

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Price Five Cents

Shadows of Crisis Deeper as Workers Fight for Relief

WORKING people fighting for enough food to keep alive; industries, labor and natural resources that have heaped up vast surpluses of food and other necessities. That is the hideous contradiction in the United States today. Look at it as one may, there is no intelligent reason for it. We have piled foodstuffs mountain high; we can produce enough shoes to supply ourselves and a population twice as large, and our building resources enable us to assure modern and comfortable dwellings to every family throughout the country.

Yet, there is plenty of food and much starvation; plenty of shoes while we patch old ones; plenty of building resources and plenty of homeless families; plenty of science, skill, resources, machinery and labor, and yet millions of workers are reduced to pauperism.

No inmate of a madhouse could in his ravings conceive of anything more absurd than this. Having passed through one such experience we should guard against its return, but this is not the first time we have been plunged into this hell. It has been repeated a number of times since 1837.

There were other crises before that year in some capitalist nations, but the one in 1837 hit the two leading nations—Great Britain and the United States—and only partly affected a few other countries. The crash of 1857 was as severe but it also spread to Prussia, Austria, Belgium and Italy in varying degree.

Capitalistic industry with machine production was developing in these nations and as the new form of production appeared in each nation that nation was disturbed by depressions in other countries.

This spread of the depression disease throughout the world was also evident in the dark years beginning with the collapse of 1893. Capitalistic production of commodities for sale and profit and dependence of workers upon the owners of industry are the leading features of capitalism. Wherever this system appears it brings periodical crises and human misery to the wealth producers.

The first annual report by Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, was issued in 1886. It was devoted to industrial depressions and their spread to nations that were entering the capitalist cycle of production. Wright pointed out that no matter what

the form of government or taxation might be; whether tariff or free trade prevailed; no matter what money system a nation had or what its fiscal policy might be, it was effected by depressions to the extent that the machine and factory system had developed.

Two committees of Congress had spent many months investigating the disease. Volumes of testimony were recorded. More than a hundred reasons were given as causes of these crises, ranging from the need of prohibition to lack of confidence by bankers and capitalists but workers offered the only suggestions that probed the depths of the horrible malady. These suggestions included the following:

Building powerful labor organizations in industry; increasing wages and, hence, purchasing power; shortening of the hours of labor and making room for more workers; abolition of the wage system and substituting cooperative production in its place!

That is to say, nearly fifty years ago the only intelligent proposals made to deal with industrial panics were offered by representatives of trade unions.

A half-century later finds us plunged into the most devastating industrial depression in all history. The capitalistic system of production has spread to many nations since the col-

lapse of 1873. The depression affects not only the nations in North America and Europe having the machine and factory system, but also those parts of Africa, Asia and South America that have some installments of the system.

In fact, the blight has come to many nations that have hardly entered the cycle of modern capitalism. The reason for this is that they supply raw materials and foodstuffs for capitalistic countries, and when the latter are prostrate the little nations feel the effects. The expansion of imperialist mastery to the lesser nations and their exploitation by banks and corporations of the powerful capitalist nations also bring them within the orbit of world capitalism. The backwash of the world depression brings the curse of unemployment and stagnation to them.

So the dark shadows of industrial decline with its misery for hundreds of millions of toilers have settled over the whole world. Shady finance, blocking international trade by tariff wars, speculation, gambling on the stock exchanges, war debts and reparations have contributed to making a bad situation worse. Occasionally they have been the beginning of a depression but underneath all these factors is another one that is basic.

The margin between productive power and the purchasing power of the working masses has become wider with the substitution of machines for man power. The masses can consume what they produce but they cannot buy all that is produced. The owners of finance and capital cannot consume it and they cannot sell it. Having reached this stage the industries are closed and the masses are locked out.

So we are plunged into an abyss of despair because the capitalistic system of production becomes more and more unworkable. To fight our way out is a duty we owe to our families and to the workers in general. That duty becomes more imperative every day and for that reason we raise the banner of "Fight for Work and Relief." Fight for unemployment insurance and the 30-hour week!

This week William L. Marcy, who heads the Joint Legislative Committee on Unemployment, declares that unemployment insurance is doomed for this legislative session. We must wait for the depression to pass, he adds.

We have waited nearly four years. We shall wait no longer. Marcy admits that he gets his cue from the employing class. For nearly four years politicians like Marcy in the cities, the states and the nation have postponed and postponed. In the meantime workers' homes and families have been broken, babies have faded for lack of milk, and the jobless workers are treated as though they were paupers.

The statement by Marcy should sting the masses into a solidarity of action and this solidarity must run through all the states.

"Fight for Work and Relief!"



NEW LEADER

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

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A Modern David

PLACE an individual in a tower of isolation outside any responsible section of the working class movement and you are likely to get a daring gentleman who is so "revolutionary" that he throws a red shadow. He "eats 'em alive." Looking down from his tower of isolation, he will chart plans for a revolution. He will not organize it himself, but he will sneer at others who will not organize it.

These observations are prompted by one D. W. David who writes in the current number of "Our America." We never heard of this bird before, but here is a gem from his ponderous article:

"To the extent to which the Socialist Party is, organizationally, not preparing its members and the working class as a whole for the eventuality of an armed struggle with the forces of reaction, the party is tactically accepting and building upon the belief that eventually the lion will lie with the lamb."

The premise and the conclusion are identical with the old force-anarchism of the seventies, now extinct. Over and over again it has appeared but the present instance provides one important difference. Others in the past who thus argued also had the courage to act in accord with this reasoning. David remains in his tower, urging a course for others that he declines to follow himself. He is not organizing for an "armed struggle." Nor will he so organize.

Writing of the Cologne trial of a secret revolutionary society in 1852, Marx revealed the police spies connected with it. Of some of the fools and dupes of that period Marx wrote: "The Paris plot . . . was under the direction of a few ambitious imbeciles and political chevaliers d'industrie in London, and of a formerly convicted forger, then acting as police spy in Paris; their dupes made up, by rabid declamations and blood-thirsty rantings, for the utter insignificance of their political existence." That is to say, there were some Davids active in that period.

We invite David to come down out of his tower and proceed to organize for the "armed struggle." We will guarantee him a fine collection of stool-pigeons and police spies as charter members and they will be even more earnest for the "armed struggle" than he, so earnest that he will index them as the stalwarts who will never fail him. We would advise him, however, not to read history.

For example, should he come across the "North-west Conspiracy" during the Civil War, a movement in the North for "armed struggle" to give some states in the Mississippi Valley to the South, he will find that the loudest "strugglers" were in the pay of the state governments. He will find that an Indiana governor even had one of his secret agents arbitrarily thrown into jail to restore him to the confidence of dupes who had suspected the agent. He might read of the armed organizations of workers in Chicago in the early eighties or of the groups that went underground in 1919 and distributed circulars calling for "armed struggle" in many cities.

Perhaps this modern David, seeking to slay the Goliath capitalism by "armed struggle," has in mind open organization. We invite him to undertake it. As for ourselves, we do not believe that to be a revolutionary, it is necessary to be a fool. Finally, we advise David to remain in his tower. There by "blood-thirsty rantings" he can make up for his "utter insignificance" in this period where the fool and the agent-provocateur may arrange a partnership in stupid action.

The World We Live In

A Socialist View of the Week

HISTORY

By William Allen Ward

HISTORY, the spokesman of time, does not use pronouns. . . .

There is no "I" on his typewriter . . . so, when true history is written, there will be no ghost writers or "I stories." . . .

Eugene Debs is dead but history will remember him . . . even though, a Fall, a Denby or a Harding might be shoved out of a chapter to give room for him.

History has a habit of giving room in his pages to those who were lashed to death by the whip of bigotry in the hands of that beast, Intolerance.

History will remember Debs!

our ruling classes in a war. The survivors will return home to face another economic crisis and a jobless existence. Their children will be uprooted and go through the military barracks and so on without end. Capitalism becomes more and more disgusting in its senile old age.

Dairy Farmers in Protest Movement

A YEAR ago the dairy farmers were on the march against low prices of milk in the Middle West. This crusade has again flared up and it now extends from Wisconsin to Vermont. Everywhere these farmers complain that they receive less than the cost of production for their products, especially milk. In Wisconsin the farmers are on strike, pickets have dumped truckloads of milk on the highways, and half the creameries and cheese factories in one county have closed. This strike is expected to extend to upper Michigan, in western New York a strike is threatened against the Dairymen's League, and a state-wide movement may follow.

A year ago conditions became so bad in New England that five state governors appointed an advisory board which formed a corporation and contracted with eighteen cooperatives and twelve private groups to stabilize prices. Control of 95 per cent of the supply was necessary to effect this but no more than 88 per cent was controlled as two important groups remained outside. The contracts have expired and unless the dissenting groups come in the plan is likely to lapse.

In Milwaukee the Socialists are working with the representatives of a co-operative milk pool for the development of a farmer-union distribution agency for milk in the city. Meetings are being held and this farmer-union merger may prove to be an interesting experiment worth watching.

Eighteenth Amendment Goes to the States

LAST week the U. S. Senate by a vote of 63 to 23 voted to submit repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to state conventions and on Monday of this week the House by a vote of 289 to 121 took the same action. Copies of the resolution have been rushed to the states and indications are that many states will speedily call state conventions. If ratified the Twenty-first Amendment will repeal the eighteenth amendment but it will also prohibit the "transportation or importation into any state, territory or possession" any intoxicating liquors "in violation of the laws thereof." Action must be by state conventions, not by legislatures as in the case of the "lame duck" amendment.

An analysis of the House vote shows that the repeal trend represents a population of 105,000,000 and the opposition 13,974,000. The more industrial and more populated states are ranged for repeal and it is likely that action will be taken by most of the states before

the end of the year. The Eighteenth Amendment has been basic law for thirteen years but not till the depression years did reverse sentiment rapidly develop. Should the amendment carry we should not expect it to bring any marked economic relief. The economic crisis is much more fundamental than the issue as to whether we shall drink openly or underground.

The League Challenges Japan in Manchuria

WE confess surprise that the League of Nations finally voted to censure Japan for her robber raid in Manchuria. Negotiations had been under way for months and it appeared that some formula might be worked out by which the League would try to save its face and let Japan retain the Manchuria plum. The League, however, declares that Japan has set up a puppet state and that "sovereignty over Manchuria belongs to China." The League members, through the committee, declare "they will continue not to recognize this regime (Manchuria) either de jure or de facto" and hope that non-members of the League will act in concert with them.

This clear and concise action is remarkable and we note that on the day it was announced in this country, last Saturday, news came that Japan had issued an ultimatum to the Chinese to evacuate Jehol and this week Japan is attacking. It is reported that the Japanese cabinet is divided as to whether Japan shall withdraw from the League. In any event ere this is read by our readers there may be more important developments in this conflict between the League and one of its wild members who fifteen years ago helped to "make the world safe for democracy."

Class Forces in The German Reich

FROM week to week the class struggle in Germany develops to some decisive issue. The Socialist daily, *Vorwaerts*, obtained a court decision against its suspension, it printed another Socialist manifesto and was again suspended. A dozen Catholic organs came under the ban and this will tend to foster solidarity of the Catholic trade unions with the Socialist unions. Last Sunday in Berlin a Socialist Kulturbund meeting was displaced by Hitler's brown shirts and a message from Thomas Mann, Nobel prize winner, that was to have been read was read at a Free Speech Congress. This was suppressed when Wolfgang Heine said that brutality was officially lauded although "the Swastika Cross was found hundreds of years ago in a Jew's grave." In his message Mann placed himself "beside the manual worker in upholding the Social Democracy."

Under the slogan, "Rather Dead than a Slave," the Reichsbanner held a three day convention with about 80,000 persons present. The president told the vast crowd that the "Leftists will soon take Germany's fate in their own hands." It was a fighting speech that was cheered to the echo. On Monday the Prussian police were ordered to shoot Communists and curb "organizations inimical to the State." The same document ordered the police to avoid "an antagonistic attitude" toward the Nazi storm troops and the Stahlhelm.

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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Marcy Committee Kicks Jobless in the Face

LIKE a bolt of lightning the report of the Marcy committee opposing unemployment insurance legislation at Albany this year has stirred its advocates to the depths. Socialists are not alone in protest against this amazing and brutal statement. Marcy frankly declared that this view was based upon "the reports that have come to us from employers in the last two months." In other words, his report registers the will of the capitalist class.

The Women's Trade Union League, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the New York Conference for Unemployment Insurance Legislation, and the president of the State Federation of Labor also express their protest against this attitude.

The original dispatch in the New York Times mentioned a John E. McGarry of Syracuse as a "labor leader" who also approved the Marcy decision. We do not know the gentleman but if he is connected with any union he should volunteer to serve in the breadlines to the end of the depression. The "labor leader" who would sentence millions of his class to the dread uncertainty of the damnable charity that prevails should go into the abyss himself.

This decision of the Marcy Committee should arouse the masses throughout the state and a vast and determined pressure should be brought to the legislature to force unemployment insurance to a victorious conclusion.

Workers at Age of Forty a "Problem"

MEN and women past 40 present a "real industrial problem" according to a special committee of the State Commission on Old Age Security in a report released at Albany. It declares that state and private industry must make more extensive and effective provisions for their economic security. The report is based upon a two year study of 2,500 manufacturing plants.

So men and women in industry have become a "problem" like the horse that has been displaced by the automobile! It is a striking indictment of modern capitalism that even before the crash in 1929 it was making outcasts of many workers of this age. The machine and scientific management had been overstocking the labor market to such an extent that the exploiters of labor could discharge old material and select from human material under the age of 40.

What became of the surplus horses we do not know. Many probably were transformed into canned meat but we cannot eat a printer or a molder so he is turned out and told to shift for himself. The capitalist system has transformed these human wastrels into unmarketable by-products of modern industry and even if "prosperity" returns they will still be a "problem." Socialism alone will solve the "problem" by providing useful employment for all.

Meals for Youth, Youth for Cannon

OF the estimated 200,000 homeless boys roaming the United States three meals a day will be provided 88,000 of them by the War Department, if a bill before Congress is enacted. Bunks and blankets will also be provided. Volunteers may enlist for a year, uniforms will be provided, and they will be put through a course of military drill each day.

As a by-product of the depression this is interesting. If the boys are to be provided meals they are also to be fitted as food for cannon. A nice little war to serve our ruling bankers and capitalists will find these uprooted boys very handy cannon fodder. The proposal is a disguised form of universal military training applying to a group of unfortunate youths cast up by the paralysis of capitalism.

Assume that these boys spend some years in the barracks and then serve

Workers Rally for Real Jobless Insurance

Marcy Committee Would Ditch All Bills Until Times Get Better, if Ever—Employers Would Victimize Jobless if Bills Are Passed.

NOW is the time to enact compulsory, non-contributory unemployment insurance!

That is the determination of the Socialists, the toiling masses and the unemployed, in the face of news from Albany that all unemployment insurance legislation is likely to be dropped—or "postponed"—in this year's legislative session. The Joint Legislative Committee on Unemployment, headed by Assemblyman William L. Marcy, Jr., of Buffalo, announces that after a two-year study of the subject they believe such insurance will add to unemployment, as thousands of part-time workers would be thrown out of jobs. The report is termed "shocking" by the Socialist Party.

Assemblyman Marcy says the time to enact legislation protecting the unemployed is when unemployment lifts.

In rallying the workers to support the enactment of unemployment insurance, the Socialist Party in a statement pointed out that if legislation proposed by the Party years ago had been enacted then there would now be a State Fund of \$1,000,000,000, as compared to the \$150,000,000 that has been spent on relief.

Workers Rally

The Marcy report has served to rally the Socialist Party workers who sponsored the Labor and Socialist Conference for Unemployment Insurance and the Shorter Work Week to greater efforts, and to stimulate them to a terrific battle at Albany when hearings are held by various legislative committees.

The statement of the Socialist Party, signed by Morris Hillquit,

Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, follows:

"The recommendation of the Marcy Legislative Committee on Unemployment that unemployment insurance legislation be deferred comes as a shocking blow to Socialists organized labor and particularly the hundreds of thousands of unemployed. The reason assigned for deferring action is not a sound ground for refusing to enact an unemployment insurance law in 1933. Rather it is a criticism of the bills recommended by the Marcy Committee which are bad and furnish a financial incentive to employers for dismissing part-time workers.

Bills Alike

"Both the Mastick and Byrne Insurance Bills before the Legislature are alike in that each employer is required to pay into a fund a fixed percentage of his payroll until a maximum reserve of

of which all benefits will be paid, there is nothing gained by laying off part-time workers. His total cost will be permanently fixed by his total payroll, not by the number of employees.

Employers Dictate

"Mr. Marcy and his colleagues know this. The plain fact is that the employers of the state have declared in unmistakable language that they don't want to be saddled with the burden of any type of unemployment insurance. A legislature, subservient to business and not responsive to the needs of the workers, has seized upon the spurious excuse that more unemployment will be created under unemployment insurance.

"Now is the time to enact compulsory unemployment insurance \$50 in one case and \$25 in the other at the end of two years has been set up for each worker on his payroll. Then, contributions are scaled down. Obviously reducing the number of part-time workers and shifting their duties to full time employees will cut down the num-

ber of individual reserves to be set up. The initial payments will be the same but the maximum reserve will be reached much sooner. Consequently the employer will save money by laying off part-time workers. The Marcy Committee, in short, recommends a system of unemployment insurance which will furnish financial incentive for firing part-time employees. Then it uses this state of affairs

THE MARX FESTIVAL

THE Socialist Parties in all countries are making preparations for great commemorative ceremonies on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, which falls on March 14.

The ceremony organized by the German Social Democrats will be on a particularly magnificent scale. It will be linked up with the Party Conference in Frankfurt-on-the-Main from March 12 to 18. The demonstration will begin March 12 with a monster procession through the streets of Frankfurt. The opening session of the Conference itself will then take place in the Festival Hall, which holds 20,000 people.

As a prelude to the opening speeches the Workers' Choir will sing a "Cantata to Freedom" specially written and composed for this festival. Then will follow speeches by representatives of the Executive of the German Social Democratic Party, of the Labor and Socialist International and of the Parties in other countries. These speeches will be transmitted by loud speakers from the Festival Hall to two other great halls accommodating together another 20,000 people.

It is proposed to arrange for the running of a number of extra trains from all over Western Germany for those taking part in the demonstration on the opening day.

The discussions of the Party Conference proper will be opened by an address by Rudolf Hilferding on "Marx and the Present Day."

Efforts of Workers' Organizations and Socialists for Jobless Insurance Are Redoubled.

which it creates as an argument for rejecting the principle of unemployment insurance now.

"We urge instead a system of unemployment insurance which does not encourage this policy. If an employer is compelled to pay 3% of his total payroll into a pooled state fund indefinitely out legislation. Long before the depression, Socialists urged that the state compel industry to pay 3% of its payroll into a state fund and that the state match this contribution by taxes upon the wealthy.

"If our recommendation had been enacted into law in 1925, a fund of \$1,000,000,000 to meet the crisis would have been built up. Compare this with the \$150,000,000 that has been spent on relief in the state since the depression began. Hundreds of thousands of people in distress would not have been buffeted back and forth unable to receive help because of inadequate funds. An enormous volume of misery which defies human computation might have been averted. Our advice was ignored.

Don't Wait!

"If we wait until conditions improve, the same argument will be advanced. The next depression, assuming that this is not the last before the final collapse of capitalism, will again find us unprepared. There is public sentiment and imperative need for this legislation now. It will be silenced during better times. The Socialist Party will use all of its resources to get the principle of unemployment insurance written into the law of the state without any delay and calls upon all progressive elements to support it in this fight."

Get your petitions for Unemployment Insurance. Write at once to Room 607, 7 East 15th Street.

Help the German Comrades

A COMMITTEE of the German branch of the Socialist Party in Yorkville has issued an appeal to American Socialists and trade unionists to throw their support back of the German Socialists in their life-and-death struggle with Facism. The German Socialists, through a committee consisting of Kurt Kupzog, P. H. Schmitt, H. Wolter and Joseph Mueller, are seeking funds to send to their comrades in Germany as sinews of war in what the madman Hitler hopes and arrogantly proclaims will be the last election in Germany.

At the same time the German Socialist branches, Local New York and the *Neue Volkszeitung* are cooperating in a mass meeting to be held Sunday, Feb. 26, at 2 p. m., at Town Hall, to arouse public sentiment against Hitlerism.

The appeal to the American people follows:

A call for financial aid, by the German Comrades of America—for the campaign fund of our German Comrades!

Greetings:

Our Comrades in Germany are in the midst of an election campaign, a life and death struggle of the Proletarian movement against the Fascists.

