top price of \$1.50, instead of the former charge of \$3. The price of balcony seats has been reduced proportionately.

The cast and production will be the same that has been on view at the Imperial Theatre since September 15.

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION!

M-G-M's Gigantic Spectacle of Rasputin's Debauchery and the Birth of a New Day!

RASPUTIN AND THE EMPRESS BARRYMORE

with JOHN, ETHEL, LIONEL
ASTOR Daily 2:50 - 8:50. Three times Sat. Sun. & Hols. Sat. Midnite Show. Good seats at 50c - 75c - \$1.00.

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"Cynara"

with KAY FRANCIS

RIVOLI BROADWAY at 49th St.

Doors open 9:30 A. M. except Sunday. 35c to 1 P. M. ex. Sun. and Holidays.

FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES! The celebrated picture that thousands paid \$2.00 to see!

NORMA SHEARER and CLARK GABLE

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Fresh from Her European Triumphs 3 Ritz Bros.

BENNY MELOFF & ORCHESTRA from Club Richman

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"20,000 YEARS IN SING SING"

by WARDEN LEWIS E. LAWES with Spencer Tracy — Bette Davis

MONDAY NITE, JAN. 9

STRAND

B'way & 47th Street
35c to 1 p. m. ex. Sun. Midnite Show

Jim Tully's True Chain Gang Story

"LAUGHTER IN HELL"

2nd Week!

The most thrilling and authentic Fugitive Story ever written...

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"SILVER DOLLAR"

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BROOKLYN STRAND

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Rainbows in 1933

(Continued from Page Three)

and buildings. Overproduction resulted. Diminished purchasing power was unable to support this structure; as a result the vicious cycle of the crisis has left half of the machinery silent and half of the buildings empty. Yet the mortgages, held by wealthy men and banks, remain and capitalists insist that interest and rents be paid even though it means the impoverishment of labor.

Is There a Rainbow?

What of the future? Is there a rainbow on the horizon to induce the underpaid worker, the inadequately cared-for unemployed, the bankrupt farmer to tighten their belts and extend their patience with capitalism? Frankly, no such rainbow has been seen, even by the most optimistic of the capitalist spokesmen. Although hopes have been expressed for a 1933 seasonal "spring recovery," it is not denied that the recovery may be over quickly, and that its effect upon employment will be unimportant.

One of the most significant indices—the opinion of bankers as to the future—may be found in the response to a recent offering of 1-year U.S. Treasury Notes. The \$250,000,000 issue was oversubscribed more than 16 times by the banks, \$4,000,000,000 being offered for a loan paying only 4% of one per cent.

The New York Times despatch commenting on this stated that "Treasury officials were surprised at the keenness of the bidding and the willingness of bankers to tie up funds for a year at the low interest of 4% of one per cent." There is but one possible inference. Banks do not expect during the next year any recovery sufficient to warrant their holding funds for the 6% that commercial borrowers would pay. Furthermore, the National City Bank review indicates that banks have all the bonds they want. Their state of mind is such that absolute safety is demanded for their tremendous surplus funds

and for this they are willing to accept 4% of one per cent interest during the coming year.

The magazine Business Week emphasizes a pessimistic outlook for the future when it states that "the spiralling process of deflation has recently been resumed, clouding the prospects for improvement for next year." Col. Ayres, the Cleveland banker, believes that "1933 will probably prove to be another year of depression. . . . Developments since election," he continues gloomily, "have been disquieting rather than reassuring. It seems probable that wage rates will be lower at the end of 1933 than at the end of 1932."

The Outlook

The best that Francis Sisson of the Guaranty Trust Company can see is "steady if slow progress toward a normal state of mind on the part of the business community." The Standard Statistics Company finds that "expectations of near term business recovery which appeared good two months ago are distinctly less bright at present. Activity is experiencing more than the usual seasonal recession."

But suppose one wished to be even more optimistic than business prophets and assume that we are scraping bottom and that this winter will see the start of permanent recovery. Even on that basis normal business is years away. In all previous depressions the climb upward has taken fully as long as the time necessary to touch bottom. The most optimistic prediction, therefore, which is not even ventured by capitalists, is that some time in 1937 we might be back to normalcy.

Meanwhile the cruel battle of capitalist against wage earner continues. There is no evidence, that capitalism is not definitely on the downgrade; and that cruel suffering and misery will not be the lot of the working class, under capitalism, for years to come.