The Party organization, as well as the trades organizations, have fought a strenuous battle to prevent that which has taken place in Germany today. Because of internal strife in the political movement it has been possible for an Adolf Hitler, under the false flag of "National Socialism" to reach the peak of his ambitions and to become Chancellor of Germany.

For the sixth time in one year an election has to take place. On March 5, 1933, our Comrades will go to the polls, when it will be decided who will guide the welfare of the German people.

Although we are of the opinion that the next battle for Democracy and the Republic may not be fought in Parliament, the Proletarian vote must be larger than ever before in Germany's history.

We well know the amount of money it takes to win one election, let alone six of them.

On account of the five previous

elections in this year, the treasury of our German Party organization is depleted.

Their battle is our battle, their defeat is our defeat, their victory is our victory!

The *Neue Volkszeitung* has offered its services to accept all donations for the S. P. D. fund.

Please send all money to the *Neue Volkszeitung*, 227 East 84th St., New York City; P. O. Box 50, Sta. D, New York, N. Y.

With fraternal greetings,
Kurt Krupzog, Organizer
Ph. H. Schmitt, Sec'y
H. Wolter, Fin. Sec'y
Jos. Mueller, Treas.
German Br. Yorkville, S. P.

Free at Last!



Federated Pictures

Sitting disconsolate, hungry, jobless and hopeless this Negro worker was snapped in front of the bronze reproduction of the Declaration of Independence on the flagpole in Union Square, a few yards from the monument of Abraham Lincoln who issued the emancipation proclamation, and across the way from Tammany Hall.

Hitler Protest Meeting

SOCIALISTS and other lovers of liberty will unite in a stirring protest Sunday afternoon against the strangling of liberty in Germany involved in the rule of that country by Adolf Hitler and his reactionary allies.

Speakers representing American, German, Jewish and Italian Socialists will speak, explaining the danger to Germany, to democracy and to the peace of the world involved in the rule of the megalomaniacal anti-Semite.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, intimate of the leaders of German Social Democracy and for half a century student of the movement there, will head the list of speakers. Jacob Panken, a frequent visitor

to Germany and likewise a close associate of the German Socialist leaders, and Algernon Lee, one of the best informed on foreign affairs of all American Socialists, will likewise add their voices.

Bruno Wagner, trade unionist and President of the Friends of the German Republic, will speak as a German Socialist who has kept up his membership in the German party despite more than a quarter of a century of residence here, and Vincenzo Vacire, Socialist member of the Italian Parliament (in exile) will tell the audience what Facism in action under a ruthless dictator means.

The meeting is to be held at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, at 2 p. m. on Sunday.

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By Olga Rubinow

A Village of the Unemployed

HEREWITH is presented the story of a workless village by a young American student in Vienna. It is significant in that it shows the steady deterioration that occurs when industry slows up and dies, when ambition dies, when hope dies. What is true of Marienthal is likewise true of a thousand Marienthals in other countries—what will be true of more Marienthals of all sizes and nations if this depression, the full flower of Capitalism, continues.

MARIENTHAL, a half hour's ride by train from Vienna, is a village with a population of about 1,500, whose past industrial life centered about a large textile factory founded in 1830. In July, 1929, the spinning mill was closed down; in August the printing establishment; in September the bleaching establishment. Finally, in February, 1930, the weaving establishment was closed, and several days later the working population was entirely liquidated. At the time the investigation was made Marienthal had been unemployed for almost two years.

Of the 367 unemployed families nine were found to be fully disrupted or not entitled to state support, and 358 families were receiving an insurance benefit amounting on an average to one schilling forty groschen a day, or 17½c.

In order to enter the life of the inhabitants without creating hostility a large supply of clothing was collected in Vienna and distributed among the Marienthal families. With the same purpose in view, sewing circles were formed among the women, political meetings were called among the men, diaries and biographies were collected, and compositions of school children were gathered and studied. Gradually it became possible to gather information concerning food consumption, and an analysis of the daily activities of the unemployed. Since Marienthal had been a politically alert village, contact with the atmosphere and activity of the various political organizations was considered of importance, and students of the Vienna University (who were selected because of their affiliation with the Social Democracy) were sent to the political clubs in Marienthal, which made the procuring of otherwise inaccessible material possible. In addition, statistical material was gathered from retail shops, dating back to a period preceding the shutting down of the factory.

A Changed Population

The reaction of the inhabitants to the extended period of unemployment, a period which reduced them to a state of abject poverty, is partially conditioned by the psychological attitudes of the families concerned, but the general effect on the standards of living, and especially of the prolonged continuance of this reduced standard, is characterized by the psychological state of "tiredness" or resignation, a general impression given by the actual appearance of the village and the individual reactions of the inhabitants.

Public grounds and parks are utterly neglected, buildings are permitted to fall into decay. At least one characteristic indication was the general response to the inquiry referring to occupation. With the exception of the men over fifty years of age, the male population gave as their occupation, not "textile worker," but "unemployed."

As far as public life is con-

The Story of an Austrian Village Where No One Works—And the Very Soul Goes Out of People.

cerned, the decrease in political activities and enthusiasms is striking. Attendance at political meetings is reduced to a minimum. Party newspapers are read only irregularly, and without any display of interest. Corresponding to the reduction in political hostilities is a growth of personal enmities, which finds its most frequent outlet in threatening letters sent by individual family members to the village magistrates.

The question arose: How do the people of Marienthal spend their time? While the duties of the women of the household have not essentially altered—if anything, they have grown more arduous, due to the necessity for better management—the daily life of the men has undergone a radical change.

Just Killing Time

The men were asked for a time

spend their day. The responses indicate that their activities consist principally in "talking with the wife," "conversation with the neighbors," or possibly, "taking the children to school."

Most interesting and characteristic was the tendency to allot in their time analysis a period of an hour or two for activities which could not last more than ten or fifteen minutes. This loss of all feeling of the value of time manifested itself in the extreme unpunctuality at which they arrived at meetings, discussion groups or appointments—often arranged for their personal benefit. The day had lost its normal landmarks, and a delay of an hour or two in no way disturbed the otherwise timeless routine of life.

That there is no inclination to use leisure for "cultural development" is clear from the survey of the figures of the public lending library of Marienthal, which showed a reduction of 50% in the circulation of books. Nor is there any evidence of the tendency to spend the time in undertaking for schedule of the way in which they

social improvement—such as care of public gardens, or general improvement of the appearance of the village. Even the less remote opportunities for the utilization of enforced leisure are overlooked; the possibility that the time could be spent for the benefit of the children—the making of toys, for example, as a substitute for the commercial product—is quite unrealized by the adult population.

"When I Grow Up"

The psychological destructive influence upon values is experienced not only by adults, but, in a somewhat modified form, by children as well. In school compositions telling of what they hoped "to be" some day, there occurred frequently aspirations of a distressingly cautious nature: "When I grow up, I shall become an Indian," or a "Robber—if I can find an opening. . . ." One of the most telling indices of the child's acceptance of his reduced standard of living is the actual price value of the gifts the children ask for Christmas. The average demand totalled 12 schillings, in contrast with the average demands of 37 schillings for children of the employed workmen's families in a neighboring village.

It was found possible to dif-

ferentiate between four groups of reactions. The terms *Unbroken*, *Resigned*, *Desperate* and *Apathetic* were chosen as best characterizing the psychological attitude of the families.

In the *Unbroken* families there is order in the household, the children are cared for, and a general atmosphere of hope for the future prevails, with a corresponding attempt to procure work of some sort. In contrast to the activity of this group is the hopelessness and planlessness of the *Resigned* families. While the children are not neglected, and some order is maintained in the home, the reduced claims and altered attitude towards life is characterized by a lack of the slightest expectation of improvement. The present situation is accepted as final, and one lives from day to day. And yet, a certain degree of cheerfulness prevails. The members of the families of this group attend dances or seek other amusement. There is, to be sure, no hope for the future, but there is also no great fear.

The *Desperate* families are characterized by extreme depression, and a deep sense of the futility of any efforts to improve their condition. Whatever energy they still possess is used for the maintenance of a minimum stand-

(Continued on Page Six)

By Louis Waldman

How the Power Trust Maintains Its Iron Grip in the Industry

ECONOMISTS describe this as the Power Age. In 1913, American industry used 1.5 horsepower of electricity for every worker employed. Today it uses 5 horsepower. In the short time of twenty-two years the generation of electricity increased sixteen times from 5,862,000,000 kilowatt hours in 1907, to 92,737,000,000 in 1929.

According to the Electric World of May 30, 1931, the market for electricity is still capable of wide expansion. Railroads are being electrified. Industrial and commercial activity rests increasingly on power. Domestic light, heat and other electric services are below one-sixth of potential capacity. There are still some 5,000,000 homes without electricity. Incidentally, there is an important job for the unemployed. Electrification of the nation's homes would place tens of thousands to work.

It has been estimated that the potential domestic market could consume about 76,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity compared with the 11,640,000,000 kilowatt hours consumed in homes in 1930.

Private Property

The ownership, control and management of the electric industry, with negligible exceptions, is in private hands. These owners wield great power. They control vast economic resources indispensable to the life of the nation.

After the power interests had waged a spectacular fight to prevent a Senatorial investigation of the ramifications and the influence of the power interests, the Federal Trade Commission was directed to conduct such an investigation. And instead of lying down on the job, as the power lobbyists had hoped, the Federal Trade Commission startled friends and foe alike with their comprehensive and searching investigation. Up to August 1932, the commission's report consisted of 44 volumes, comprising 20,000 pages and 4,972 exhibits.

The "Confessions of the Power Trust" by Carl D. Thompson (Dutton) is a digest of this report. Though written in a simple readable style, it is not a book one can read as he runs. It is rather an invaluable source book for the student.

The foreword correctly tells us

Carl D. Thompson's "Confessions of the Power Trust" a Striking Analysis of Trusts' Own Testimony Before Federal Trade Commission.

that the report of the Federal Trade Commission "is a bewildering mass. It is wholly unorganized, wholly unclassified and without an index; so that in its present form it is so formidable and involved as to be quite beyond the reach of the ordinary individual and its essential facts almost inaccessible."

A Bewildering Maze

Anyone attempting to look for facts in a huge unindexed government report will be grateful to the author of the Confessions of the Power Trust for analyzing, classifying, and indexing of this great mass of vitally important material, gathered by an important arm of the government at great expense.

Following out the idea of setting forth a "confession," the author adhered closely to the testimony and exhibits. The more sensational part of the testimony has appeared in the press; much of the really vital material has not.

The "Confession" wrung from the mouths of Utility Companies' own representatives and agents constitutes a severe indictment against the Power Trust which one's faith in private ownership will hardly survive.

According to the author, the testimony shows:

Inflation

(1) That the utility companies do inflate their capital accounts, something they have strenuously denied until the facts were established in the hearings of the commission.

(2) That the inflation of capital accounts forces up rates, which they have always denied and apparently seem still to persist in denying.

(3) That utility rates are too high.

(4) That municipal plants have lower rates than private plants under similar and comparable conditions.

(5) That municipal plant accounts are properly kept, at least in many cases.



Louis Waldman

(6) That it is just as logical for a community to own and operate light and gas plants as it is for them to operate highways, schools, streets, sewers, and water plants.

(7) That the taxes paid by private plants do not account for the difference in the rates charged as compared with municipal plants and have little effect upon rates.

(8) That bankers are involved in the electrical industry.

(9) That investment bankers are making enormous profits playing with the utility interests as with loaded dice at the expense of investors and the public.

(10) That utility companies do not keep their promises that they will not increase rates.

(11) That corporations make huge profits in the purchase and resale of their properties, a practice resulting in further increases in rates to the public.

Free Opinions Silenced

(12) That efforts on the part of men in the industry who have declared themselves against extortion and exploitation in the hope of reducing it were silenced and repudiated by hired publicity men.

(13) That the utility industry is killing itself by treating public utilities as dice, cards, or chips in a poker game instead of a public trust to be carefully, cautiously and economically administered in the interests of the public.

(14) That there is much in the service of the utility corporations

"AZ EMBER" REAPPEARS

WITH the return to the United States of Ferenc Göndör, who arrived February 20th after a long sojourn in Vienna, the Hungarian weekly "Az Ember", published at 352 East 79th Street, New York City, will resume publication.

During his absence the weekly was edited by Leo Somlo, but it was found necessary to suspend publication shortly after election. "Az Ember" (The Man) is a sixteen-page weekly supporting the principles of Socialism and the Socialist Party, and it has a wide influence among Hungarian workers.

Göndör was one of the leaders of the anti-Horthy Hungarians in this country, and when he visited Vienna, it is reported that the legation in Washington headed by the Horthy henchmen, Count Laszlo Szechenyi, (married to a Vanderbilt heiress) sought to prevent his return by representing him as a Communist and an incendiary.

He received a visa, however, when Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and other leaders of Austrian Socialism called upon the American legation in Vienna and pointed out that he is a leading Social Democrat and opposed to Bolshevism.

that breeds hypocrisy, dishonesty and insincerity.

(15) That the greatest of human rights, free speech, is largely surrendered by those in the service of the utility corporations.

(16) That the great boast of patriotism on the part of the utility companies is often a mere hypocritical pretense, a fake and delusion.

(17) That in the service of the industry is much "lying, faking, and downright evasion."

(18) That it is the greed for profit that works havoc in the utility as in other fields.

(19) That regulation is breaking down.

(20) That the utilities are determined to destroy municipal ownership and acquire every municipal plant.

(21) That the utilities block and prevent the passage of legislation helpful to municipal plants.

For evidence to substantiate this, the reader must either wade through the original 20,000 pages and 4,972 exhibits of the Federal Trade Commission or he will read "Confessions of the Power Trust," an intelligent summary of the evidence and exhibits.

By Fred Henderson

Tom Mann's Arrest Stirs British Labor

No One Act by MacDonald's "National" Government Has Done More to Unite Workers Than This—The 76 Year Old Agitator Jailed Under Law of 1361!—Labor Party On the March.

AT periods of great tension between opposing forces preparing for fundamental conflict under the surface of an established social order, when the sense of such conflict is growing in all men's minds, and everybody is looking for great events to break through and set the struggle going with a real impetus, it has happened more than once in history that some quite small and trivial event, hardly more in itself than a minor incident, has been the determining factor in transforming action from sluggishness to swift decision. Such an incident, the arrest and imprisonment of a single man, has just taken place here; and there are many indications that it may prove to be just that spark on the tinder necessary to set the public mind aflame for action.

It is true that during the past year there has been a splendid rally within the ranks of the British Labor Party from the discouragements of the last General Election. True it is also that the National Government, which was to cure all the economic evils of the time for us, stands more and more discernibly the helpless puppet of the capitalist-finance interests from whose exploitation of the world's life those evils arise.

But these changing alignments of the forces in British politics have not come into action in any large way. The situation has been manifestly changing in our favor and against the Government. Every bye-election has given evidence of that. On every recent occasion when the electors have had to be consulted in any constituency, our vote has shown a welcome and substantial increase, and the Government vote has slumped heavily.

Election Straws

Since my last letter was written there have been two more such bye-elections; one in Liverpool and the other in the Scottish constituency of East Fife; with results in both cases very encouraging to us. Neither of these constituencies had ever been held by the Labor Party. They were not seats lost in the debacle of the General Election, but strongholds of our opponents which we had no reasonable expectation of winning outright on this occasion. But we fought them, as we are now equipping opportunity. In both cases the Government vote has dropped very heavily and the Labor vote is up.

The East Fife figures will show you the movement of public opinion which is going steadily on. It

is so hopeless a constituency for us that it was not fought at all last time; but at the General Election before that—the election at which the Labor Party was returned to office, and the highwater mark of our electoral strength in this country, the combined Liberal and Conservative vote was 28,077 against our 5,350. This time our vote has risen to 6,635, and the combined capitalist vote has fallen to 22,470.

The Liverpool figures are better than that. At the last General Election Labor polled 10,894 against 24,038 for the capitalist candidate. We have now polled 12,412 and the Government vote has fallen to 15,198.

In both these cases, you will vote, the gain made by Labor, encouraging as it is, is nothing like so heavy as the fall in the Government vote. In other words, the confidence which the nation has lost in the Government during their year of impotence to deal with the economic situation has only in part been transferred to us. As I point out above, the situation is manifestly changing in our favor, but the forces now turning against the Government have not yet come vigorously into action in their full measure. Our progress is going on; but in a rather sedate way; the steady, but as yet not overwhelming, flow of a renewed tide of Labor strength recording itself at every opportunity.

Consummate Folly

And now, it would almost seem, the Government itself, by a piece of consummate folly even from their own point of view, has suddenly put the dramatic quality of real popular excitement into this



Tom Mann

swing-round of public opinion by the arrest and imprisonment of our old friend Tom Mann.

No single incident since the General Election has roused so much working-class resentment. Its details are worth nothing; for the affair reveals like a searchlight the Government's own consciousness of the tense class antagonism now shaping for open conflict here as elsewhere throughout the capitalist world.

Tom Mann was not arrested for any offence against the law. No charge was made against him of having broken the law. But he was associated with a movement for giving organized expression to the plight of the unemployed. And the Government (with J. Ramsay MacDonald still nominally at its head!) accordingly dug up an old law dating back to the age of serfdom centuries ago, long-forgotten in disuse, and consequently remaining nominally unrepealed, which gave to the ruling authorities of the dark ages power to put any man under lock and key, not for any offence actually committed, but on suspicion that he might become inconvenient to the ruling powers if he remained at large. Such a person, under this ancient feudal law, can be arrested, required to give guarantees of good behavior, and locked up in default

of such guarantees being forthcoming.

The magistrate who sent Mann to prison quite frankly admitted that no offence had been committed. The sole purpose of the arrest was to prevent the unemployed from showing themselves in an organized way in public and making a demonstration of their existence. And the significance of this procedure has penetrated to the working-class mind of this country with revealing effectiveness.

Free Government Suspended

For what it means is that the ordinary struggle for political power, conducted by free public opinion expressing itself openly and by the appeal to reason, is being suspended. The Government has embarked upon the course of suppressing that free public manifestation of grievances; and this, as the working-class mind has been swift to perceive, means direct class-war against the workers.

The Labor movement has taken up the challenge; and there was organized in the heart of London on Sunday, February 5th, the most immense working-class demonstration that London has witnessed for a generation. Lansbury, Stafford Cripps, and practically the whole Parliamentary party, were there with the leaders of every section of the Trade Union movement; making the organized demonstration of grievances which Tom Mann lies in prison for refusing to give guarantees that he would refrain from helping to organize. Even the capitalist press admits the impressiveness of this demonstration which filled the streets of London and made Hyde Park a

Edison Employees to Dine by Candlelight

The Brotherhood of Edison Employees and the National Committee on Utilities and Labor will give a candlelight dinner in Peter's Tavern, 217 Fulton St., Brooklyn, March 1st, at 6:45. Speakers will be John Haynes Holmes, Heywood Brown, A. J. Muste, Jerome Count, Francis Henson and Wm. Beedie. Eliot White will serve as chairman.

The dinner will start the drive for the reinstatement of 5,000 employees discharged by the Edison Co. and for the reduction of electric rates.

vast arena for the manifestation of working-class strength of purpose. The most obtuse observer could not have failed to note the new spirit; and I shall be surprised if from this incident our general advance along the whole line is not quickened.

There will be a test of that within the next few weeks. Another bye-election is now pending in the Rotherham division of Yorkshire. The polling will probably take place about three weeks hence. Watch it. It is early yet to make a definite forecast; but all the indications are that Labor will win the seat. It is one of the constituencies lost to us at the last General Election; and the result will be a real test of how far our increasing strength during the past year has now carried us towards complete recovery.

THE MARX ISSUE OF THE NEW LEADER

IN practically all the nations of the world the week of March 12 will be commemorated as the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. It is also the week of the Paris Commune, that great and tragic struggle of the Paris proletariat in 1871. Fifty years after the death of Marx finds the capitalist system in decline all over the world, and class conscious workers everywhere will participate in this anniversary.

The New Leader will publish a striking Marx number on March 11. It will carry special articles on various phases of Marx's life, work and philosophy. This edition will also be illustrated by drawings and photographs relating to Marx and the development of the Socialist movement.

All party branches and other organizations desiring bundles of this edition should order without delay. Orders for 25 or more of the Marx Edition will be filled at the rate of 2½ cents a copy, payable in advance. All orders must be in the office not later than March 5.

Order without delay. Address The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

A Manual for Socialist Speakers

by August Claessens

Literature and Booksales

The best method for distributing leaflets (free literature) is by house to house canvass and by mail. Handing out leaflets to passers-by on the street or on the outskirts of a street meeting is a wasteful practice. Many people merely glance at a leaflet thrust into their hands and throw it away. It is all right to distribute hand-bills in this fashion. They usually have a very limited amount of printed matter and large type. Hand-bills announcing a meeting can be read at a glance. A propaganda leaflet requires more time and concentration to read, and its receiver should be in a receptive mood. Furthermore, such leaflets are too expensive to waste as "throw-aways." The speaker or chairman at a meeting, indoor as well as outdoor, should call attention to the fact that a good leaflet is being distributed, say a few words about its contents and urge every one in the audience to take one or more copies and aid us in the most efficient distribution of the leaflet.

The prime objective of every meeting is to obtain members for our Party. A

strong appeal to join our ranks should be the ringing conclusion of every speech and meeting. Our Party press must also be boosted and subscriptions for it solicited. Wherever and whenever possible and advisable, an appeal should be made for funds to carry on our propaganda and campaigns. Obviously, the appeal for a collection should be made at the highest climax of the speech or meeting. Most speakers call for a collection at the end of their talks. Some do it at some time in the course of their speeches, and at meetings where there are a number of speakers, it is good practice to make the collection speech just before introducing the "celebrity." To repeat, however, the best collection can be obtained at the moment when the audience is in the friendliest and warmest mood.

Conclusion

A few final words to my comrades who would add their voices to the service of our great cause. An efficient Socialist speaker must be very adaptable. He must always try to understand the composition and nature of the audience before him.

When in doubt, a few inquiries of the chairman, a chat with some members of the committee in charge of the meeting will often help to an effective adjustment. Knowing the character of the audience should prevent the danger of talking "over their heads." It will also help you use such illustrations and material that will establish that intimate relationship between speaker and audience so essential to a successful meeting.

Also, it can not be repeated too often that to be a good speaker one must be constantly alert to every suggestion and criticism. One must study the manner and technique of all good speakers and emulate their best qualities. Prof. H. A. Overstreet advises: "Look at your audience. Find what interests them. Never make an audience feel inferior. Keep your audience thinking along with you. Think along with your audience. Use humor humorously. Never be angry at the audience, only with them. Cultivate a voice that can be endured. Keep off the monotons. Do not let your appearance occupy the foreground. Eliminate distressing mannerisms. Let your

speech march. Organize your speech into groups and larger groups. Give an effect of rhythmic movement. Close with a snap!"

One must be aware of every important article and book on subjects of interest, particularly those dealing with public speaking and crowd psychology. One must strive to master the particular subjects that one frequently speaks about. A good speaker or lecturer must be an authority or a specialist on the subjects he speaks upon.

Lastly, let me acknowledge the assistance and express my gratitude to the following comrades who have helped me in the preparation of this book: to William E. Bohn, Samuel H. Friedman and William Morris Feigenbaum who read my manuscript and offered valuable suggestions; to Kurt Dietl and Sol Salkind who drew the sketches for the outdoor meeting platforms; to Roselle Fraiman who so graciously types and corrects my manuscripts, and of course, to the numerous speakers, teachers and active Socialists to whom I owe all that I am and all that I have.

The End

German Socialists Swing Into Action

The Battle With Fascist Reaction Is Under Way—Fighting Under the Constitution, But Ready for Any Emergency.

THE German Socialists are not taking the savagery of the Hitler reaction lying down. Whatever the cabled report from Germany may be, whatever edicts and ukases may come from the madman who today rules Germany, it can be stated positively that the German Socialists and trade unionists are fighting.

Much of their battle must be under cover, must of it of necessity underground. But it is taken for granted that they will not let Good Looking Adolf get away with his arrogant boast that on March 5 Germany will hold its last election, that he is in power for good. The policy of the German Social Democracy follows these lines:

Unity of action with the Communist masses and a definite understanding that the Communists cease attacking the Socialists in order that the Socialists can go ahead without being attacked from the rear. Both parties to center all their attacks upon the Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen coalition, which even now has only 41% of the Reichstag.

A strenuous endeavor to win a decisive majority in the March 5 elections that will make it impossible for President von Hindenburg constitutionally to decline to oust the Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen cabinet and instal a cabinet based upon a parliamentary majority.

Unity of Action

And finally, unity of action and absolute discipline.

It appears that despite the insistence of the Communist leaders that "The task of the Community Party remains, as before, to direct the chief blow against the Social Democracy," the Communist masses are actually beginning to work in cooperation with the Socialists, the violent warfare against the Socialists has come to an end.

The German electoral system of party lists and proportional representation assures that the parties will not weaken each other by entering competing lists in the elections. What is required is that the two parties train their guns on the enemy, not on each other. And that appears to be happening now.

The one hope of avoiding open civil war after the elections lies in a clear majority for the three anti-Hitler parties and an agreement among them to support a Democratic cabinet. If the Communists can be won to such an agreement, the elections may result in a Socialist-Communist cabinet, with Centrist support—or at least toleration, or a Socialist-Centrist ministry with Communist toleration. Such an agreement will place the aged President in a position in which he will be required to oust the Hitler regime and instal the first cabinet in several years certain of a parliamentary majority; or else to defy the Constitution, violate his sacred oath and throw Germany into turmoil and possibly civil war.

In the event of civil war there will be terrible bloodshed and horror, but it is hard to see any result other than the complete and absolute smashing of the Hitler dream.

If There Is War

For the Hitler strength includes millions of young girls—who now vote at the age of 20—and millions more of working class youths lured by the bastard "Socialism" of the Nazis, who now find their chief captive in the hands of the reactionary labor-hating Hugenberg. The Socialists have absolute control over the unions, and a general strike on the railroads would paralyze the Hitler forces at once.

Further, both Socialists and

Communists have drilled and disciplined forces, the Reichsbanner and the Red Front, easily a match for the Hitler boy scouts, the Nazi brown-shirted militia.

The moment the announcement was made of the elevation of Hitler the Socialists swung into action.

A joint meeting of the Council of the German Social-Democratic Party with the Party Executive, the Party in the Reichstag and representatives of the General Staff of the "Iron Front" was held in the Reichstag Building.

The chairman of the Party in the Reichstag, Rudolph Breitscheid, discussed the situation the Socialist working class faces. The followers of Hitler are jubilant he said, because their leader had apparently reached the goal at which he had been aiming. But they might soon change their tune when they find Hitler's "victory" had been purchased at the price of absolute dependence upon the representatives of Big Business and Landlordism.

But the working class must not wait for Hitler's followers to have their eyes opened—and full of tears, as a reactionary newspaper had put it. They must hasten the process of enlightenment and be ready at any moment to lead the fight with every means available.

The manifesto of the Party Executive and the Parliamentary Party furnished the answer to the question what action Social-Democrats would take, what combinations they were prepared to enter into and for what purposes. Social-



Rudolph Breitscheid

Democrats were not going to allow their tactics to be dictated to them by their opponents. They would decide for themselves when and how they would bring their forces into action. They were all desirous of maintaining good relations with the Communist workers in this struggle.

As regards the prospects and probable course of the fight to be waged by Social-Democrats, Breitscheid said: "The phase we have now entered upon represents the class struggle waged by the ruling

class in its starkest form. The reactionaries have played their last card, by calling out their Fascist mercenaries. If that card fails them, as it will fail, then the hour has come for the working class to say the last word. Only the working class can save the nation. For this decisive moment they must unite all their forces and march them into action as one solid body."

The representatives of the trade unions, Grassmann and Stähr, emphatically declared their support for any measures that might be called for: "If you call upon us we shall be ready." The same solemn undertaking was given by Wildung for the Sports Organizations and Höltermann for the Reichsbanner. The meeting concluded with inspiring speeches by the Party Chairmen, Vogel and Crispian. The proceedings demonstrated the working class throughout Germany recognizes the danger of the present situation and is mobilizing all its forces to deal with it and to ensure the victory of Socialism.

The Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag published the following manifesto:

Workers! Republicans!

The Hitler - Papen - Hugenberg Cabinet re-establishes the Harzburg Front. The enemies of the working class, who only a few days ago were fiercely attacking

Common Action With Communist Masses Required to Defeat Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen Gang—A Call to the Workers.

one another, have now united in a combination of Big Business and Landlordism in order to wage war upon the workers.

This situation demands a united effort by all the workers of the nation in opposition to their united enemies. We must be ready to exert all our strength to the utmost.

We shall wage our struggle upon the basis of the Constitution. We shall defend the political and social rights of the people, established by the Constitution and by law, against any attack and with every available means. Any attempt by the Government to use its powers to pervert or violate the Constitution will encounter the sternest resistance from the working class and from all liberty-loving sections of the people. All our resources must be held in readiness for this decisive struggle.

Any undisciplined action by individual organizations or groups on their own initiative would seriously prejudice the interests of the entire working class.

Rally, therefore, to the Iron Front! Obey its orders and its alone! Coolness, resolution, discipline, unity and again unity is the dictate of the hour!

By Ira De A. Reid

Harlem Hard Hit by Crisis

POPULAR opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding, Negro Harlem is a city of workers. In the halcyon days before the collapse the ratio of working Negroes in Manhattan was higher than in any other city of over

Hard-Working People, Seek a Decent Living, in Keen Distress — Three H's, Home, Heaven and Hi-de-Hi.

100,000 and where there were more than two thousand Negroes. It is to be expected, then, in these days of uncertainty and distress that the economic problems faced by this community are most distressing. And this is as true of our commercial and professional workers as of industrial and domestic employees.

Before discussing the work-life of Harlem and its attendant problems, I should like to present a few statistics about unemployment in that area. According to the 1930 census, there are about 140,000 Negro workers on Manhattan Island; it is reasonably safe to assume three-fourths of them are residents of Harlem. Their employment is as varied as that of Manhattan itself. In 202 specific occupational groups listed by the census there were only three in which one or more Negroes were not employed—mining engineers and managers of advertising agencies for males, and brokers and money lenders for females. Despite this unusual distribution, the masses of Negro workers—one-third of the total number—are engaged in domestic and personal service.

A City of Workers

In Harlem, 89 of every 100 Negroes ten years and over are potential workers as compared with 73 of every 100 white persons. Another interesting observation is the ratio of Negro married women in Manhattan engaged in active labor (when it is available). This group of women does 36 per cent of all the work done by married women in Manhattan. The ratio of

Negro married women employed away from home in normal times is twice as great as the ratio of foreign-born white women and three times as great as the ratio of native-white married women employed away from home. This fact is significant because of its relation to the home life of a community where there is a smaller percentage of working children under fifteen than among any other racial group in the city.

Suffice it to say of the general current economic situation that the dire results of this depression are felt more keenly in this community—not particularly because it is a Negro area, but because being Negro it is inordinately poor and marginal in its work relations during normal times.

Agencies such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Urban League find it difficult to secure other than marginal and poorly-paid jobs for the bulk of Negro workers even in boom times. When this group finds itself being pushed out of jobs in slack periods by white workers the full import of its position becomes evident.

To offset this situation, Harlemites individually and collectively have endeavored to combat the evil by boycotting concerns that will not give them employment; through developing their own business enterprises, through collective and individual bargaining; and through the development of political power. In each of these there has been a limited measure of success, but not enough to offset what I have come to regard as a structural economic weakness of the social organism known as Harlem.

(Concluded next week)

SEEING THE COUNTRY

LOS ANGELES — More than 2,000 boys under 18 pass through Los Angeles every month, riding freight cars across the country.

A Jobless Village

(Continued from Page Four)

ard of decency and order in the home, and for the care of the children.

They Give Up

In the final group of Apathetic families all effort to maintain order in the household has long been given up. The home is allowed to fall into decay, children are neglected; the attitude is indolent, apathetic, rather than desperate. The general reaction is one of idle, passive watching. This group is further characterized by disputes within the family, and between families. Drinking, begging and stealing are not infrequent.

The dominating attitude in Marienthal is that of resignation. About one-half of the population fall into this category. One-sixth of the families still make plans, still display an active hope in the future. The rest are desperate or apathetic.

A later investigation of the financial status of the four groups brought the following interesting correlation to light. The actual income of the families was closely related to their psychological attitude. The average monthly income of the four groups shows a very striking correlation between the size of the income and the psychological status:

Unbroken families had an average monthly income of 34 schillings (\$4.25).

Resigned families had an

average monthly income of 30 schillings (\$3.75).

Desperate families had an average monthly income of 25 schillings (\$3.12).

Apathetic families had an average monthly income of 19 schillings (\$2.38).

The influences of the destructive forces within the community may be summarized in the following formula: with the sinking in the economic niveau, there takes place a corresponding reduction of actual claims on life. As long as the claims of the family can be adjusted to the falling economic level, the family still remains in the category of the Unbroken. The Broken down state enters in at that point where the claims of the family can no longer be reduced, while the economic standard continues to fall.

The investigation of Marienthal is valuable as a penetrating analysis of the psychological forces affecting the character of the inevitable adjustments in such a community.

There are, however, at least two problems which necessarily remain unsolved. The entire community of Marienthal is unemployed. What would the situation be if only a section of the population were jobless, and the remainder employed? And finally, what will the situation in Marienthal develop into? What, one is compelled to question, will be the fate of Marienthal, as, with unemployment continuing the number of Broken families steadily increases?

Painters Organization Drive Is Big Success

By I. POLSTEIN

THE organizing campaign initiated by Locals 261, 905, 1011 and endorsed by the Organization Committee of District Council 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters for the purpose of unionizing all painting maintenance and alteration work in Greater New York is meeting with marked success.

In the past few weeks many painting contractors doing work for large real estate offices and title and mortgage companies have been forced to recognize the union conditions of an eight-hour day and five-day week at an \$8 wage.

Included among these are the Manufacturers' Trust, New York Title and Mortgage Co., Bachrach and Bachrach, and many other minor employers and shops.

Beside the opposition of these monopolistic real estate concerns

P.S.C. ORDERS EDISON TO JUSTIFY LAYOFFS

ELECTRIC utility workers recently won a victory of vital importance in New York City. After a struggle of two years against the wholesale lay-offs by the Brooklyn Edison Company while dividends increased by almost \$3,000,000, employees of the company won the right to be heard before the Public Service Commission on their grievances.

During 1931 and 1932 the Brooklyn Edison Company discharged 5,000 workers, 40% of the whole force, although it continued its thirty-year record of paying dividends at 8%. The Brotherhood of Edison Employees brought direct pressure against the company through picketing, demonstrations and the weekly issuance of a shop paper known as the "Live Wire." Organized violence was used against Brotherhood demonstrators and distributors. Riot squads were called out to suppress picketing. Finally, William Beedie, Secretary of the Brotherhood, called upon the Public Committee on Power Utilities and Labor to sponsor the filing of a complaint against the company with the Public Service Committee.

The Public Committee backed the filing of the complaint which charged the company with unjust and unreasonable lay-offs and inciting violence and civic disturbances by its labor policies. Previously Public Service Commissions throughout the country had declined to assert any jurisdiction over labor matters within public utilities.

After the filing of the complaint, the Brotherhood of Edison Employees of 128 East 16th Street continued its fight against the company and the Public Committee on Power Utilities and Labor demanded action by the Commission. On December 22 the Commission issued an order against the company, directing that the 5,000 men laid off be reinstated or that the company justify its labor policies before the Commission within twenty days.

This action by the Commission establishes a precedent for which labor has fought over twenty years. It establishes that the State has the power and duty to protect workers from lay-offs by utilities while swollen dividends continue to be paid and profits accumulated.

The Brotherhood and the Public Committee have announced that it will continue the fight to force an open public hearing to expose this utility and its labor policies as a beacon light to electric light and power employees throughout the country.

the Brotherhood of Painters is faced with a minor Communist faction within the union, working hand in hand with a small but disturbing dual organization of recent origin, who are endeavoring to hamper the efficient work of the organizers.

A number of these Communist disturbers have recently been expelled from the Brotherhood and staged an anti-union demonstration last Saturday at D. C. 9 headquarters, during which some of them were unceremoniously though legally attended to by the proper authorities.

Labor Committee Notes

THE next meeting of the Trade Union membership will be held Saturday, March 4, at 7 E. 15th St. A symposium has been arranged on Trade Union policy. Speakers will be Samuel E. Beardsley and Dr. Louis Hendin.

Petitions are on hand.—The Labor Committee calls upon every member to get petitions for Unemployment Insurance and the shorter work week. We should get one million signatures by March 4. Petitions may be received at 7 East 15th St., Room 601.

Local 584, Milk Drivers' Union, is campaigning for membership among the Borden and Sheffield drivers. These companies have organized their employees in company unions. You can help by insisting that the driver show his card from a bona fide trade union.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill, drafted by officers of the State Federation of Labor, was introduced in the Illinois legislature January 31. The Illinois bill is a revision of the carefully prepared measure recommended by the Unemployment Insurance Commission of Ohio, which recently submitted a comprehensive report to the legislature of that state after months of investigation and study. The new bill, as revised for introduction in the Illinois legislature, conforms in every respect to the high standards recommended by the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Organized labor in Washington, D. C., won a big victory last week when it succeeded in beating off an attempt by contractors to cut wages \$3 a day on seven big Federal projects. The victory came after a strike of carpenters lasting less than three days. The bosses had agreed to an \$11-a-day scale for carpenters and had based their labor costs on that rate when they made their bids on the various contracts. Then, after the work was under way, the sub-contractors acted as a unit and served notice that the wage was reduced to \$8.

The employees of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H. killed by a large vote the company union, which for a number of years had been the medium of arbitration and contact between mill, officials and workers. It will be 90 days before the plan actually dies an official death, however, in accordance with the rules and regulations that have governed its use for the past ten years. There was a total vote cast of 5,942, with 4,288 voting "no" on the question of whether or not the plan should continue in operation, and 1,195 voting to retain the plan.

A one-day strike has won the Sewing Machine Machinists' Lodge

Another obstacle is the fact that many unemployed of other trades and professions, including taxi drivers, sailors, college graduates, etc., have become "painter helpers" and after a three-month period declare themselves full-fledged mechanics.

The Painters' Union is at present considering the advisability of recognizing an employers' group known as the Heights Association, who control a large part of the painting of apartment houses in upper Manhattan, and which may further enhance the organizing work.

A joint mass meeting of Locals 261, 905 and 1011 will take place Friday evening, Feb. 25, at Hunts Point Palace, to hear the reports and further acquaint the membership with future plans and activities.

712 of Philadelphia an agreement with seven firms comprising the larger part of the trade, in which the machinists are guaranteed the 48-hour week, abolition of overtime, the closed shop, division of work during slack periods, seven holidays with pay, and increased wages bringing a machinist's scale up to from \$60 to \$100 a week. The lodge was organized a year ago and now has 75 per cent control of the trade. Before they were organized they were working as much as sixty hours per week for all sorts of wages.

The State of Colorado has abolished the state police as an unnecessary addition to the expenses of state government. With its passing Louis N. Scherf, who was in charge of the force when the massacre of the unarmed miners at the Columbine mine took place, loses his job.

Judge Winfred H. Whiting of the Suffolk superior court, Boston, Mass., fined Morris Levine of Somerville and John Winer of Roxbury, \$375 each for violating an injunction last October restraining them from hiring non-union employees for their Boston bakery. The injunction was issued at request of Local 45, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, on the claim that the defendants were bound by contract to hire only members of the union in baking bread for the Jewish trade. The fines equal the amount stated to have been saved by employing non-union merchants.

The House Labor Committee on January 31 approved and ordered favorably reported the Connery five-day week, six-hour day bill. A similar measure, the Black bill, is pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Both bills are supported by organized labor. Representative Edward L. Stokes of Pennsylvania was the only member of the Labor Committee to vote against the bill. Chairman William P. Connery, Jr., of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee, said that he would seek an early vote on the measure. During extensive hearings on the Connery bill, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and other spokesmen for organized labor appeared in behalf of the proposal.

A referendum vote for a 1 per cent assessment was adopted by Rochester Typographical Union Wednesday. The vote was taken throughout the International Union. Its purpose is to raise money for a defense fund. The five-day week which was adopted by the International Union last December has been resisted by publishers in some parts of the country and many other publishers have arbitrarily cut wages. The defense fund will be used to resist the efforts of publishers who seek to break down union conditions.

The Tolpuddle Martyrs

LONDON — Arrangements are being made by the British Trades Union Congress for celebrating next year the centenary of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, whose memory is held in honor throughout the British Labor Movement.

The martyrs were six agricultural laborers of Tolpuddle, Dorset, who, in 1834, were transported to Australia for having attempted to form a trade union branch. It has been suggested that, in the week preceding the 1934 Trades Union Congress, a national demonstration should be held at Tolpuddle and that encouragement should be given for demonstrations to be held simultaneously throughout the country.

It is believed that a number of the laborers, on their return from exile, emigrated to Canada. With this in mind the General Council is communicating with the Trade Union Movements of Australia and Canada to obtain further information and invite their cooperation in the celebration of this event in Trade Union history.