Technocracy Knocked

(Continued from Page Four)

"price system" which is the chief target of their attack. This, of course, links them up to the many varieties of currency cranks let loose by the depression who think that the healthy heat of the capitalist room can be regained by monkeying with the thermometer.

Maybe one of the uses of Technocracy to the Socialists will be to make them think out anew their attitude toward price. Price is certainly not an evil in itself. Until every desirable good is produced in such quantity that it is free as the air, and the slogan "to each according to his need" can be fully applied, prices and a price system will be maintained even under a Socialist regime.

A Price System

The worker will receive some form of payment in return for his services, and with this in his pocket he will be able to decide whether he will buy, say, an automobile or better furniture; whether he will go to the theatre or buy a book. The time may come when such differentiation and direction of desire will be unnecessary, but the fact that prices will be set and money still used indicates that these things are not the root of capitalist exploitation. That rests upon the exploitation of labor power and the appropriation by the capitalists of surplus value. Profit is a section of that surplus value and not a "debt claim," as Mr. Scott calls it.

Mr. Scott sees the falling rate of profit as foretold by Marx and he notices the increasing volume of credit instruments. But he

thinks all difficulties would be removed if, instead of money, energy were used to measure things.

If his economics is superficial, his understanding of politics seems more so. By some legerdemain the accursed price system will be made to disappear and wise Technocrats will exercise enlightened sway. In the economic plans of Beard and Chase the agency of their realization was also left up in the air.

Who Will Ride?

Who should be the rider, holding the reins of those billions of horsepower? The Technocrats have no clear answer to that, although they suggest that the technicians will take control. There is a great danger that Technocracy will become but another blessed word with no need to do anything about it but talk.

In the British House of Commons recently the veteran Socialist R. C. Wallhead quoted the figures of Chase and others to support a bill for the legal limitation of the working day to six hours. There are no Labor Party members in Congress to voice a similar demand. American experts seem to know so much and do so little.

Many years ago when Marx noted the tendency now publicized by the Technocrats he saw that the contradictions of capitalism could be cut through only by a militant working class in which the technicians, having lost their old-time timidity and snobbery, would find an honored place.

Instead of being high-hat toward the working-class movement and instead of trying to dodge capi-

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Every week Norman Thomas writes in his pungent style his own comments upon the salient events of the moment.

The Allotment Plan

THE best thing that one can say about this Allotment Plan for the benefit of growers of wheat, cotton, tobacco and hogs is that even the authors of the bill are a little afraid of it and have limited its life to one year unless it is extended for some one of the four agricultural products by presidential proclamation. The worst that can be said of the bill is that once a subsidy like this is granted history proves that it is almost impossible to repeal it.

The bill is to be justified, if at all, only by the desperate plight of agriculture and the fact that through tariffs, mail subsidies, and the like, many industries have been subsidized in the past at great cost to the farmers. It should be noted, however, that this bill by no means helps all farmers. It is at least as bad for dairy farmers as for the dwellers in the city. The bill seeks to add enough to the price received by farmers for wheat, cotton, tobacco and hogs to bring it up to the general price level that existed prior to the World War. The tax collected from the processors and by them, of course, passed on to the consumer will only be paid to those farmers who this year agree to a 20% reduction in the amount of their product.

Why 20% is the amount fixed up does not appear from the newspaper summary of the bill. No fundamental evil in the agricultural situation is touched. As the authors of the bill themselves seem to admit, efficient and inefficient farmers alike without any special reference to changing conditions of production are to be guaranteed a subsidy. Since it will be easier for the big wheat, cotton or tobacco farmer to cut his planting by 20% than the little it will favor the big rather than the small farmer.

Some standard has to be fixed and 1913's price may be as good as any. It is not, however, truly scientific. A whole army of enforcers will have to be employed to prevent wholesale bootlegging of wheat, cotton, and tobacco. As an experiment in a desperate emergency something can be said for the bill. It is all too likely, however, that if it passes one of the great political battles of the future will be between country and city in an effort to get off an excessive tax on food.

At any rate, if the unemployed were properly organized they would insist with an imperative demand that the price of their approval of this tax on food be a plan for maintenance wages and a great scheme of public works, both of which are even more justified on every count than is this dole to agriculture. Meanwhile I should like to see a lot of Socialist discussion of this emergency measure for agriculture which looks to me more and more dubious the more I think of it.