A souvenir setting forth a connected and authentic account of the historic episode is to be prepared and inquiries are to be made as to the possibility of holding the 1934 Congress in Weymouth or in some neighboring centre close to Dorchester.

UNEMPLOYED LEAGUES

There are seven leagues meeting regularly and nine newly formed. In addition, nine other branches have committees working to organize leagues in their localities.

Don't forget the March 4 meetings. There is still time to plan a demonstration.

Stop in at the office for leaflets and Unemployment Insurance petitions and use them.

Workers' Unemployment League meetings for week.

Saturday, Feb. 25
College Point: St. Pauls Church, 122 East High St. Speaker, David Lasser.

Monday, Feb. 27
Morningside Heights: Mass meeting at 3109 Broadway.

Tuesday, Feb. 28
South Brooklyn: 157 Montague Street.

Harlem: Urban League, 206 W. 136th St. Speaker, James Oneal.

Thursday, March 2
Brownsville: Conference at Hebrew Ladies' Day Nursery, 521 Hopkinson Ave., Brooklyn. Speaker, Amicus Most.

East New York: Mass meeting, Skolnick all, Pennsylvania Ave and Lavonia Ave., Brooklyn. Speakers, David Lasser, James Oneal.

Williamsburgh: Mass meeting at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, Brooklyn.

Friday, March 3
Greenwich Village: Meets at 52 52 W. 8th St., N. Y. C.

LOCAL 22 DANCE

A musical entertainment and dance has been arranged by the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, in cooperation with the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U., for Saturday evening, February 25, 1933, at the Central Opera House, 67th Street and Third Avenue.

A group of distinguished artists will appear in Russian, Italian, Roumanian and English selections, both vocal and instrumental.

Dressmakers of the Local and other members of the International will attend this concert, after which there will be a dance in honor of the newly created branch of Finishers, Drapers, Examiners, and Cleaners.

Get your petitions for Unemployment Insurance. Write at once to Room 607, 7 East 15th Street.

Old-Age Pensions Are In Danger, Epstein Says

CHARGING that a nation-wide campaign is in full swing to repeal most of our labor and social legislation, Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old-Age Security, issued an appeal to the friends of old-age pensions to organize to fight "the nullification of all that has been built up in the United States through a generation of effort."

In the Old-Age Security Herald, the organ of his association, Epstein said the reactionary propaganda has so intimidated our legislators that social legislation now on the statute books is in danger of repeal by the Legislatures now in session.

Epstein criticized a number of Governors who in their campaigns made innumerable promises about caring for the destitute aged, but who, he alleged, have repudiated their promises.

Governor Ely of Massachusetts, Governor Coss of Connecticut, Governor Moore of New Jersey, and Governor White of Ohio, all Democrats, were mentioned as having lost much of their campaign sympathy for old-age security measures.

Pointing out that the entire cost of the old-age pension system in New York State was only \$2.50 a year for each owner of \$10,000 worth of assessed property, Epstein claimed the support of only half the present pensioners through almshouses or charity would have cost more than the present expenditures.

RETAIL CLERKS WIN IMPORTANT VICTORY

The Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union has won an important victory following a strike of the employees of the store of Louis Robinson, 670 Broadway, it is announced by Hyman Nemser, counsel to the union.

After a six day strike the employers agreed to recognition of the union, to a six-day week, and to a system of week work rather than piece work.

Following this victory an organization drive in all stores is on in full swing, Nemser announces.

Detroit Papers Suppress and Color Strike News

DETROIT — How the Detroit newspapers suppressed the news or lied about the victory of the Hudson Motor Car Co. strikers, who won a 10% increase in wages and other demands after an 8-day strike, shows again why the workers must support their own press. The Detroit Free Press printed nothing about the victory.

The Detroit News said that "with assurances from the foremen that wage difficulties would be ironed out by private negotiations, striking workers of the Hudson Motor Car Co. returned to work." Nothing was said about the conditions won. The story was written in such a manner as to give the impression that the strike had been broken.

"Declaring that 'the men have broken up the strike themselves,' Vice-Pres. Wollering said, 'Approximately 2,200 men are at work at the body plant and we turned away 400 who were seeking jobs,'" the Detroit Times reported.

When the strike wave first broke, Detroit papers ignored news of it except to mention that certain plants were hiring men. They did not state that the plants were hiring scabs. The epidemic of strikes that followed and the Ford shutdown forced them to publish the news.

The Briggs Mack Ave. strikers bar all daily newspaper reporters from their strike meetings.

Joe Gets a New Idea Which Proves Somewhat Aged Under Inspection But Old Pals Avoid Hostilities

By Autolycus

"YOU may think that I'm a Bourbon but I'm just as open to new ideas as you are," said Joe as he and Bill sat down in the Rand School cafeteria.

"A Bourbon is one that never learns anything new and never forgets anything old," said Bill, "and I have never accused you of that."

"Thanks for the kind words, Bill, but you've been very hard on me at times," Joe replied. "I have a new idea and I'll pass it on to you. I got the hint from a book by James H. R. Cromwell, a step-son of a partner of J. P. Morgan and Co."

"The idea coming from such high eminence should interest me," said Bill. "I'm skeptical, but shoot."

"He stands for government ownership of the railroads and all public utilities," said Joe, "and that ought to satisfy you. He's fair, too. He says that he is opposed to the big fat boys that got their vast wealth through exploitation of public monopolies."

"That is very interesting," said Bill. "What else does he say?"

A Virtuous Fortune

"HE certainly has a judicial mind because he distinguishes between the big fellows I just mentioned and those who got their money honestly. He mentions Henry Ford," Joe continued, "whose great fortune was 'accumulated solely by the exercise of superior genius and ability,' and there you are."

"All this may be a new idea to you, but it is very old," said Bill. "I saw something about Cromwell and his book in the New York Times. He was interviewed in his swell suite in the Waldorf-Astoria Tower and he declared that he was a capitalist who wanted capitalism to continue but without considerable changes it could not continue. So according to his own views he wants to preserve the system for his class."

"But what about that public ownership program?" Joe inquired.

"Very old," said Bill. "It means an installment of state capitalism and it is perfectly consistent with Cromwell's desire to strengthen capitalism. He singles out railroads and public utilities for condemnation but blesses big oligarchies like the Ford empire. His idea is to throw a bone with a few shreds of meat on it to us but for his class to keep the juicy steaks."

"But isn't it fair? Didn't Ford rise from the working class and through his own efforts accumulate his millions?" asked Joe.

"No more than the railroad and utility capitalists did," said Bill. "Ford was once a wage worker selling labor power to capitalists. Do you know of a single instance in all history of a man becoming wealthy by selling labor power?"

"Come to think of it, I never have," said Joe, somewhat puzzled.

The Source of Labor Robbery

"CERTAINLY not," said Bill. "It is only when a man passes from the stage of selling his own labor power to the stage of buying the labor power of many workers that he begins to accumulate wealth. Of course, there are also other ways of getting the coin, by speculation and graft, for instance, but all the other forms also exclude the selling of labor power. Ford passed from one stage to the other and today he is one of the most extensive purchasers of labor power in this country and the more he bought the greater his fortune became."

"Still, isn't it true that his personal genius and ability built up his big industry?" Joe inquired.

"That's hokum," said Bill with impatience. "Think of the hundreds of millions of human beings that have lived on this earth even back to our ancestors who first learned how to smelt ore, who invented the lever and the wheel; the discovery of steam and later of electricity; the experiments in their use, the inventions of millions of human beings, the application of science and its discoveries to the production of wealth. Were it not for the labors, thought, sacrifices and the genius of human beings in the past, Henry Ford would not have been possible."

"I never thought of that," said Joe.

"Good" and "Bad" Capitalists

"AND Cromwell doesn't want you to think of it," Bill shot back. "Once the wage slaves learn that all the progress of the ages is a social heritage of the hundreds of millions of human beings now living, they will not tolerate Cromwell's artificial division of the capitalist class into good capitalists and bad capitalists. They are neither good nor bad. They are a product of history. Ford's power and wealth are as much the result of our stupidity as any other corporate empire. We let him monopolize the fruits of the thought, labors and genius of centuries and explain his wealth by saying that his genius and ability produced it."

"That's a new idea for me," said Joe.

"Glad to know that out of something old you got something new," said Bill.

"But what about that state capitalism you mentioned?" asked Joe.

"One section of the ruling class may decide to go along with Cromwell and urge the transfer of railroads and utilities to the government," said Bill, "but this will not solve the troubles of the working class. It will give us a mixture of private capitalism and state capitalism. That's all."

"I wish I could sell my labor power," said Joe.

"Yes, millions of wage slaves can't find an exploiter," said Bill as they paid their bills and departed.

By Israel Saltzman

Prof. Mead Thinks It Possible Capitalism Will Survive—But...

David P. Berenberg Brilliantly Upholds Socialist Position in Thoughtful Debate at Brooklyn Forum.

THE question "Can Capitalism Survive?" was answered with a clear and analytical "no" by David P. Berenberg, Socialist scholar and author of "Socialist Fundamentals," while Professor Nelson P. Mead, head of the History Department of the College of the City of New York, responded with a highly modified "yes". The discussion was at the Brooklyn Forum last Sunday.

Professor Mead declared that capitalism has been changing from the time of its appearance in the eighteenth century, and must continue to change, perhaps even taking on some of the features of a planned economy. However, he said, if capitalism is to fall there must be some economic system ready to take its place, and therefore he undertook to examine the Socialist claim.

The success of any economic system is measured by its effectiveness in producing and in just distribution, he said. He did not apply this criteria to capitalism, however, but launched into a criticism of Socialism. Professor Mead said, a Socialist state could not produce wealth as effectively as capitalism. The profit motive would be removed and progress would cease.

The Class Struggle

Professor Mead admitted the existence of the class struggle under capitalism, but insisted that Socialism would only substitute a conflict among grades of workers.

The historian said he agreed with Socialists "when they say that the World War was caused by nations fighting for coal, iron, oil, and the like," but he could not agree that to remove capitalism would be to remove the reasons for war. Human nature, he said, has never changed "from the days of Adam down," and "the substitution of any other economic system will not uproot these characteristics. History is against it."

Berenberg, in replying, questioned Mead's reasoning. To argue that the survival or failure of capitalism is dependent upon the economic system that may take its place is illogical, he said. Capitalism will or will not survive. If it does not, another economic system will follow it, but what follows capitalism in no way determines whether or not capitalism will survive.

Sketching the history of capitalism, Berenberg said that just as capitalism grew within the feudal state, so do the tendencies that lead to another form of economic life develop within capitalism.

Surplus-Value

The worker gets approximately 50% of the price of his product, and the rest is retained in the form of profit, interest, and rent. Capital accumulates, and it must be re-invested to insure further profits. It may be used to develop economically backward nations or new industries. The backward nations become developed and the new industries produce an abundance of goods. Then capitalist nations turn to war on each other in order to snatch markets for goods and capital.

In the days of the Coolidge-Hoover prosperity it was futile to speak of planned economy, but now, after the evaporation of the promises of the New Capitalism, serious consideration is given to that idea. If planned economy means anything, it means the abandonment of the policy of laissez-faire, it means government regulation of hours and wages and the right to invest. What then becomes of the basic premises of capitalism?

Constant Evolution

Human society, said Berenberg, is in constant evolution, and so is

human nature. People and conditions of a thousand and even a hundred years ago are different, and individuals and their motives remain, by and large, the reflection of social conditions.

In his rebuttal Mead insisted upon his right to criticize Socialism when discussing "Can Capitalism Survive?" We shouldn't worry if capitalism collapses "after we're dead," he said. He surprised the audience by saying, "I am not so silly as to deny that capitalism may disappear in the future," and also "Laissez-faire is shot to pieces." However, he persisted, a planned economy is possible under capitalism.

Berenberg in his rebuttal pointed out that Socialists watch for trends and point them out, and say to society, "These are the trends. Act." he commented upon Professor Mead's lack of worry for posterity by comparing it to the French king's "After us, the deluge."

The reception that capitalism gave to the Swope Plan by no means showed a trend toward planning, said Berenberg. The productive powers of machinery have only been touched, he said. Capitalism curbs improvements because it wants to save its capital investment. If the manpower wasted in useless personal services were applied to production, machinery as we know it would become more productive than we have ever imagined. After that, it becomes a question of distribution.

A large audience listened thoughtfully to a thoughtful discussion of a serious subject.

MICHAEL STRANGE, SHIPLEY AND DeWITT AT FORUM SYMPOSIUM

Michael Strange, noted poet and playwright, will hold the platform together with Joseph T. Shipley and Samuel A. DeWitt Sunday night at the Brooklyn Forum in a symposium on "The Theatre as a Social Force." Michael Strange—whose name fools a lot of people into thinking that the charming and attractive lady who bears it is a man—will answer the questions whether the stage must be radical; whether it can be conservative; if it expresses reality, or should it emphasize sex. The other two speakers are brilliant poets, and members of The New Leader staff.

In addition Jacob Peuring, distinguished pianist, will give a recital of music by Schumann, Debussy and Chopin.

Capitalism Destroys Homes

DENVER, Colo.—Rev. Hugh L. McMenamin, rector of the Immaculate Conception Church here, declared American capitalism is responsible for the appalling increase in broken homes. He said the demands of big business for large profits resulted in starvation wages for men, and when they became unable to support their families the women and children were forced to obtain jobs to make up the deficit in the family budget.

Socialist No. 10 —

IN the first place it is a question whether or not Isaac A. Hourwich belongs at all in this gallery of Socialists of the past. There is no doubt that he was a remarkable man, a brilliant man, and, personally, one of the most delightful of men. But whether he really was a Socialist at all, has been doubted; that is, by everybody except himself.

Isaac Hourwich used to wear a gold question mark as a tie pin. When other men, his followers, likewise began to wear question marks in their neckties, Hourwich discarded his and began to wear a little devil's head. He would never conform with others, even his followers and admirers, and it made him uncomfortable if anybody agreed with him on anything.

Isaac Hourwich was a Russian and an American. At the same time he was a member of the Russian bar and of the American bar. While he was active in American public life he was running for the Duma in Russia.

Dr. Hourwich was very many things; a high grade, expert statistician, highly regarded by the census bureau and author of valuable reports in the 1900 and the 1910 censuses.

He was a fiery agitator for the things that interested him, he was a Socialist of sorts (and of tremendous influence in the movement), he was a scholar and a journalist. And he was a prince of good fellows.

Hourwich was born in Vilna April 26, 1860. He studied at Minsk and St. Petersburg. He became a lawyer and practiced in Russia. Then he came to the United States, and got a fellowship at Columbia, received his Ph.D. there with a dissertation that became famous, a work on the Economics of the Russian Village. He was admitted to practice law in Russian in 1887, he found his

in Illinois University or so (he people know Hourwich job in the reemploye



Dr. Isaac Hourwich

of gathering the vast and Mines and books in the work is of peo Meanwhile, increasingly socialists. Since York Socialists ated with the Party, he jo Democracy. Social Democrat he found his

With the H

IT was one year ago last Saturday that Manchukuo was born as the illegitimate child of Japan, following the rape of China. And all the stuck-up nations refused to attend Manchukuo's birthday party!

Manchukuo is crying, and Japan is sore. Japan can't understand why England, France, Italy, etc. can have their morganatic offspring recognized, while they can't.

The League of Nations has received a report from a special committee urging that Japan be censured for conduct becoming only to a first-rate white man's nation like England of France.

Japan believes in self-determination in Manchukuo. Japan has determined itself to be the boss down there.

The Chinese won't give up without a fight.

Yura Nudder wants to know how the Japanese and Chinese know whom to shoot when they're in a war, because she can't tell a Japanese apart from a Chinese.

The Japanese sure are having a swell time, though. There isn't much to eat at home, but think of all the glory the Japanese peasants will have about a hundred years from now when the history books will tell how the Nipponese Empire was created!

It must be hard on a fellow to

be a member of tion with onl and no milita proud the Rom to feel, rowing

The Japanese su the depression Their people ke and their ind es, war-time orde But they have prospering. The re ing history.

History manetur bad business do ple pay some and the com ever to keep paying re

Remember w the Tower of Babel We' ing installments or th years, and we do ow thing yet.

Another thing out manufacturing customer has to likes the article it. not take it and pay the Trojan war, n't get two cent on a trade-in fo anet

A good many us d Civil War, but were p

As for th people are can't afford hell and fail to

Profiles — A. Hourwich

in New York ways found an excuse to be with the non-conformers—outside the ranks.

In 1906, came the feeble flicker of democracy in Russia, and Hourwich went back to run for the Duma—but not as a Socialist! He found excellent reasons for finding himself in the Cadet party of Paul Milyukov in opposition to Socialist candidates.

There was no man he disliked worse than Daniel de Leon, but he used to vote the S.L.P. ticket because all his friends voted the Socialist ticket. In 1912 he told me sorrowfully, "I guess I'll have to vote for 'Gene Debs, though I hate to do it. The Republicans will nominate fat Bill Taft and the Democrats that so-and-so Wilson, and I can't see my way out of supporting Debs." But he did find his way out!

A few months later the Roosevelt Progressives met in Chicago and excluded Negro delegates from the South. "What has your party to say in protest at this outrage?" he demanded of me. I told him we had other things to think about than the vagaries of the Bull Moose crusaders, but he seriously told me that the failure of the Socialist Party to protest against something done by the Bull Moose party caused him to desert our party and support that one! I suspect he was just looking for a plausible excuse to wriggle out of voting with the crowd as capitalist politicians had for years been embroiled in disputes regarding Negro delegates to conventions.

A year later, in 1913, he was running for Congress on the Bull Moose ticket to fill a vacancy. His two candidacies, both, by the way, unsuccessful, one in Russia and one in Harlem, were on non-Socialist tickets and against Socialists, although he stoutly maintained he was the best Socialist of us all. It would take more space than

History Makers

... easily little na-
... few battleships
... military
... the Rom-
... they slave used
... rowing
... to glory!

The only way to get out of paying for the war, or any other historical article, is to resign from the human race. And if you've failed to meet your obligations here, you'll be blackballed out of heaven.

Our ancestors—the sweet darlings—made plenty of expensive history for us. Now it's up to us to play the same kind of tricks on our descendants.

By the way, now is the time when a fellow can get himself some well ancestors at bargain rates. They're offering two admirals and one mistress for ten dollars at a downtown antique shop, and the frames alone are worth the money.

Outside of getting cock-eyed drunk, making history is the best way to have a little fun out of life. Making history is better because you can charge it, while you have to pay cash for the rotgut.

We can fix it easy so that our cute little grandchildren will be born right in the hands of receivers.

Their first words will be their testimony in supplementary proceedings.

Talk about being born naked—they'll owe a first and second mortgage on their skins. F. H.

By Joseph E. Cohen

The R.F.C. Should Reconstruct; But That's What It's Not Doing

General Dawes Admits Bankers Aren't Playing Fair—
Workers Should Be Set to Work at Real Wages
—Where to Begin.

TO turn a famous saying of history to good use: What is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?—Nothing, for the people. What could it be?—Everything. If only it would reconstruct!

Leading the march of the experts before the Senate committee, Bernard M. Baruch dared to say: "We have not yet taken one really constructive step." What a blow that was!

Applied to the R. F. C., it had the full force of truth back of it. Such testimony as that of General Charles G. Dawes wipes out any pretense of some bankers to play a fair game with the government for its money. The petty cash thus far returned by the railroads for the many millions they borrowed is another part of the same answer. And the skating of insurance companies close to the danger signal helps make the picture one of distress without relief.

Does Not Reconstruct
The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is not reconstructing.

Instead of business being any better off, only the bankers have been getting their money back after the government borrowed it at a high rate of interest in its bond issue to get funds for the R. F. C.

here available merely to list Hourwich's varied activities. He wrote in Yiddish for many papers—learning to write that language after he was 35.

He employed many different pseudonyms; and being the kind of man he was, I can quite believe that articles by "Isaac Halevy" were quoted in arguments against points raised by "Yitzchok Isaac"—both Dr. Hourwich.

He wrote many and important books on immigration, economics and other subjects. He fought manfully to rescue refugees from Russia from being turned back to the hangmen of the Czar.

He bitterly criticized the Socialist Party for not having a policy on immigration as uncompromising as he would have liked; and he supported parties of time-servers and trimmers to punish our party! He entered the labor movement, and for years thereafter a particularly turbulent local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was known as Local Hourwich.

He joined our party at the time of the war; he went to Russia and became a bitter opponent of Bolshevism, just at the time his son became an important commissar. He wrote against Bolshevism and carried on business with the Soviets. And he died in 1924.

Isaac A. Hourwich was a man of charm and of genuine brilliance. Those who knew him respected him, although party Socialists might have been impatient with him (as we were). But his curious attitude of always being against the crowd was of enormous value. People disagreed with him, but he made them think to justify their position. He occupied a unique place in our movement. He was responsible for more thought than any other man I ever knew—and that entitles him to his place here.

W. M. F.
(Next week: Edward Bellamy)

OF course I wouldn't be without The New Leader under any circumstances, even though it is hard to get money now. The New Leader is splendid for party news and general articles of interest to all active Socialists.
(N. W. Tillotson, Erie, Pa.)

As for labor: If any number have been put to work through the open-handed generosity of the corporation, the proof is sadly missing. Figures of unemployment keep on shooting upward. Wages are still tumbling. Prices are sinking. And misery is deepening and growing more widespread and terrifying.

In every section there is the tramp of idle thousands begging for food and impoverished farmers claiming legislative relief. The gold of the R. F. C. has turned to moonshine, so far as the people go. That fond offspring of a Hoover fancy is well named "The Romance Corporation." But a romance with a very sad end.

Started Wrong

Small wonder there is talk of finishing it forthwith.

That scheme never started right. The thought was that all the industrial pump needed was priming with ready cash. Existing assets were frozen. They required thawing out. So money was poured down the old well.

But the entire industrial system is cracked. Before production reaches the top where it can hire men and yield earnings, it is seeping out on all sides through channels in the subsoil. If the old well can be rebuilt the same soft clay cannot be used to plaster the walls. The masonry will have to be new, solid and permanent.

The R. F. C. will have to reconstruct. It will have to begin at the bottom. It will have to be firm in requiring that money it advances goes for industrial improvement.

Whether through this corporation or any other governmental agency, Federal funds must start with bettering the condition of the masses. That means, building up the buying power of the public by putting out more spending money.

Must Pay Real Wages

Real reconstruction would pay reconstruction wages on all work done through government money. Prevailing union rates would be adhered to. Decent standards would be maintained. There would be no starvation rations cruelly labeled "Relief."

What public works the government sets out to do would be backed by the resources and confidence of the richest nation on earth. The government would take hold where the industrial and financial lords fell down. Railroads, insurance companies and the banks would be reconstructed by government aid. The patient would not die, but it would never again be the same. For all time to come, it would be a public servant.

What the broken-down well of wealth-production needs is reconstruction. Where that is to begin is with the providing of just incomes to the great bulk of the people.

There will be no reconstruction until everyone is allowed to work and every family entitled to buying power to consume the tremendous wealth created. That is where to begin.

Orville Hataway, Chicago, writes: "I have long read The New Leader and have found it . . . a refreshing antidote for the poison of the commercial press."

THE CHATTERBOX

It's Smart to Kid the Bankers,
Now That the World Has Fallen
On Evil Days--But Once on a Time!

By S. A. DeWitt

THERE is a veritable flood of jokes about bankers over the land. And that sort of happening bodes little good to the sacred institutions of America. A scant seven score years separates the advent of Voltaire's quips and jibes at kings and priestcraft, and the present public jeering at the erstwhile heroes of the average man. 1793 A. D. brought a bloody upheaval. . . . 1933 A. D. holds a nasty promise. . . .

Some of the terrible heresies committed by salesmen, buyers, agents, and white-collar lads by the tales they tell cannot be re-told here because of postal laws and general statutes regulating the limits that a publication must observe as to ordinary decent language. . . .

The few that can appear here are not half bad. . . . One story, for example, has surgeon, an engineer and a banker in a hotel smoking room, discussing which of theirs was the most ancient profession. . . . Said the surgeon, "Why we fellows pursue the oldest profession known to mankind. . . . Does not the good book tell of how the Lord came down and took a rib out of Adam, and fashioned him a mate thereof. . . ." He puffed his cigar, made a ring of smoke and added, "Doesn't that prove that surgery was the first. . . ?"

Here the engineer interrupted, "Aw shucks, that same Good Book tells how in the beginning the Lord took six days to create heaven and earth. . . . That was some engineering feat, I'll say, and that was long before the surgical operation on Adam. . . . Tell me then, who came first, the engineer or the rib-scraper. . . ?" . . . The crestfallen doctor and the elated engineer both turned on the banker, who, to their mind, certainly had no show in this game. . . .

But the banker, hooked his thumbs under his vest armholes, took a deep draw at his cigar, and blandly remarked, "Before Adam and his rib, before the creation of the cosmos, the same Good Book says there was Chaos, and wherever there is Chaos there are bankers. . . ."

Then there is one about the good bank customer who came in to borrow \$10,000 from his bank. The vice-president greeted him with the usual goodfellowship, asked him to sit down and handed out a cigar with generous abandon. . . .

"Well, Mr. Smith, what can we do for you today?" queried the banker. . . . "I need ten thousand dollars for sixty days to finance my spring buying," Mr. Smith stated calmly.

"Well, well, that is a strange request in these days, Mr. Smith. Especially since an up-to-the-minute business man like you should know that we have been out of the lending market for the past twelve months. I hate to turn you down with just a 'no' for an answer, however. . . . I know you to be a pretty good sport, and I'll give you a sporting chance. . . . I'll bet you fifty dollars you cannot tell which one of my eyes is the glass one. . . . If you guess right I'll lend you the ten thousand. If you fail, you're out the fifty and your chance to be accommodated here. . . . What do you say?"

Mr. Smith was taken aback at the proposition at first. Of course, he expressed his sorrow and ignorance regarding the banker's glass eye, and all that, and then accepted the proposal by putting up his money against that of the vice-president. . . . He then proceeded to peer intently into the banker's unwinking eyes, and after a few moments he exclaimed, "It is your left eye that's the glass one. . . ."

The vice-president jerked, fumbled and then stiffened in his seat. He showed real surprise. . . . "Strange enough, you're the first man in twenty that has guessed right. . . . You win of course, but pray tell me how did you arrive at your conclusion. . . ?"

"Oh, easily enough, old boy, easily enough," Mr. Smith quietly replied. . . . "I looked and I looked and when I discovered the eye that showed the faintest gleam of human kindness, I knew I had the right one. . . . The story ends there, and one wonders whether Mr. Smith did get the loan. . . ."

When one considers that the worst defamers of these honorable folk are the very ones who used to fawn before their desks and hover worshipfully over every utterance and gesture they made in the glad days before the big smash-up. . . .

Why even among our own Socialists, I can remember six or seven years back how any mention I made in my column in jest or ironic slapstick about them, eyebrows lifted in slanted disagreement, and made silent warning to go easy. . . .

Of course that was due to the fact, perhaps, that labor unions and party affiliates were entering this sacred field. With just one or two brilliant exceptions, labor banks failed to reach anywhere near the purposes upon which they first set forth. . . . The system did for them what it so disastrously accomplished for the out-and-out capitalist banks. . . .

By sticking to the rigid rule of conservative, old-line investments, and methods of rigid protection of its depositors money enabled the Amalgamated Bank of New York to pull through these years of stress and storm, and to remain as almost the solitary example of what a small bank can and must do to live and carry on safely in this jungle of unscrupulous, greedy finance. . . .

We might proudly say here that it has carried on so well because a Socialist is its president, and a number of honest and able union officials are directing its destinies. . . . And so that in the larger sense they really are not bankers, as we understand them, at all. . . .

'LEFT' PARTIES APPEAL FOR UNITY OF ACTION

By Laurence Todd

AN appeal to the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International for unity of action in the face of world-wide reaction and danger of Fascism has been made by a conference of seven "left" parties and factions that met recently in Paris.

The group of "left" factions, some of them still within the Labor and Socialist International, have been closely cooperating in the past three years, and it is believed they are seeking to form a new International, through which they will endeavor to bridge the gap between the Communist International and the Labor and Socialist International.

The parties that cooperated in the call are the British I. L. P. (which recently withdrew from the Labor Party and ran candidates in opposition to the Labor Party in the November municipal elections); the Norwegian Labor Party, a powerful party once the largest in that country, but now second to the Social Democratic Party; the Independent Socialist Labor Party of Poland; the Socialist Labor Party of Germany, which polled 70,000 votes last November; the Italian Socialist Party, a small faction of the Italian Party in exile; and the Party of Proletarian Unity, the so-called Communist-Socialists of France.

Get your petitions for Unemployment Insurance. Write at once to Room 607, 7 East 15th Street.

NEW LEADER FORUM

THE READING REFERENDUM

Herbert Merrill in The Leader thought it would be well to amend our referendum to establish a ratio regarding the issuance of exempt stamps of one exempt to two regulars.

Perhaps the situation in Reading maybe somewhat different than in other places, but we find in some of our branches more than half our members are unemployed, and are unable to pay dues, and this condition is steadily growing worse.

Now Article XI, Nat. Constitution, says: "Members in arrears for three months are more and who have not asked for exempt stamps shall be considered in arrears, and shall NOT be entitled to the privileges of membership." We now find some of our OLD and ACTIVE members who have been out of work a year or more are not able to pay and with the present ratio two to five, we will not have stamps to place in their due book, and the result will be that many could not participate in party work. This would engender so much bitterness that it would be irreparable.

Local Berks of Reading has always been in the forefront of Party work and Socialist agitation, and never did have "paper locals." We believe however that exempt stamps should be issued "As required" as the referendum states. We do not believe it is well to invite people into our organization and tell them they must now get out because they cannot pay 35 cents after they have given years of effort to Socialism; so, this change in the Constitution would take care of the difficulty, and we feel that when the Comrades can again pay dues they will be only too glad to do so.

The previous method of issuing exempt stamps was working out satisfactorily, and we feel that the National Sec. should be allowed to continue to give to State Secretaries, "Exempt stamps as required," hence our appeal for a referendum, and fooling around with amendments establishing ratios will not meet the situation in all localities.

Ralph O. Bigony, Organizer and Chas. F. Sands, member of State Executive Committee.

WASHINGTON. — Charges that labor is being ruthlessly exploited, and that the lives, safety and health of workers at Hoover Dam are deliberately endangered by the anti-union Six Companies, Inc., the general contractors to whom the Hoover administration let the construction job, were made to the Senate by Senator Oddie, regular Republican, of Nevada.

Oddie, now going out of office, abandoned his support of Secretary of the Interior Wilbur, and denounced Wilbur's attitude of indifference or actual hostility to criticism of conditions at the big dam. He urged adoption of his resolution which calls for a Senate inquiry into his charges.

Evasion of mine safety laws of Nevada, and creation of a business monopoly at Boulder City, the senator said, were equally flagrant with the mistreatment of labor.

During the period of 8 months of construction prior to November 13, 1931, when the Nevada state mine safety laws were being enforced, Oddie testified, only 3 fatal and 121 non-fatal accidents occurred on the job; but 22 fatal and 756 non-fatal accidents have occurred during the 14 months since the order was issued by the Federal district court forbidding

enforcement of state laws by the State Mine Inspector.

"Over 7 times the number of fatal and 6 times the number of non-fatal accidents have taken place," Oddie declared, "since the Six Companies, Inc., has been able to introduce cheaper methods of construction and thus profit at the expense of the life, safety and health of the workers in its employment."

"Clark County, Nevada, has been obliged to increase its expenditures, due to influx of workers seeking employment at the dam and in the employ of the Six Companies, Inc., for additional policing, schooling, road maintenance, etc., up to Aug. 29 last, by \$241,522, which is an increase of 31.5 per cent in the tax rate above the legal limit. Yet the Six Companies, Inc., has escaped payment of taxes due Clark County and the State of Nevada, largely through the subterfuge of the Secretary of the Interior in attempting without adequate constitutional and legal authority to create a reservation at Hoover Dam of exclusive federal jurisdiction."

The merchandizing monopoly of the contractors is worked through the Boulder City Co., a subsidiary of Six Companies, Inc. Between paydays the Six Companies, Inc., issues paper and metal scrip money, redeemable at its store. This system injures private stores licensed by Wilbur to operate in Boulder City. The scrip money is sold at 75 to 80 cents on the dollar for real cash, when the men need cash. Oddie denounced this system as a vicious type of "sweating" of labor, and his demand that it be stopped was endorsed by

President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Green wrote Oddie that "Payment in scrip redeemable only in merchandise at company stores means coercion of a most vicious kind; exploitation of a most reprehensible character and a reduction in wages which is unjust and unfair."

Not satisfied with this robbery of the workers—who dare not protest because other men are waiting to take their jobs—the Six Companies, Inc., has deducted \$3 from the wages of every worker for alleged poll tax; but not a dollar of the \$34,611 thus far collected by the company has been paid to the county or state. Oddie branded this fraud as "highhanded, inhuman and unfair."

BOOKS IN BRIEF

An Old Agrarian

By James Oneal

LIFE OF JOHN TAYLOR. By Henry H. Simms, Ph.D. The William Byrd Press, Inc., Richmond, Va. \$3.50.

AS the sub-title to this biography states, it relates the story of a "brilliant leader in the early Virginia state rights school." But John Taylor was something more than a leader. In the words of Charles A. Beard, "he was, perhaps, the most systematic thinker that his party produced within the two decades which followed the adoption of the Constitution." Beard adds that Taylor's main work, "An Inquiry Into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States," deserves to "rank among the two or three really historic contributions to political science in the United States."

Those who are acquainted with the work and writings of Taylor will agree that this is not an exaggerated estimate. While he was a Jeffersonian, he was independent in his thinking and action. Like Jefferson, he was a well-to-do planter but opposed to that section of the planting aristocracy which for a time was the ally of the Washington-Hamilton Federalists. Taylor's philosophy was that of a white agrarian democracy allied with mechanics, to whom he appealed in his smaller volume, "Arator," a collection of agricultural essays. He would range these two groups against manufacturing capitalists and bankers, holding that the economic interests of the first two were opposed to the interests of the second two groups.

Taylor's first work mentioned above was intended as an answer to a notable book of John Adams, who also frankly discussed the differing interests associated with differing forms of property, but who ranged himself with the upper class groups in the struggle for power. That period was one of much more frankness in political and economic discussions than today, as gentlemen could bare their most innermost thoughts in those days when property qualifications excluded masses of farmers and workers from the franchise.

Taylor was born in Virginia about 1753 and died in 1834 when changing economic conditions indicated that his agrarian philosophy could not make headway against the rise of the manufacturing and banking interests, although the latter were to receive a temporary set-back four years

MARX CELEBRATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON—An exhibition to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx is to be held at Transport House, London, headquarters of the British Labor Party, March 11 and 12. It will include exhibits depicting the association of Marx with the various working-class movements in Great Britain; photographs of his various places of residence and activities, and historical and literary features of the development of Marxism.

A cycle of six short poems by Josef Luitpold Stern, entitled "Kleine Musik um Karl Marx," has just been published by the Workers' Educational Centre in Vienna (Arbeiterbildungszentrale, Wien V Schönbrunnerstrasse 50). They are written in folk song style and deal with the mother of Marx, Jenny Marx, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The songs have been arranged by Paul Pisk for one male voice, one female voice, a reciter and a piano, (or a small or-

later with the triumph of Jacksonian Democracy. Professor Sims presents a satisfactory account of Taylor's career and his work in the Virginia Legislature, in Congress, before the Virginia bar, and his activities in state and national politics. A brilliant thinker, somewhat prolix in his writing, some of his views anticipated the Populism of the last decade of the nineteenth century. We could wish, however, that the author had given more attention to an exposition of the fundamentals of Taylor's philosophy in terms of the economic groupings of his time. This is not neglected but it is not as fully treated as it should be.

Among the Magazines

The Modern Monthly

A SIGNIFICANT change in American periodicals is the growth of V. F. Calverton's "The Modern Quarterly" into "The Modern Monthly." Although its contributors have not always been sure of their social background, the magazine has been the pioneer in the field of sociological criticism of literature; and its activity has extended into an examination of all phases of our life. The first issue of the Monthly, just out, contains a keen reduction of the claims made for T. S. Eliot, "Leisure Class Laureate," by E. S. Bates. There is also an interesting article, "Will Teachers Learn," by S. Spero, analyzing the causes of the buffeting to which teachers submit; and an excellent discussion by the editor—"Backward March: The Liberal Command"—tracing, through the history of the country, the way in which the so-called liberals have invariably been a force for reaction. Several other articles maintain the tone of sharp challenge to accepted ideas, and make the new Monthly worth watching for.

Contempo

The current issue of the courageous tri-weekly from Chapel Hill, N. C. is notable for the translation by E. E. Cummings of a revolutionary poem by Louis Aragon, and for the discussion of "L'Af-faire Aragon"—the arrest of the poet by the French authorities, and his ultimate discharge without trial. The poem is one of the strongest the Soviet government has yet inspired; it gathers power until the USSR that is repeated through it seems a great train sweeping across the continents. Whether it provokes agreement or argument, Contempo always wins our admiration for its intelligence and courage.

THE SOCIALIST STATE

By John Panzer

August Claessens in his pamphlet, "Essentials of Socialism," says: "Socialists believe that political and social democracy can only mature on the basis of Industrial Democracy. The Trade Unions are effective weapons in the struggle for economic betterment under present conditions and in the transition from Capitalism to Socialism they are destined to become the principal factors in management of Socialized Industries."

In the 1928 Hand Book Paul Blanchard says: "Perhaps the Senate would be abolished and side by side with a political Congress there might be established an Industrial Congress for the control of all the great Socialized Industries."

There are some Marxian students among us who seem to fear to say this as it might be called utopian. Then there are some that dismiss it on the ground that it is an I. W. W. or S. L. P. idea. Then there are some pure and simple Socialists who don't know what it's all about.

In speaking before some groups of Michigan farmers, if you criticize Capitalism they ask: What is the remedy? My explanation is that Socialism is an agricultural and industrial democracy, that there will be no dictatorship over them by the city workers of the Socialist political state, and that all questions about the transition from individual farming to collective farming will have to be settled by the farmers themselves.

You may say, "Oh, we don't want to compromise with the farmers, we don't need them." The writer came in contact with 85 Socialist farmers from Oklahoma while in Leavenworth, and found them very good timber. It's better to influence them with Socialist agitation than to leave them in the Democratic and Republican parties, or push them into a Fascist movement.

Detroit, Mich.

Get your petitions for Unemployment Insurance. Write at once to Room 607, 7 East 15th Street.

INDIANA PARTY BOOMS

INDIANAPOLIS—The party organization in Indiana is holding up remarkably well, despite economic conditions that make it difficult for thousands of workers to pay their dues, it is reported by Emma Henry, state secretary-treasurer.

The many locals, which functioned brilliantly during the campaign, are carrying on. There are now 51 locals in the state, and work is booming everywhere.

The State Committee at its recent meeting adopted resolutions against a Sales Tax and the abolishment of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

The Committee also took a stand against individuals starting publications under the guise of Socialist papers and soliciting money on that premise, because each such venture, doomed to failure before it gets started reflects upon the Party.

A Sub-Committee composed of Geo. M. Larrair, Powers Hapgood and Emma Henry was selected to make a drive for funds for the State work.

Much interest in manifested in the coming municipal campaigns in Indiana. A State conference will be called possibly the latter part of May to outline plans for campaign work.

Local Marion County is doing splendid work, with 15 active branches and two large classes in scientific Socialism. The Committee is to start a class in public speaking. A speakers' bureau will be established, listing all Socialist speakers in the state, and locals can secure their services through the State office.

Socialist Party Progress Incentive Under Socialism

For Drive Against Hunger

CHICAGO.—Nation-wide demonstrations of protest by the unemployed against cold, hunger and want on the day that Franklin D. Roosevelt takes the oath as President is called for in a communication mailed from the Chicago office of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America.

Addressed to organizations of unemployed workers the call concludes: "On March 4, a new administration assumes power in Washington. Its greatest problem is unemployment. On that date, your temporary executive committee calls upon every member organization of the federation to call a mass meeting in its town or city and forward resolutions through delegates in Washington demanding:

"A special session of congress to enact legislation. For immediate increases in direct unemployment relief. For public works, especially slum clearance. For unemployment compensation and a national system of unemployment bureaus. For a shorter work day and work week with no reduction in pay. For old age pensions to remove the aged from employment and give security to them. For child-labor laws to remove children from the labor market."

USING THE DEPRESSION TO DRIVE DOWN WAGES

BALTIMORE, Md.—Certain Baltimore corporations use the Family Welfare Association as a tool to force down the wages of their employees.

This is how the racket is worked. The corporation tells its employees that on a certain day their wages are to be cut. The day before the Family Welfare Association notifies men on the relief rolls that on the following day jobs will be open for them, and they are given the address.

The day the cut takes effect the employees see the employment office swamped with the Family Welfare men. If they object to the cut, plenty of men are on hand to take their jobs. If the Welfare men protest against being used to scab they are dropped from the relief rolls, and their families can starve.