Slavery in the Mississippi Valley

AS far back as March 1913 the American Federationist published a report on Mississippi River Slavery. The report contained this striking sentence: "Labor in its most trying days was mild compared with the reign of terror inflicted upon these simple river folk." The simple river folks in question are colored workers who are employed by contractors on building the flood control levees in the lower valley of the Mississippi. All these contractors are employed by the government and work under the direction of the War Department. Heretofore the War Department has successfully blocked any effective investigation of conditions in the work camps.

Senator Wagner has introduced a bill calling for a Senatorial investigation. Nothing less will turn the light on horrible conditions and make possible their remedy. A great many powerful interests, including race prejudice and the general low estate of the Negroes in the South, tend to block this resolution. Friends of justice must demand its passage.

talist opposition by confining their attack to the "price system," the Technocrats would be well advised to come down to earth and help build up an enlightened working-class movement in order to realize the real prosperity which technical development now makes possible. Those technicians outraged by the colossal wastes of capitalist society



Norman Thomas

He Was a Fugitive

IT is somewhat to the credit of the United States that to an almost universal chorus of approval Governor Moore of New Jersey refused to return Mr. Burns, hero of two escapes from a Georgia chain-gang which have been celebrated in a book and in a famous picture, to the horrors of the chain-gang camps of Georgia. The other day I heard Mr. Burns admit quite candidly in conversation that one reason for preserving the life of the chain gang was that 80% of the convicts were Negroes and that sentiment in Georgia supported that treatment of Negroes. Mr. Burns seemed to think that something might be done for white prisoners but very little for Negroes. What a commentary that is on race prejudice!

Self-Help Programs

BECAUSE so-called self-help projects for the unemployed need to be examined carefully lest they prove to be schemes for diverting energy from more fundamental cures and plans for stabilizing the capitalist system, it by no means follows that all self-help plans are bad. Indeed, when the unemployed themselves, as in Seattle, set up a simple system of labor exchange, when one group goes out to chop wood, another to dig potatoes, another to pick strawberries and then they exchange at their own commissaries the products of their toil, that is decidedly to the good. It cultivates the spirit of co-operation. It is an example of working class solidarity in action, and by no means does it prevent the unemployed workers from demanding more adequate relief from governmental agencies.

The particular governmental agency, it must not be forgotten, to which we must now look is the federal government. We are coming pretty near to the end of the power of cities, counties, or even states to expand that program on any practicable basis. Some states like New York are more fortunate in their economic situation and in their laws. They could and should do more than they are doing, but in the end it must be the federal government which should come to our relief. It alone can control currency and equitably impose over the whole country uniform income and inheritance taxes.

A New Spirit in the Party

ONE of the encouraging things to be observed in the Socialist Party is the zeal with which comrades in many parts of the country are taking up the question of making local meeting of party branches more interesting. Our great problem, I am tempted to think, is not winning Socialists but keeping them as active members. Not everybody is interested in the routine business of a branch meeting. That ought to be crowded into definite limits of time. As much as possible of it should be referred to committees. There should be variety in meetings and, above all, there should be a variety of activity. Our real task is to find out whether a great social ideal in a period of revolutionary change can make Socialists do the sort of organization work which Tammany Hall and other political machine workers for the sake of the loaves and fishes which they get out of it.

Wars Everywhere

WAR in South America; more serious war in Asia. Unemployment and a near approach to economic paralysis everywhere. There's not much to make this a happy New Year. The only thing I can notice to applaud is the fact that at last the marines are being taken out of Nicaragua. How long will they be kept out? Certainly nothing substantial has been accomplished.

General Smedley Butler in a debate with me the other night admitted that to keep the marines in Nicaragua these years had cost more than twice the value of all the debts claimed by American interests in Nicaragua. Carleton Beals and others have conclusively demonstrated that we have, if anything, set backward and not forward the social progress of Nicaragua. What has been done in Nicaragua; that is to say, what has been *now* in taking the marines out of Nicaragua, should be done in Haiti and done speedily.

But I began to talk about a happy New Year and the point I really wanted to make was that if there is to be happiness this year it will be because by a great, determined intelligent effort, workers with hand and brain, employed and unemployed, unite in effective organization to bring about such control of physical energy and machinery and social institutions that we can achieve that abundance and that peace which we have a right to expect.

will have lunch together and then go out to secure pictures in various sections of the city. Special assignments will be given to groups of two or three. All interested are cordially invited to come down with their cameras. For further information concerning the group get in touch with Lee Stein in the Rand School Office.

CAMERA GROUP

There will be a meeting of the Camera Group of Rebel Arts at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., Sat., Jan. 7, at 1:30. The group