When the officials of the People's Unemployment League protested to the heads of the relief agency against their members being used in this fashion they were told that the agency would continue this policy regardless of the facts thus brought to light.

The Maryland Dry Dock Company is one of the Baltimore corporations using this neat device to cut wages.

NORWAY'S SOCIALISTS FOR DISARMAMENT

THE Report of the Parliamentary Committee to the Norwegian Storting on the reorganization of the Norwegian Defense Forces, including budgetary estimates amounting to 32 million Norwegian crowns annually, has now been published.

It is rejected by the minority consisting of the representatives of the Norwegian Labor Party, the largest political party in the country. They would in the first place have the matter referred to the country in the forthcoming autumn elections. In any case they propose a complete liquidation of the present defense system of the country and its substitution by a coast and frontier guard system, estimated at an annual cost of 8 millions crowns.

They particularly object to the proposal of the present semi-fascist Ministry of National Defence, Mr. Quisling, to subsidize voluntary corps for training officers, would have such armed private or semi-private corps prohibited altogether.

"Four Year Plan" Activities

State secretaries of Washington, Montana, Kansas and Missouri wrote last week to locals, branches and members-at-large, urging support of the plan. Missouri, in fact, swung into action during January, and two branches in the state have achieved twice the goal set for them, Local Poplar Bluff, and the 15th Ward branch of St. Louis. Ross Magill, state secretary of Kansas, has just completed a tour of the southwestern part of the state, encouraging locals and members-at-large in organization work.

CALIFORNIA

With the co-operation of Los Angeles Workers' Groups, an Illinois Miners Benefit will be given by the YPSL, March 5. Proceeds will go to the striking Illinois miners through the Socialist Party Midwest Striking Miners Relief Committee.

LECTURE NOTES

Scott Nearing will lecture on "The Beginning of World Economy," at Ambassador Hall, 3875 Third Ave., Bronx, Wednesday evening, March 1.

The Cooper Union lectures of the People's Institute for the coming week are as follows: Feb. 24, Dr. Everett Dean Martin, "Darwin: The Decent of Man—Does the Evolution of Species of Organisms Apply to Social Progress?" Feb. 26, Nathaniel Peffer, "History's Lesson: The Reckoning in International Relations." Feb. 28, Professor E. G. Spaulding, "The Nature of the Organism: Machine or Not?"

Cecil Hedrick will speak on "The Preservation of Values in a Deteriorating Society," at the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave., Sunday at 7:45.

Labor Hits Non-Union Dog Track

Organized Labor of Tampa, Fla., reported progress in the fight against the Sulphur Springs Dog Track, which refused to employ local and union labor after a verbal and written agreement to do so. The labor committee in charge of the campaign against dog track management distributes circulars regarding the anti-union outfit and uses a sound truck twice a week with side banners carrying the same advertisements.

Schroeder on the Air

Theodore Schroeder, noted libertarian, who makes his winter home in the Virgin Islands, will speak on "What Have We Done for the Virgin Islands?" over Station WPCB Friday at 4 p. m. Mr. Schroeder is noted as one of the bravest battlers for freedom of conscience and expression in the country, and it is said he has a startling story to tell.

L.I.D. LUNCHEON

The Socialization of Poverty will be discussed at the luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy in the Hotel Woodstock, 127 W. 43rd St., Feb. 25, at 12:45 p. m. The following speakers will participate: Norman Thomas, Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Dr. George K. Pratt. LeRoy E. Bowman will preside. Reservations for the luncheon should be made to the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St.

COLORADO

Local Denver holds weekly business and educational meetings, alternately. Attendance is increasing, and membership has increased considerably since the start of the Herman Thomas campaign. Through the kind donations of some Denver comrades of some books, a small Socialist loan and rental library has been started here at headquarters. Sale of party press, including The New Leader, is increasing.

The State Office urges all comrades to get new readers for the American Guardian and The New Leader.

WISCONSIN

The Milwaukee Yipsels are making a house-to-house canvass for (Continued on Page Twelve)

Kentucky Appeal Will Be Heard February 28th

Argument on appeal against the conviction of W. B. Jones, mine union secretary, in the Evarts, Kentucky, battle murder cases, will be heard by the state court of appeals February 28th. Jones expects his conviction to be reversed, and has issued a statement to the effect "That when all the evidence in my case is weighed by the Appellate Court it will be found that I was convicted by perjured testimony. That is evident on the face of the trial record."

The remaining murder cases will go before the March term of court at Harlan, Kentucky. F. M. Bratcher, one of the three miners who will appear for trial has had four trials on conspiracy charges. At one trial he was acquitted and in the others juries could not arrive at a verdict.

The General Defense Committee is in need of funds to carry on the fight for the freedom of the Kentucky defendants and extend relief to their families. The New York Conference is holding a dance at the Masonic Building, Room 306, 71 W. 23rd St., on March 4th.

THE CHORUS OF CHAOS

STILL another schism has occurred to justify the above caption. Never has chaotic opinion been more rife than today. There have been four Communist groups, the regular party, the Cannon group, the Lovestone group, the Weisbord group, and the Proletarian party. Add to them a fifth, one led by Ben Gitlow against the Lovestonites.

In behalf of the new faction, Gitlow issued a statement denouncing the Stalin policies and holding the Stalin regime responsible for the economic crisis in Russia. At the same time the Gitlow faction charged that Lovestone was "adopting a backstairs policy of getting back into the official Stalinist Communist party" and was trying to get the members of his group back into the party, "thus helping the official Communist party to further carry out its disruptive work in the labor movement."

Lovestone also was accused of being "ready to submit to the puppet regimes set up in the Communist International by the Stalin leadership" and to "the puppet regime system in the American Communist party." The Lovestone group was charged with "unprincipled, opportunistic" action in "giving up the fight against the Stalin regime."

Canadian Socialist Monthly

VANCOUVER, B. C.—The Socialist Party of Canada, which is affiliated with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, has a new monthly magazine, "The Clarion," published at 140 E. 8th Ave., Vancouver. The articles are chiefly of the magazine type, but short summaries of news events of interest to Socialists are also included.

A VIGOROUS attack upon the doctrine that the only incentive for men to do their best work is the profit motive is embodied in "Incentives Under Capitalism and Socialism" by Harry W. Laidler, just published by the League for Industrial Democracy.

Laidler points out that as time goes on and industry becomes more complex the incentive of direct profit becomes a matter of decreasing moment. The inventors who created great things for humanity and who received little or no financial reward for them, the heads of great cooperative movements who directed business totaling tens of millions for modest salaries, men like General Goethals and others who did magnificent public work for the modest pay of government service—these are cited as proofs that a profit incentive is not needed to get important work done.

Dr. Laidler points to the new types of public ownership which have developed in many countries, operated at cost, for the public good—including the Port of New York Authority.

Referring to incentives under capitalism and Socialism for the ordinary worker, Laidler declares: "If we properly utilized our industrial equipment it would be possible on a four hour day to produce a good American living for all. Socialism would eliminate many of the wastes of competitive industry. . . . Today thousands of workers know that the harder they labor and the sooner they finish a job, the sooner they will find themselves jobless."

"The fight for survival, for a living and saving wage, for economic security, are far more powerful influences in the daily activity of the ordinary worker than is the

dream of riches. The ordinary worker has everything to gain and nothing to lose by working for a cooperative system.

The note of optimism sounded in Laidler's conclusions is even more promising than the hope of \$20,000 a year for everyone, held out a few weeks ago by the "technocrats."

"Under Socialism every incentive, except that resulting from the mere ownership of capital and land, could be brought into play as a means of enhancing industrial activity. Good salaries, graded in such a way as to bring about the best social results, security of position, promotion for meritorious work, opportunity for self-expression and for the doing of constructive and creative work, public recognition, participation in industrial ownership and operation, fellowship in a great cause and other incentives would be available as a stimulus to maximum usefulness."

"LA PAROLA" IS 25 YEARS OLD

CHICAGO—With the current issue, "La Parola del Popolo," official Socialist Italian newspaper in the United States, celebrates its twenty-fifth birthday. A costume ball was held Saturday night by the Italian Federation branches in Chicago, who were joined in their rejoicing by all the party's organizations in the community.

Rivera Speaks for Socialists

DETROIT—Diego Rivera, great of Mexican artists, is speaking at the Detroit Socialist Forum Saturday night at eight o'clock. His subject will be "The Proletarian Art."

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

"THEATRE AS A SOCIAL FORCE"

SUNDAY, FEB. 26th
8:30 P. M.
BROOKLYN FORUM
B'lyn Academy of Music
30 Lafayette Avenue
near Flatbush Avenue
MICHAEL STRANGE - SHIPLEY
JOSEPH T. S. A. DEWITT
MUSICAL PROGRAM—JACOB FEUERRING
Tickets—\$1.10, 85c, 25c at Box Office or Hand Bookstore, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

550 West 116th Street East of Broadway
Sunday, 8 P. M.—**JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES**
"Shall We Cancel the War Debts?"
11 A.M.—Sunday Service, Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street
MR. HOLMES: "Three Men Who Can End War Today."

League for Industrial Democracy

LUNCHEON-DISCUSSION
Saturday, Feb. 25th, 12:45 P. M.
Hotel Woodstock, 127 W. 43rd Street.
The Socialization of Poverty
Speakers:
NORMAN THOMAS
Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy
Bishop FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
Methodist Episcopal Church of New York
DR. GEORGE K. PRATT
formerly assistant medical director of the Nat'l Com. for Mental Hygiene
LEROY E. BOWMAN, Chairman
Members, 75c; Non-members, \$1.00; Student members, 60c.
L. I. D., 112 East 19th Street.

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union, 8th St. & Astor Pl.
at 8 o'clock Admission free
Friday evening, Feb. 24th:
Dr. Everett Dean Martin
"Darwin: The Decent of Man—Does the Evolution of Species of Organisms Apply to Social Progress?"
Sunday evening, Feb. 26th:
Nathaniel Peffer
"History's Lesson: The Reckoning in International Relations."
Tuesday evening, Feb. 28th:
Professor E. G. Spaulding
"The Nature of the Organism: Machine or Not?"

SCOTT NEARING

Second lecture in Course of Seven on
"The New World Economy"
Subject:
"The Beginning of World Economy"
Wednesday, March 1, 1933
8 p. m., at
Ambassador Hall, 3875 Third Ave.,
BRONX (near Claremont Parkway)
Admission 25c
Anspice—Friends of the Soviet Union,
789 Broadway, Room 336, N. Y.

Socialist Party Progress

(Continued from Page Eleven)

clothes and food for the Illinois miners.

Madison.—An unconditional moratorium on mortgage foreclosures "until the dollar is restored to the 1928 level" has been proposed by State Senator Walter Polakowski, Socialist.

Milwaukee.—A group of persons interested in the problems of unemployment met in the office of Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, organized a citizens' committee on commodity production and exchange, and adopted a program proposed by Al Benson, George Hampel and Professor J. R. Cotton. At the same time, a resolution calling for municipal aid to a cooperative commodity exchange was introduced by Alderman Leonard Place, Socialist.

ILLINOIS

Open Forum, conducted by Sixth Congressional District Branch, meeting at 3322 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, first and third Wednesday, at 8:30 P. M. March 1st: Symposium on "What Makes a Socialist Newspaper." Morris Siskind (Labor Editor, Forward) and Mordecai Shulman. March 15th: Harold Kelso (National office) "Karl Marx and the Paris Commune of 1871."

INDIANA

Proposed Referendum.—Local Marion proposes an amendment to Section 4 of Article XI of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party, which would change that section to read as follows:

"The National Executive Committee shall also issue exempt stamps to be given free to state and local organizations. Such exempt stamps shall be given to members who are unable to pay dues. Members in organized locals receiving exempt stamps must attend at least one-half of all the regular local meetings each month, and failure to do this shall be equivalent to non-payment of dues for the month. Sickness, absence from home, or attendance at union or church activities where the meetings of these organizations are held at the same hour as the local meetings, can, at the discretion of the local, be deemed valid excuses for non-attendance, and members so excused shall not lose their standing."

Seconds for the motion made by Local Marion will therefore be received until May 17, 1933. Notice of second, with statement of dues paying membership of the local should be sent to Clarence Senior executive secretary, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.

MICHIGAN

Detroit.—James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, will deliver three lectures in Detroit and vicinity March 11th and 12th. One lecture will be in another city and two in Detroit. He will be the main speaker at the Karl Marx anniversary.

WEST VIRGINIA

Whereas: Local Morgantown learns with profound sorrow of the death of our staunch and loyal comrade Frank M. Chalfant, who was our financial secretary; and Whereas: Our departed comrade was a willing worker in and for the noble cause of Socialism, giving freely of his time and talent to the movement, a comrade who has served our party long and faithfully and well; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, his comrades and fellow-workers of Local Morgantown, W. Va., do hereby express our sense of loss of a tried and trusty worker in our glorious movement, and be it further resolved that we send our condolences to his bereaved family, and a copy of these resolutions, and that our charter be draped for thirty days.

VACIRCA ON FASCISM

Vincenzo Vacirca, brilliant lecturer and writer, and Socialist member of the Italian Parliament during the early years of Fascism, will deliver one lecture at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., before sailing for Europe. The lecture will be delivered Thursday, March 2nd, and the subject will be "Fascism as a 'Cure' for Capitalism."

Resolutions Committee: Wesley Burnworth, Jack Joseph and D. M. Cuppett.

VIRGINIA

The State convention will meet in Richmond, February 24th-27th. All sessions will be held in the Winter Garden on the ninth floor of the Hotel Richmond. There will be 106 delegates.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston.—The first meeting of the Forum at 6 Byron St. was a huge success. Every seat was taken. The second meeting was held Feb. 9, at 8 p. m.; a debate on the sales tax between Mr. Murnane and A. B. Lewis. Feb. 16, Rev. George L. Payne will speak on "Is Communism Succeeding in Russia?"

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia Lectures.—Dr. James W. Woodward, "Mental Immobility," Feb. 27, 1222 Locust St. Haim Kantorovitch, "The Psychology of The Class Struggle," Feb. 24th, 810 Locust St.

NEW JERSEY

Paterson.—Meeting every Saturday, 8, 66 Washington Street, 2nd

New York State

Socialist Enrollment.—State Secretary Merrill reports that the Socialist enrollment of every county so far received shows a big increase. Even St. Lawrence on the northern border shows an increased Socialist enrollment of considerably more than three fold. Figures for the whole state are not yet available.

SECOND WARNING.—The State Secretary once more warns locals and branches of the Socialist Party of disregard invitations made to conferences by any of the numerous aliases which Communists assume. The latest is the so-called "New York State Provisional Committee of Workers' Conference for Labor Legislation." The executive committee of this outfit, declares the State Secretary, is loaded down with Communists, and includes the Communist candidate for State Comptroller in the 1932 election.

New York City

WATCHERS WANTED!

THE party office is issuing a call for comrades to act as watchers to protect the interests of the party in the recount of the votes cast last November, which began Thursday, February 23. Volunteers should report at once to Julius Gerber, Room 601, 7 East 15th Street, and they will receive their assignments. The party will be able to use as many comrades as volunteers, so that the work may be spread out. No matter how much or how little time you are in a position to give your services are welcome. The canvass will continue for several weeks, the machines being inspected in warehouses in all five boroughs. This is highly important!

City Convention.—The City Convention will convene in the Debs Auditorium, 7 E. 15th St., Saturday afternoon, February 25th, at 2 p. m. The order of business will be Roll Call, adoption of rules, election of chairman, report of the executive committee, discussion and vote on the question, "Shall the party organization in New York be re-organized on the basis of autonomous country organizations?" election of committees.

Unemployment Insurance Petitions.—Every branch of the party and all allied organizations now have petitions in circulation. Those who need more are urged to get in touch with the city office, 7 E. 15th St. The aim is one million signatures by March 4th, and there must be constant solicitation. Petitions must be in circulation by every active party member and sympathizer.

City Central Committee.—The last meeting of the old City Central Committee will be held Saturday, Feb. 25, 8:30, at 7 E. 15th St. A meeting of the new City Central Committee will be held Wednesday, March 1, at 8:30 p. m.

Karl Marx Commemoration.—The city organization is arranging an impressive Karl Marx Memorial meeting in Town Hall, Sunday afternoon, March 19, at 2 p. m. The program will include addresses by Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and possibly Norman Thomas. An excellent musical program will be given by the Finnish Mixed

floor. Forum every Sunday, 8:30, Odd Fellows Hall, Ellison St., opp. City Hall. The following officers were elected for 1933: Secy. Peter Hoedemaker; Organizer, Garrett De Young; Fin. Secy-Treas., Geo. F. Walz. Ten important committees were elected and at a joint committee meeting Feb. 22nd the plans for the year were laid.

Passaic.—Friday, Feb. 24, Passaic Branch One presents James O'Neal, Editor of The New Leader, on "The Evolution of the American Socialist Movement," in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall, old Peoples Bank Building, Sunday Eve., Feb. 26, at the Workmen Circle Home, 50 Howe Ave., the Branch will hold a "Vecherinka", or Russian Tea.

CONNECTICUT

Stamford has grown from 3 to 35 members in a year.

Bridgeport.—Henry J. Rosner will speak at St. George's Hall, 396 Stratford Ave., Sunday at 8:30 on "Down with the Public Utility Rates." At 3 p. m. he speaks on the same subject in Norwalk.

New Haven.—Two hundred people attended an entertainment, dance and card party at party headquarters, 19 Elm Street, Monday night.

NASSAU COUNTY

Hempstead Branch.—Business meeting on Tuesday, February 28, 8 p. m., at the home of Comrade George Freeman, 32 Spruce Street, Hempstead.

S. E. Nassau Branch.—Business meeting on Wednesday, February 22, 8:30 p. m., office of Comrade Edward Marks, 65 Sunrise Highway, Freeport.

Hempstead Forum.—Meeting, Tuesday, February 21, at 8:30 p. m. Debate: "Is Capitalism Worth Saving?"; the affirmative position will be taken by the Hon. Elvin N. Edwards, District Attorney of Nassau County, and the negative will be defended by Comrade Charles Solomon.

Rand School Study Class.—Friday, February 17, at 8:30 p. m., at the home of Comrade Winnie Branstetter, 62 Seventh Street, Valley Stream.

Nussbaum, Rec. Sec'y.; Alex Fenster, Fin. Sec'y. and Treas.; Abraham P. Conan, Educational Director. The ball was a big success.

6th A. D.—Branch will meet on Monday, Feb. 27, in the club rooms, 48 Avenue C, 8:30 p. m. The forum continues at headquarters every Sunday evening.

Morningside Heights.—Branch meeting at 3109 Broadway, near 123rd St., Tuesday, Feb. 28, at 8:30. Lecture on "The Socialist Party as It Is and as It Should Be."

East Harlem Branches.—Tuesday evening forum established by the 17th, 18th and 29th A. D. Branch, Jewish Harlem Branch and the Y. P. S. L., started successfully with an audience which crowded headquarters. An interesting program has been arranged for every Tuesday evening. Organization meetings being called by a committee of Spanish speaking Socialists in an effort to organize a branch.

19th-21st A. D.—Branch meeting, Monday, Feb. 27, 8:30 p. m., at headquarters, 2005-7th Ave.

8th A. D.—Arranging series of affairs to foster contact with non-members. Committees being organized to visit inactive members and enrolled Socialists. Friday night forum is successful and a new Junior Yipsel group is being organized. Louis Schein has been elected branch organizer.

Chelsea.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Feb. 28, 8:30, to be followed by talk on "Socialism in South America," by Comrade Bruere. Thursday night, March 2nd, Mary Hillyer will lead class in Socialism in discussion of structure of the Socialist movement.

BRONX

Bronx County Ball.—The annual ball will take place Saturday night, March 18, in the Winter Garden, Washington and Tremont Avenues.

In addition to fine concert program in the early part of the night, Otto Mautner's Flying Dutchman will supply dance music. Tickets can be obtained at county headquarters, 9 West 170th St., and at branch headquarters. Members are urged to obtain advertisements for ball journal.

2nd A. D.—A social evening and dance has been arranged for Saturday, Feb. 28, in headquarters, 9 West 170th St. Regular branch meeting on Tuesday, Feb. 28, at 8:30 p. m.

7th A. D.—Branch will hold short business meeting Tuesday, Feb. 28, 8:30 p. m., at 789 Elmsmere Place. Alfred Belskin will follow with a lecture.

4th A. D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Feb. 28, 8:30, at 904 Prospect Ave. Abe Kaufman will speak on "Class Struggle and Class War" in the educational period. Inaugural dance "for the forgotten man" Saturday, March 4. Tickets on sale at Bellamy Club, or at 9 W. 170th St. Admission 25 cents.

5th A. D.—Branch meeting on Tuesday, Feb. 28, 8:30, at 904 Prospect Ave. An educational program will follow meeting. Dance will be held Sunday, Feb. 26, at Bellamy Club. Admission 25 cts.

Extension Class for Women in Amalgamated Houses. Under the leadership of Sarah Volovick a Rand School extension class for women has been started in the Amalgamated Houses in the Bronx. The class meets Tuesday afternoons at 1:30. There will be twelve hour-and-a-half sessions, and the fee for the course is \$1.50. Esther Friedman is the teacher and she will give the same course she is offering at the Rand School Monday afternoons, covering the essentials of Socialism.

(Continued on Page Thirteen)

Where Your Union Meets

BUNNAY, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLATERS' UNION, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U., 7 East 15th St., Phone ALgonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum 919 Willoughby Ave. Phone SLagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Fred Pfau, Pres.; Al. Bayerle, Vice-Pres.; Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Milton Rowcroft, Rec. Corr. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Business Agent.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-4000. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resnanan, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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, 945 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; SLagg 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Morris Relas; Vice Pres., Joseph Karrass; Business Agent, B. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

HEBREW TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone BRyaddock 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 WIs. 7-3011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone WAtkins 9-7784. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-3148. David Dubinsky, President.

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, N. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

MILE WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 250 W. 14th St., City. Local 53 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.

SEE THAT YOUR MILK MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, UNITED 11018, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7881. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION, New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the Amer. Federation of Labor. General office, 53 W. 21st St., New York. Phone GRamercy 5-1023. Charles Kleiman, 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. Faher, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION, Local 1, 41 East 25th 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.

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WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 63 of I. L. G. W. U. 8 West 16th St., New York City. Phone, CHelsea 3-3754-3757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

(Continued from Page Twelve)

BROOKLYN

Karl Marx Commemoration Meeting.—Tickets are now on sale at all Kings County branches and at the city office, 7 E. 15th St., for the meeting Sunday evening, March 12, at Brooklyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Ave.

Brighton Beach.—At the lecture Friday in the large and commodious new headquarters at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., an audience of about 250 occupied every seat in the place. August Claessens was the lecturer. Delegates to city convention: Al Meyers and S. Schwartz.

Midwood.—Tuesday evening forum continues successful. Bridge party will be held Saturday, March 4, at 1722 E. 12th St. Admission 50 cents; refreshments served.

16th A. D.—Card party and social, Saturday evening, Feb. 25, admission 35 cents. Forum speaker, Friday, March 3rd, Wm. M. Feigenbaum. Regular meeting Tuesday, Feb. 28.

18th A. D., Branch 2.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Feb. 28, at 844 Utica Ave., Socialist Sunday School meets every Sunday morning at 11. Class in Socialism under Comrade Hays, every Thursday at 8:30. Edison Co. protest meeting Friday, Feb. 24, 9 p. m., at 844 Utica Ave. Package party and entertainment Saturday, Feb. 25.

4th-14th A. D.—Branch has moved into new headquarters at 289 South 3rd St. Meetings Monday nights.

Bay Ridge.—First card party and social held by branch on Feb. 8 was a success and attended by more than 110. Date of next affair to be announced soon. Feb. 22 group discussion of "Inflation." Plans are being formed to vary character of meetings to include group discussions on current events; social, lecture, and a study class in Socialism based on Fred Henderson's "Case for Socialism."

5th A. D.—The newly organized branch announces an ambitious program for the subsequent months. The branch, which meets at 329 Stuyvesant Ave., corner Macon St., was organized following an eight-year period during which the Fifth A. D. had no branch of its own. At the last lecture meeting, Henry J. Rosner spoke on, "If New York City Were Socialist." The branch meets every first and third Monday, except that there will be an additional meeting Feb. 27, to get started on a new lecture-discussion series on "The Elements of Socialism," led by the organizer. A social evening follows, with tea and cake served. The organizer is S. H. Friedman; Secretary, Rhea Stoller; propaganda committeeman, Henry Weiss. Delegate to Central

SOCIALIST SCHOOLS

All classes start at 11 a. m. unless otherwise listed.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D., 48 Ave. C: Junior Class, Sylvia Weingart; Senior Class, Catherine Pollak. 12:30 p. m.

8th A. D., 144 Second Ave.: Senior Class, 1:15 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman.

Chelsea, 52 W. 8th St., 11:30 a. m., Agnes Martocci and Esther Eisenberg.

BROOKLYN

9 West 170th St.: Elementary Class, Gertrude Turkell; Junior Class, Clarence Greenberg.

904 Prospect Ave. (Bellamy Club): Elementary Class, Ida Y. Kaufman; Junior Class, Jean Friedman.

Downtown, 250 South 4th St.: Edward P. Gottlieb.
Midwood, 1722 East 12th St.: Viola Levenson.

Brighton, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.: Junior Class, Al Meyer; Senior Class, 3 p. m., Ben Parker.

Brownsville, 219 Sackman St. (Brownsville Labor Lyceum): Junior Class, Pugh Press; Senior Class, Sam. H. Friedman.

18th A. D., 844 Utica Ave.: Junior Class, Sarah Rosenberg; Elementary Class, Etta Meyer.

Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 1877 42nd St.: Elementary Class, Gertrude Gross; Junior Class, Esther Horowitz.

21st A. D., 2239 Church Ave.: Senior Class, 8:30 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman.

Committee and City Conventions, S. H. Friedman.

QUEENS

Flushing.—Mass meeting in the Flushing High School, Union St. and Northern Blvd., Friday evening, Feb. 24, 8:15. "Ways Out of the Depression" will be discussed by Norman Thomas, former Mayor John F. Hylan and Dr. Wm. Jay Schieffelin. Rev. P. H. McKenzie, Chairman. Admission free. Miss Sara Pliskin, pianist, will play.

Lecture Calendar

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26
Rabbi Alter Ephraim Fischhoff: "Economic Basis of Nationalism," 11:30 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.; West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Abraham Cahan, Algernon Lee, Jacob Panken, Bruno Wagner, Vincenzo Vacirca: "Hitler and Fascism," Town Hall, 123 West 43rd St., Manhattan, 2:00 p. m. Auspices, Socialist Party and the Neue Volkszeitung.

Mary Hillier: "Building for Socialism," 3:00 p. m., 2005—7th Ave., Manhattan; People's Educational Forum.

Michael Strange, Joseph T. Shipley, Samuel A. DeWitt, Chairman: "The Theatre as a Social Force," Academy of Music, Flatbush and Lafayette Aves.; Brooklyn Forum.

August Claessens: "Social and Collective Behavior," 4th lecture in series on Social Psychology, 48 Avenue C, Manhattan; 6th A. D.

Max Delson: "Breaking the Bread Lines," 4046 B'way, Manh.; Washington Heights Branch.

William E. Bohn: "Technocracy and Socialism," 241 E. 84th St., Manhattan; Yorkville Branch.

Herman Salzman: "Communism and Socialism," 263 Cypress Ave., Bronx; 1st A. D.

John Chamberlain and Howard Y. Williams: "Is Progressivism in Politics Dead in America?," Monroe Court Community Room, 43-13 Carolin St., Long Island City, L. I.; Queens Forum.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27
Leonard Bright: "The Socialist Movement in England," 4046 B'way, Manh.; Washington Hgts. Branch.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28
S. Lifshitz: "The Situation in Germany," 1722 E. 12th St., Brooklyn; Midwood Branch.

William Karlin: "Unemployment Insurance," 1539 Madison Avenue, Manhattan; East Harlem Branches.

Alfred Belskin: "The Essentials of Socialism," 789 Elsmere Place, Bronx; 7th A. D.

Joseph Glass: Topic to be announced, 167 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn; Young Socialist Forum.

Abraham Kaufman: "Class Struggle and Class War," 904 Prospect Ave., Bronx; 4th A. D.

August Claessens: "The Evolution of Morality," 229 East Broadway, Manhattan; Young Israel Forum.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1

Esther Friedman: "Marxian Economic Theory—Commodity and Exchange," 1855 Mott Ave., Far Rockaway, L. I.; Socialist Party Branch.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2

Esther Friedman: "The Vanishing Family," 133-10 Northern Blvd., Flushing, L. I.; Socialist Party Branch.

Samuel A. DeWitt: "A Poet Looks at the World," 904 Prospect Ave.; Bronx Labor Lyceum.

Theodore Shapiro: "Why a Socialist Party?," 1439 St. Johns Pl., Brooklyn; 18th A. D., Branch 1.

FRIDAY, MARCH 3

Louis Waldman: "The Legislative Program of the Socialist Party," 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., August Claessens: "The Essentials of Socialism," 126 Delancey St., Manhattan; 4th A. D.

William T. Hade: "Cancellation of War Debts," 144 Second Ave., Manhattan; 8th A. D.

William M. Feigenbaum: "What Next in Germany?," 7308 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn; Bensonhurst Branch.

INTERNATIONAL

WOMEN'S DAY

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day, celebration of which has been set by the Socialist movement this year for March 5th, will be observed at a mass meeting and concert under Women's Committee auspices at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, at 2 p. m.

International Women's Day is an institution in all countries with a substantial Socialist movement, and in every country meetings, concerts, demonstrations and celebrations are held to demonstrate the solidarity of women with the Socialist movement as a whole.

With Esther Friedman as chairman, short talks will be given by Gertrude Weil Klein, Alice Goldberg, Mary Boettjer, Lillian Epstein, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Goldie Meyerson, and Lena Linhardt.

In addition, there will be Negro spirituals by Marion Calloway, the Rebel Arts dancers, Genevieve Kaufman in songs, and a chorus from the German Sports Club, and songs by the Socialist Sunday Schools led by Samuel H. Friedman.

REBEL ARTS

Rebel Arts makes the preliminary announcement that headquarters will be opened for the organization on 18th Street, on March 1. Further details will be given later, but meanwhile members and friends are asked to remember that donations of furniture, musical instruments and records, lumber for benches and partitions, etc., will be gratefully received. Also that those who have joined or who wish to join and have not yet signed membership applications and paid dues should do so at once.

For information, apply: Camera Group, Lee Stein; Dance Groups, Hana Geiger and Edith Turgell Friedman; Graphic Arts Group, Bernard Ziskind and Ben Belsky; Music and Writers' Group, and all other information, Samuel H. Friedman, executive director—all at 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C. Rebel Arts is the organization of artists in all fields affiliated with or sympathetic to the Socialist labor movement.

The Dance Group (under Frances Leber) will appear at the following celebrations: **International Women's Day, Rand School, March 5, afternoon;** **Ethical Culture Dance Educational Alliance, March 11, evening;** **Marx Commemoration Meeting, Brooklyn Academy of Music, March 12, evening.**

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SPECIAL NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

MEMBERS PLEASE TAKE NOTICE
The assessment for 1933 is ten cents for each hundred dollars insurance due from all members since the first day of January.
It is advisable not to wait for the assessment notice but to make your payment now in order to avoid the rush in April and May.

Gym in cooperation with the Young Circle League.

League Hike.—The hike scheduled for Sunday has been postponed to Sunday, March 19, 1933. The demonstration against Fascism will be held at 2 p. m., Feb. 26, at Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St.

Debate with Lovestoneites.—A debate on Socialism vs. Communism will be held Saturday, April 8, at 8:30 p. m., at the Debs Auditorium. Admission 15c.

Basketball Team.—Another practice for the league team will be held Saturday, Feb. 25. All members of the team and those who have aspirations should report to Victor Riesel at 2 p. m. at the city office.

Washington Heights.—A Junior circle is being organized at 4046 Broadway (170th St.). Young people between the ages of 14 and 17 will be welcomed Friday, Feb. 24, at 8:30.

International Notes

Every YPSL should keep informed on the international socialist youth movement. Socialist youth work today is inconceivable without systematic contact and exchange of experience with the youth federations of other countries.

Members and circles of the YPSL can now obtain, at small cost, a current review of the position of the international socialist youth work. Our Socialist Youth Inter-

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national is publishing monthly the "Socialist Youth's International Press Service," which reports regularly on the work of the international and affiliated federations, and is also the official news sheet of the Socialist Educational International.

The annual subscription to the "Socialist Youth's International Press Service" is only 3 RM (75c). Subscriptions should be sent with the order and it should be stated that an English edition is required. Orders and payments should be sent to the Secretariat of the Youth Internationale, Belle Alliance Plaza 8, Berlin SW 61. When sending for the Press Service, buy "International Reply Coupons" for the amount from the Post Office.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

Brownsville Installation.—Circle 2 Sr., Kings, will install its newly elected officers Saturday night, Feb. 25. A Hot Dog Festival will be held in with the new administration at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Admission will be between 15c and 18c.

Circle 4 Sr., Kings.—Sam Tolmach will be guest speaker Sunday, Feb. 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 1722 East 12th St. Ping pong, chess and checkers are played at headquarters every Friday night. Refreshments are served. All for 10c.

High School Rally.—Morris and Monroe students are being circulated

ized to attend the rally on Sunday, Feb. 26, at 4 p. m., at 904 Prospect Ave., Bronx. Circles 1 and 3 are holding this affair and Meyer Levenstein and Gus Tyler will speak.

Circle 1 Jr., Sunnyside.—A social gathering will be held at the home of Comrade Berger, 4311 Skillman Ave., Sunnyside, Sunday, Feb. 26, at 2:30. There will be games, singing and dancing. Refreshments will be served. Members may bring one non-member.

Strike Relief Dance.—A basketball game and dance will be held Saturday evening, March 11, at the Stuyvesant High School

More Than Meets The Eye in "One Sunday Afternoon"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

MISS FIT

"ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON."

By James Hagan. At the Little.

A passage in Eugene O'Neill's "The Great God Brown" tells of a lad, mistreated by another boy—"so I became silent for life and designed a mask of the Bad Boy Pan in which to live and rebel against that other boy." God and protect myself from His cruelty. And that other boy, secretly he felt ashamed but he couldn't acknowledge it; so from that day he instinctively developed into the good boy, the good friend, the good man, William Brown! The "good man" is likely to be wordly success—but pity his wife; what happens to the "bad boy" depends largely on his luck in finding the right woman.

What O'Neill analyzes and talks about is the basis of growth in other good plays; among them, "Liliom"; among those of this season, "One Sunday Afternoon." Biff Grimes, unable to express his thoughts and feelings more intelligently, uses his fists—and grows up to be a dentist. We see him first, indeed, in his office, indulging, with a drinking companion, in maudlin reminiscences—until the "good boy" comes in to have a tooth pulled. A throwback to a small town of some twenty-five years ago starts with a flirtation, the chain of action that pictures the bully Biff turning to the "old-fashioned" Amy when the flashier Virginia scorns him and his brusque but honest ways for the cleverer Hugo. Even Virginia's forwardness is only small-town daring; but the direction of Leo Bulgakov, and the acting of Lloyd Nolan as Grimes—with all the rest keeping pace, and some especially neat work by Percy Helton as the singing and drinking friend—make it as vivid as simple, and live the struggle of the young box-factory worker to become a dentist and to overcome his bullying ways. These nearly carry him to murder of his successful rival Hugo when, twenty years later, that swell and wealthy husband drops in with a bad tooth. But Virginia, too, drops in—and saves her husband. For the life-processes have carried the "good man" hypocrite and the vivacious flirtatious maid to their natural ends; and the spectacle gives Biff Grimes a renewed sense of proportion, and a truer sense of what a prize he holds in "old-fashioned" Amy. Quite an awakening, more than

In Film Version of 'Topaze'



John Barrymore has the Frank Morgan role in the new film at the Cameo Theater

meets the immediate eye, in the simple and effective course of "One Sunday Afternoon."

HOW PLAYS ARE BORN

Interesting insight into a dramatist's methods of work can be had by studying early drafts of a play, in manuscripts or printed in such volumes as Ibsen's Note-Books, in relation to the completed play. Such comparison, however, demands time only the specialist can afford to give; and others must hope for published works that will coordinate the results of such study. Autobiographies cannot be trusted.

An excellent analysis of this sort is the first book in English on Arthur Schnitzler (Prentice-Hall, \$2.50). Its author, Sol Liptzin, a friend of Schnitzler, had access to many of the playwright's manuscripts; and before Schnitzler's death questioned him about them. The book gives a comprehensive picture of Schnitzler's work and dominating ideas, in a smooth flowing style, colorful while scholarly; but it is of especial value in its tracing of important works from their first seed to their furthest flower, as in the chapter "The Panorama of the Soul." The growth, and the ultimate attitudes, of a significant and many-sided figure in contemporary literature, are clearly and fully revealed.

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A Comedy
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45th Street, West of Broadway
Matinees Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30
Eves. at 8:30

ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON
By JAMES HAGAN
Directed by LEO BULGAKOV
"You will have to cover the town carefully before you will find acting more gratifying than under Leo Bulgakov's excellent direction."
—Brooks Atkinson, Times
LITTLE THEATRE West 14th St.
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PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
WALTER, Conductor
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
THIS AFTERNOON at 3:00
(Mr. Walter's last appearance this season)
Soloists: GABRILOWITZ, Pianist
Bach-Wheaton, Schubert, Brahms
TOSCANINI, Conductor
Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., March 1, 8:45
Fri. Aft., Mar. 3, 2:30; Sun. Aft., Mar. 5, 3
WAGNER—HANSON—STRAUSS
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Mar. 4, 8:45
WAGNER—MENDELSSOHN—STRAUSS
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

"Topaze" with John Barrymore at Cameo

"Topaze," acclaimed as one of John Barrymore's finest pictures and similarly acknowledged as a superb job of direction by Harry D'Abbadie D'Arrast, is at Cameo Theatre after a successful engagement at the RKO Music Hall.

Marcel Pagnol's play, "Topaze," was one of the hits of the stage during the past few years and the screen version prepared by Ben Hecht is said to be comparable to the legitimate play, according to those who saw the Barrymore film.

Besides Barrymore, the cast is made up of Myrna Loy, Albert Conti, Jobyna Howland, Jackie Searl, Luis Alberni, Reginald Mason, Frank Reicher and Lowden Adams.

Elman Will Play Tuesday with Musicians Symphony

Mischa Elman, the famous violinist, will play three concertos—the Bach E major, the Brahms and the Tchaikowsky—with the Musicians Symphony Orchestra, composed of 200 unemployed musicians, when he appears as the solo artist at the next concert, to be conducted by Sandor Harmati at the Metropolitan Opera House, Tuesday evening, February 28th. This announcement was made today by the committee sponsoring the series of 20 concerts being given this season for the benefit of New York's unemployed musicians. The orchestra, under Mr. Harmati's baton, will perform Rimsky-Korsakoff's Caprice Espanol and Bach's Chorale Prelude "Wachet Auf," recently transcribed for full orchestra by Albert Stoessel.

LAST TIMES SAT., FEB. 25

"Violently Interesting drama...boils with protest and indignation, and every scene is full of stimulating theatre."
—Hammond, Her. Trib.

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PAULINE LORD is
The Late Christopher Bean

with WALTER CONNOLLY
"Most enjoyable comedy of the season; almost too good to be true."
—Krutch, The Nation
HENRY MILLER'S
Theat., 124 W. 43rd St.—Eves. 8:45
3 Mats. Weekly Wed. Thur. Sat.
Prices at all Mats. 85c to \$2.20
Inc. Tax

"Here's something to be thankful for."
—John Mason Brown, Post

PEGGY FEARS

"Music in the Air"

By Jerome Kern & Oscar Hammerstein 2d
with Reinold WERRENATH, Tullie CARMINATI, Natalie HALL, Walter SLEZAK, Al SHEAN, Katherine CARINGTON—Curtain at 8:30
ALVIN THEATRE, 52 St.
Eves. 8:30. — Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:30
EVEN. ENTIRE ORCHESTRA 85c

International Star



Tallulah Bankhead opens Monday night at the Times Square Theater in "Forsaking All Others" after an absence from the Broadway scene of ten years

"King of the Jungle" at the Paramount

"King of the Jungle" is being rushed across the country by plane for the world premiere at the Paramount Theatre today.

This picture centers around "The Lion Man," a youth raised in the jungle among lions. Its most spectacular scene is that of a horde of wild beasts loosed in a city. Buster Crabbe, world champion swimmer, makes his screen debut in the picture, the cast of which includes Frances Dee and Irving Pichel.

At the Original Roxy

"The Man Who Won," a screen adaption of the novel "Mr. Bill the Conqueror," by Dion Titheradge, is current at the Roxy Theatre, 50th St. and 7th Ave.

Heather Angel and Henry Kendall are the featured players in this picture directed by Norman Walker, which also includes Nora Swinburne, Sam Livesey, Louie Tinsley and Moore Marriott.

"Season's newest delight."
—Walter Winchell
"Spectacular, tuneful, eye-filling, lulling and melodious."
—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune

GEORGE WHITE'S MELODY

"Entrancing New Musical with the Greatest Cast ever assembled
EVELYN HERBERT, EVERETT MARSHALL, WALTER WOOLF, JEANNE AUBERT, HAL SKELLY, GEORGE HOUSTON and a brilliant cast of 100, including 50—GEORGE WHITE BEAUTIES—50
Music by Sigmund Romberg. Book by Edward Childs Carpenter. Lyrics by Irving Caesar.

CASINO THEATRE, 7th Ave. & 50th St. CO. 5-1300
Evenings \$1 to \$3—Wed. Mat. \$1 to \$2
Sat. Mat. \$1 to \$2.50

Robert Rockmore announces the first performance on Wednesday, March 1, at the Lyric Theatre, of "RUN, LITTLE CHILLUNI," a Negro folk drama by HALL JOHNSON with a cast of 175. Prices: 50c to \$2, plus tax.

BOX OFFICE OPEN MONDAY, FEB. 27

BROOKS ATKINSON, in N. Y. Times, says:
MAURICE SCHWARTZ'S great production, YOSHE KALB, is: "Genuine, exhilarating. His audiences surrender to the play completely."
Yoshe Kalb
YIDDISH ART THEATRE EVERY NIGHT
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N. Y. Engagement Ends Sun. Eve., Mar. 5th
POP. PRICE MAT. TODAY TOM'W SUN. & WED. at 3 P.M.
GEO. M. COHAN THEATRE Broadway and 43rd Street
"Amazing and Uproarious"
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THE PICCOLI
"NOTHING LIKE IT ANYWHERE ELSE!"
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Revue! Opera! Circus! Ballet! Music! Song! Satire!

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SOLOIST—MISCHA

ELMAN
3 concertos: BACH—BRAHMS—TCHAIKOVSKY
Conductor to be announced later. Seats now, 25c to \$2. Proceeds Unemployed Musicians

SAM H. HARRIS presents
"DINNER AT EIGHT"
A New Play in Eleven Scenes—by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and EDNA FERBER
CONSTANCE COLLIER CONWAY TEARLE ANN ANDREWS
MARGUERITE CHURCHILL PAUL HARVEY MALCOLM DUNCAN
MARGARET DALE OLIVE WYNDHAM JUDITH WOOD
MARY MURRAY CESAR ROMERO GREGORY GAYE
AUSTIN FAIRMAN SAMUEL LEVENE HANS ROBERTS
Music Box Theatre 45th Street West of Broadway
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 3:00

New Film and Stage Show At The Fox, Brooklyn

'They Just Had to Get Married' New Stage Show Opens Today

A new stage and screen show opens today at the Fox Theatre, Brooklyn, which currently, under its new low price policy, is said to be playing to the largest crowds which have visited the Fox in a year or more.

The screen attraction will be "They Just Had to Get Married," co-starring Slim Summerville, of the figure and lugubrious countenance, and Sasu Pitts, of the sad eyes and helplessly-fluttering hands. It's a Universal picture, directed by Edward Ludwig, and in the cast appear Roland Young, Fifi D'Orsay, Veree Teasdale, Henry Armetta, C. Aubrey Smith, Guy Kibbee and little Cora Sue Collins.

A new Mickey Mouse animated cartoon and the latest issue of the Universal newsreel supplement the feature on the screen.

On the stage the program is headed by Paul Mall, young master of ceremonies, and his orchestra. The Great Yacopi troupe, Argentinian acrobats, share headline honors. Other acts include Max and his Gang of "almost human" dogs; Harry Savoy, comedian; Mae Morgan, singer and comedienne; Leg-Leg Bates, one-legged dancing marvel; Charles Barnes, and the Gae Post boys and girls.

Beatrice Lillie Welcomed Back to the Selwyn Theatre

When Courtney Burr moved his revue "Walk a Little Faster" starring Beatrice Lillie and Clark and McCullough last Monday night from the St. James Theatre to the Selwyn, it was a most sentimental one indeed for Miss Lillie particularly. And to grace the occasion Arch Selwyn had ready her old dressing room elaborately done and gave her a "Welcome Home" party after the show. It was at the Selwyn Theatre that Miss Lillie made her first appearance in this country in the first two editions of "Charlotte's Revue" when she co-starred with Jack Buchanan and Gertrude Lawrence and later she scored another big hit in "Wake Up and Dream" at the same theatre when she co-starred with Noel Coward. In every engagement she occupied the same dressing room which had become her New York residence.

Opening
MON. NIGHT, FEB. 27
SEATS NOW AT BOX OFFICE

TALLULAH BANKHEAD
in
"FORSAKING ALL OTHERS"
TIMES SQ. THEA.

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200 GOOD 1st BALC. SEATS \$1.50
Including Opening Night

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CONQUEST
By ARTHUR HOPKINS
PLYMOUTH THEA.
West 45th Street, L.A. 4-6720
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

At the Belasco Theater in "Alien Corn"



Katharine Cornell's Second Production of the Season is "Alien Corn," a new play by Sidney Howard. In it she is supported, among others, by Luther Adler and James Fennie

Throckmorton Designs 4 Sets for "Run, Little Chillun'!"

When Robert Rockmore's production of Hall Johnson's Negro folk drama, "Run, Little Chillun'!", comes to the Lyric Theatre next Wednesday evening, with a company of 175 actors, singers and dancers, it will be presented in four scenes instead of in the customary acts, with an intermission between the second and third scenes. The four scenes represent respectively the Parsonage of the Hope Baptist Church; the Meeting Place of the

New Day Pilgrims in the forest; Toomer's Bottom, and the interior of the Hope Baptist Church. All four settings have been designed and constructed by Cleon Throckmorton, who has designed practically all of the Negro plays which have reached the New York stage since the days of "The Emperor Jones."

"The last thing that I would want to dispense with, is The New Leader," writes Adolph Furrer of Connecticut, as he sends in a renewal.

GLORIA Swanson
in **"PERFECT UNDERSTANDING"**
Her Greatest Since "The Trespasser"
with LAURENCE OLIVIER
JOHN HALLIDAY
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WERA ENGELS - EDNA MAY OLIVER
ON THE STAGE
RAY BOLGER
"GAMBY" GAMBARELLI
R K O ALBEE To 2 p.m. 35c
Eves. Balc. 55c
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JOHN BARRYMORE
in his best role
"TOPAZE"
R K O CAMEO 8 a.m. 25c
42nd St. & B'way to 1 p.m. See Sat. Sun.

Another tremendous program
on stage and screen
ON THE STAGE IN PERSON
HELEN MORGAN
in
Ziegfeld's SHOW BOAT
with JULES BLEDSOE
Cast of 100 75 Glorified Beauties
ON THE SCREEN
BARBARA STANWYCK
in
'Ladies They Talk About'
with LILLIAN BETH
including Tex
CAPITOL Broadway at 51st St.
Monday to Friday exc. Holidays
35c 1 P.M. 55c 6 P.M. 75c 8 P.M.

25c to 2 p.m.
FOX B'KLYN Flatbush Ave. at Varian Street
Sensational NEW LOW Prices
SLIM SUMMERVILLE & ZASU PITTS
"THEY JUST HAD TO GET MARRIED"
On Stage—8 BIG ACTS

"Yoshe Kalb" Longest Running Play in Town

With the departure from New York of "Another Language," Maurice Schwartz's production "Yoshe Kalb" at the Yiddish Art Theatre becomes the longest-run show in town. On Washington's Birthday "Yoshe Kalb" gave its 200th performance. This is the first time in the history of the New York theatre that a non-English drama playing below the 42nd Street belt leads the list of longest-run plays.

The event was celebrated by a testimonial banquet Wednesday at the Hotel Edison for Maurice Schwartz, dramatist, director and star actor of "Yoshe Kalb." Daniel Frohman was the toastmaster and the list of speakers were D. Steuer, Edward G. Robinson, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Claude G. Bowers, Harry Hershfield and B. C. Vladeck.

Mae West at the Brooklyn Paramount

Following two record-breaking weeks at the New York Paramount, Mae West moves to the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre for a one-week engagement starting today. Miss West appears on the screen in her first starring picture, "She Done Him Wrong."

A novelty overture will be presented by the Paramount Concert Orchestra under the direction of Eddie Paul. Elsie Thompson continues at the organ to lead Brooklyn Paramount audiences in another of her popular community songfests.

Comedienne in "Gay Divorce"



Louella Gear has an important role in the Wiman and Weatherly Musical at the Schubert Theater

Lehar's First Screen Operetta at Europa

Franz Lehar's first original screen operetta, "Friederike," will have its American premiere at the Europa Theatre commencing today, Saturday.

**SHOULD YOU PLAY
BRIDGE with your WIFE?**
SEE "GRAND SLAM" WINTER GARDEN, TODAY

Meet Miss
Public Enemy No. 1
She's out to make good
in the worst way! . . .
"BLONDIE JOHNSON"
A First National Picture—Starring
JOAN BLONDELL
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CHESTER MORRIS
Beg. Sat. (Feb. 25) Broadway at 42nd Street
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COMING SOON! "42nd ST."—16 Stars—200 Girls

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M-G-M's Gigantic Spectacle of
Rasputin's Debauchery and
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Third Big Month!
RASPUTIN
AND THE
EMPRESS
with JOHN, ETHEL, LIONEL
BARRYMORE
Daily 2:30 - 8:50. Three
times Sat. Sun. & Hols.
at 2:50, 5:50 and 8:50.
Sat. Midnite Show. Good
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**THEATRE
PARTIES**
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Pitty Little Gloria!

POOOR little Gloria! She has only \$116,537 a year, and she has been denied the immediate use of all that money! What can a poor, self-respecting little Vanderbilt do?

Well, this little Vanderbilt went and hired her a lawyer; and when a Vanderbilt hires her a lawyer she hires none but the best; a former Attorney-General of the United States, no less, who has the skill and training and experience to deal with such deep problems as how much a nine-year-old needs to keep from starving.

So Gloria Laura Morgan Vanderbilt, daughter of the late fat Reginald Vanderbilt, hired her George W. Wickersham; and this Wickersham, who is 74 years old and some shakes of a lawyer, applied his giant mind to this and that, and then he appeared before Surrogate Foley and being duly sworn, deposed and said:

That Gloria needs the use of no less than \$4,000 a month "for her support, maintenance and education"; that the child has a fortune of \$2,830,276 in bonds and cash (which she undoubtedly accumulated by the employment of foresight, thrift, care, knowledge of business conditions, abstinence—and the selection of Reginald Vanderbilt as her father); that the fortune yielded \$116,257 last year—earned by the sweat of her childish brow, of course—and that this year it would not be less, thus proving that depressions mean nothing to smart people who know how to get along; and that her mother has only \$1,400 a year, and therefore cannot help her out.

This last item seems to indicate a fly in the ointment, for is it possible that a girl is so brilliant that she is worth nearly three million, while the mother who bore her is starving on a mere \$28 a week? (Or is that all she has? These business affairs are too much

for some people to understand.)

Further, the Great Lawyer pointed out to the Great Surrogate, last year Gloria had to have her tonsils out, and that costs money. Now, it would cost you about \$25 or \$50 to get your tonsils out; but Vanderbilt tonsils are a special kind of tonsils and it would not do to employ a proletarian tonsillectomy upon a Vanderbilt tonsil, and it cost \$7,250 to get them out—and possibly they are in a museum together with Henry Ford's appendix, where the awe-struck yokels can look and worship.

All these things are proper subjects for this great 74-year-old former president of the American Bar Association to worry his gray head about; and he added that Gloria came home from Paris in March, 1932, and is attending private schools here and that she and her mother have an apartment that rents for \$6,000 a year, and that they have a four-year lease (without concessions, but with an electric refrigerator and garbage incinerator, to make household duties easy for Gloria and her ma.)

The Great Surrogate Foley took all these facts under advisement, and after due consideration of all the painful circumstances decided that the majesty of the State of New York required that Gloria get her 4,000 a month. For thinking over such things he (and his illustrious former colleague, J. Patrick O'Brien, now translated to the City Hall), receive \$25,000 a year of the people's money.

When word of the sorrows of the poor little Gloria reached the headlines the sounds of weeping and wailing reached from Union Square to Bryant Park.

In Austria They Are Wise To the "Innocents' Clubs"

IN a recent issue of the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung there appears an article on the Austrian Communists, indicating a striking similarity in methods with methods here, from which the following is taken (translated for The New Leader by Julius Gerber):

"The Communists have a habit of masquerading under all kinds of names. At times they call themselves 'Labor Relief,' then change to 'Red Relief'; the next time they call themselves 'Proletarian Solidarity'; another time as the 'Revolutionary Trade Union League,' or 'Anti-Fascist Committee.' They also parade as 'Friends of Soviet Russia,' 'Unemployed Councils'; and again as 'Anti-Imperialist League,' and many other names, but they are all the same Communists.

"It seems that because they know their own party is discredited they masquerade under aliases to fool the unwary and catch the innocents.

"The Austrian Communists in 1919 tried to drag the Austrian workers into an adventure like the Hungarian dictatorship, at a time when they knew that the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship was already a lost cause, at a time when Bela Kun's adventure had been liquidated by the Rumanian army and Horthy's bloody counter-revolution was in the ascendency. The Austrian workers, knowing what the result would be should they imitate Bela Kun, did not follow the Communists. Since then the Austrian workers have lost confidence in Communists. The Communists have remained a small sect without a following.

"The real class struggle, the struggle of the workers with capitalism, does not interest the Communists. Their whole activity consists of waging relentless war against the Social Democratic Party and the bona fide labor unions, using the lowest and meanest policies in that fight; but they have no luck among the Austrian workers.

"The Austrian workers know that they would be lost if they permitted these wreckers to split their ranks. They realize the reaction is gaining strength in neighboring countries because of divisions in the ranks of the working class. The Austrian workers know that only a united working class can succeed, that only a united working class can prevent such defeats as have come to the workers in Hungary, Italy and Germany.

"The Austrian workers are united in the Social Democratic Party and they will hold fast to the Party. They will not be misled by the Communists, no matter under what name they masquerade and to what lies they resort in their fight against the Social Democracy. They cannot succeed in breaking the unity of the Austrian working class and bringing about a struggle of the workers against workers."

ONEAL OVER WEVD

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker over station WEVD during The New Leader period next Friday, March 3rd, from 4:45 to 5 p. m.

The WEVD broadcasts of The New Leader speakers are becoming an increasingly popular feature each week.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Prohibition—and More Delays

AT last Congress has started the repeal amendment on its way. If in our confused political situation the people gave a clear mandate for anything in 1932 it was for repeal. By attempting to

rush matters at the opening of the session in reality Speaker Garner delayed them. Now, owing to the long delay of Congress, it is quite likely that it will be years before decisive action can be taken and the wet-dry issue will remain a red herring across our political trails. If the repeal amendment had passed Congress early it would have been comparatively easy to facilitate the necessary action by state legislatures, most of which are now in session, to speed matters up. As it is many legislatures will doubtless adjourn without taking any action to set up the conventions called for in the amendment. Some of these state legislatures do not meet again for two years. Hence delay, bicker, confusion. Unquestionably there was some sort of politics, not too creditable, behind this situation.

A constitutional amendment should be passed on by specially elected conventions, but Congress would have power to prescribe a uniform way of holding such conventions and to expedite matters. If Congress has not the power to set up ratifying conventions—and it seems to me it has—then our constitution is even more of an obstacle to peaceful change than we Socialists had thought. To have to wait for forty-eight different states to act in a matter of such importance is to add one more handicap to those already existing in bringing about desirable constitutional changes. Hostile legislatures can now sabotage amendments by delay in setting up the conventions. They can prescribe fantastic rules for the conventions, quite inequitable as between different states. We pay sometimes a very big price for our excessively rigid constitution.

Nevertheless there is encouragement in the fact that this Congress did act on repeal. There is no political prophet who would have dared to predict two years ago that this Congress would send a repeal amendment on its way. What was accomplished is a direct result of political pressure. The same sort of pressure can accomplish results even against handicaps when applied to Congress. Bear that in mind when we are considering relief and other measures of great consequence.

To go back to the subject of prohibition once more; do not forget that we Socialists have insisted that profit must be taken out of the business. That means profit for legal as well as illegal makers and retailers of alcoholic beverages. The most practicable plan would have been a public, non-profit making corporation, set up under federal authority to manufacture liquor, with state authorities set up by states that desire to go wet, to sell the aforesaid liquor. Now we must look to states to set up the best control that can be had. It isn't likely to be very good. The liquor question will remain with us, though, I hope, in a less acute form than at present.

The LaFollette-Costigan Bill

ON the same day that the House of Representatives acted to expedite the return of legal whiskey the Senate defeated the LaFollette-Costigan bill which would have done a little to provide the people of America with bread. That bill, so far as it went, was admirable. Five hundred million dollars is not enough for America's need, but the form of administration of the money as provided by the bill was excellent and the sum appropriated was the largest yet proposed in Congress. Yet the Senate turned it down for the Wagner substitute which reduces the amount to 300 million and makes that a part of the sums already authorized to be raised by Reconstruction Finance Corporation bonds. What is still worse, the 300 million is to be loaned to states and cities rather than given outright. This comes close to pure hypocrisy. States and cities will not repay the loans or will repay them only under circumstances which will make it a bookkeeping trans-

REPORTERS TOLD TO INVENT DISORDERS

RAVINIA, Ill.—Reports in the capitalist newspapers about Vienna are entirely unreliable, said Alfred Granger of the architectural firm of Granger & Bollender, Chicago, in the course of a talk about the remarkable Social-

ist housing projects in the Austrian capital, delivered to the Ravinia forum.

"I was in Vienna the day of the election at which Premier Schober was defeated," Granger related. "The American newspapers, including two in Chicago, reported great disorder and bloody riots. As a matter of fact it was as quiet in Vienna that day as it is in Lake Forest" [the ritzy Chicago North Shore suburb].

Granger added that a U. S. official called the American newspaper correspondents to the legation in Vienna and asked them to explain the lies about rioting on election day.

"What can we do?" the correspondents replied, according to Granger's account. "Our editors order us to write mob stories and that's what we have to do."



Norman Thomas

War!

CONGRESS is getting ready to vote 315 million dollars outright to the navy. No matter how many people starve, we must have a navy. In a great war there would be no victors, only survivors. The supreme task of our time is to preserve peace.

So far as the United States is concerned, the greatest danger to peace is in the Far East. Today American sentiment is properly very critical of Japan for her high-handed imperialism in Manchuria. Her imperialist adventure has not yet come to an end, but she presses forward against China. Our material interests in Manchuria or China are not very great but they are likely to assume an importance out of all proportion to their size. Today our sentimental interests seem to be greater. It is quite true that we are well warranted in uniting with other nations to bring moral pressure on Japan, but under no circumstances must we be drawn into any sort of war on the pretext of preserving peace or justice. A war by America to aid China and to liberate Manchuria would turn out worse than our Spanish war. We liberated Cuba only to turn it over to a cruel dictator like Machado who is really the representative, to no small extent, of great American financial interests. We don't want that.

If war does break out on a large scale in the Far East and if we go on supplying Japan with money, arms, and the materials of war, it is at least possible that sentiment will shift. We may find ourselves drawn by such trade into sympathy with Japan. Conceivably that sympathy might go far enough to put us into war on the Japanese side against, let us say, a combination of Russia and China. This is not likely, but it is not so likely that we have a right to run the risk of the kind of trade which might lead to it.

Two specific things should be done. First, the president should be given the power and entrusted with the duty to declare an embargo on the sales of the means of death to belligerent nations. It is infamously wrong and hideously dangerous for us to grow rich, for any section of our nation to grow rich, on the slaughter of human beings. Second, the United States should take the lead of merely in bringing full moral, and possibly some qualified economic, pressure on Japan but in holding that kind of conference on the Far Eastern situation which would persuade Japan that we all of us are relaxing our special claims against China. The Japanese militarists will continue to hypnotize the Japanese people until we give such evidence of good faith.

Behind these two specific things there must be a war against poverty carried out constructively in America. This is necessary so as to remove the danger that men consciously or subconsciously will look to a good war as the means of relieving their economic depression. A good war, of course, is one that we finance and provision while other men fight it. The trouble is that good wars have a way of becoming bad by drawing us in! There is an amazing and alarming sentiment in America, a little below the surface perhaps, but there, as any one can discover, in favor of the kind of war which would create a new market for American wheat, iron and cotton. It is perhaps significant that the Department of Agriculture itself has drawn attention to the fact that the Japanese are not wheat eaters. As a substitute for war against our neighbors give us a holy war against poverty!