

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## Bankers Clique Ruling Industry and Law-Making Bodies Challenges Labor

**T**HE election returns are practically all in but the real returns are accumulating for the suffering masses. The great banking oligarchs who rule American capitalism were not candidates for public office. However, they contributed funds when the collection plates were passed around and the day following the election stocks registered an upward trend. Although not chosen for public office, the great bankers today exercise more power over the industries, the cities, the states and the nation than all the city, state and national governments combined. Finance capital dictates the wages to be paid workers. It dictates labor policy in the great industries. It vetoes budgets of city councils and pulls strings behind legislatures. It is insolent in issuing its orders. It assumes the power of a Supreme Upper Council whose decisions are final.

In New York State banker insolence has dictated wage cuts for New York City teachers, firemen and policemen. An effort was made by representatives of these workers last week at Albany to limit the duration of any such wage cuts. It immediately developed that the bankers had the final word, not the executive and legislative powers at Albany. Charles E. Mitchell, chairman of the National City Bank, figured prominently in the news dispatches. On the telephone in New York City he informed Albany that there must be no time limitation on prospective wage cuts.

Two paragraphs in the Herald-Tribune story are amazing. Representatives of the city employes affected by such cuts were summoned by Governor Roosevelt. We quote:

"Mr. Roosevelt told them that they might as well make up their minds that there could be no limitation upon the duration of the salary reductions because the bankers demanded unlimited repeal."

The Governor of the State and President-elect of the republic coolly announced that a banker in New York City had vetoed the proposal of time limitation! The second paragraph reads:

### Higher Veto of the Banker!

"Subsequently, it was learned from a reliable source, Mr. Roosevelt, himself, talked to Mr. Mitchell over the telephone, but was unable to change his views."

The executive of the State of New York, vested by the constitution with a veto power, recognized a higher veto in a New York City banker!

"Has the Governor of New York abdicated?" exclaimed Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union.

Late last week the teachers adopted a resolution declaring that since October, 1930, they had contributed \$3,000,000, to help feed starving school children and resolved that the bankers should contribute 5 per cent of their incomes for the same purpose. They declared that the state and city officials had surrendered "their powers to the Chase National and National City Banks" and urged that the city be liberated from "the financial control of the bankers."

Bravo, teachers! This fighting spirit should be carried into every organization of the workers.

While this drama of banker dictatorship was unfolding in New York the railroad workers at Chicago were facing similar banker arrogance. Ruling finance is the power behind the throne in this matter of a wage reduction for the railroad workers. "Financial necessity" is the excuse, the necessity of security holders.

Of the plea for the security-holder the railroad workers answered: "We must ask you to face this question: Why should this property owner be paid full wages when half of his property is unemployed? Why should the railway worker be paid nothing when he is unemployed and then be paid less than the wages he has fully earned when his services are employed?"

There is no answer except the veto of the ruling bankers. Their word is law and they expect to enforce their law.

But these decrees of the banking class do not exhaust the election returns. A number of states have enacted the sales tax that means an increase in the cost of living. In January the legislatures of Oregon and New York will have sales tax measures before them. So will other legislatures. It is almost certain to come before Congress.

There is little doubt that the ruling cliques who have horribly mismanaged their powers are determined to shift the consequences of their stupid rule to the backs of distressed and starving workers. It is not enough to complain and to denounce. *It is time for action. The elemental resentment of the working masses must be organized to avert the consequences of banker rule and to win legislative relief.*

The state legislatures will be in session in a few weeks. What must be done in this state can be done in others. We must get out our petitions for unemployment insurance. We must get signatures to them. We must approach the trade unions who now favor this measure and obtain their cooperation. Other sympathetic organizations must be enlisted. Socialist Party branches must act without delay.

### Answer Banker Dictatorship!

Petitions must be prominently displayed in union halls and in buildings occupied by sympathetic organizations. Prominent signs should direct attention to them. Arrangements should be made in every city for party branches, unemployed leagues, trade unions, Workmen's Circles and other sympathetic organizations to be represented at Albany. A huge mass meeting should be held in that city. Publicity must be issued and mass meetings be arranged everywhere possible and resolutions adopted, resolutions that exhibit the fighting spirit of an awakened working class.

We must answer banker dictatorship with a determination to win a decent existence for the men, women and children of the suffering masses. *We must wrest the veto power from the hands of the arrogant usurers and compel the enactment of our relief measures into law.*

Every party division throughout the state and the nation should be a dynamo of activities in asserting the claims of the laboring millions.

In any other nation the insolence of the bankers would provoke great mass meetings throughout the country. It is our solemn duty to rise to the emergency which has come to Socialists and to party organizations. Shall it be said that working class families are to be thrust to lower levels of living by the imperial decrees of high finance without answering the challenge of the bankers and their allies?

We repeat, *theory, principle and resentment must be translated into intelligent and disciplined action. Socialists must lead the way and help bring huge pressure against the arrogant aims of a handful of financiers to dominate all of American life.*

### NINTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

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# NEW LEADER

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

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10 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1932

## Our Impending Struggle!

WE have devoted our first page this week to the importance of ACTION by the Socialist Party and sympathetic organizations to combat the depression and the banking clique that issues orders that paralyze action by the law-making bodies for jobless legislative relief. We face a fight not only before the legislatures and city councils throughout the nation, but a struggle with the ruling usurers who issue decrees behind the scenes. The Republican and Democratic puppets in office in many instances owe political debts to the financial spiders and these officials are not inclined to offend their wealthy backers.

The class lines have rarely been more clearly drawn than in this struggle. The working masses in agriculture and industry today endure sufferings and a degradation that make Marx's forecast of increasing misery read like a conservative prediction. On every front of proposed relief stands guards of the bankers who thrust workers back into the hell of depression. The "share-work" program tends to bring all other workers down to a dead level of sheer existence and the wage-cuts contribute to the same end. The class antagonism widens each day. It is registered not only in industry but in the paralysis of legislative bodies dominated by banker decrees.

Moreover, there is little prospect of improvement in the economic situation. The slight upturn in business and trade from July to October that generally accompanies a national election has not continued. As The Labor Bureau, Inc., reports, "the 'revival' has petered out. . . . There is no doubt whatever that the plight of labor and farmer during the coming winter in the United States will be worse than within the memory of living man. . . . There is no sign on the domestic horizon of prompt improvement; meanwhile the international skies are black. . . . With wheat selling at the lowest price in history, with delinquent taxes and interest payments piling up to mountainous heights, the plight of the farmers is now critical."

This summary of the situation by a reliable authority should sober all of us. It emphasizes the importance of intelligent and disciplined ACTION that will bring the masses into a powerful pressure group to act in their own behalf. This will not evolve automatically out of misery and discontent. Conscious planning of a program of ACTION that will bring the jobless and sympathetic organizations together for common purposes will correlate with what hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, are thinking.

What is said on the first page and in this column is directed to the comrades in all the states. We have just passed through an encouraging political struggle. We are now facing another aspect of that same struggle, the fight for relief for those who suffer cold and hunger; for the men, women and children of our class who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Moreover, such a struggle leads to an awakening of class consciousness and recruits fighters for our even greater aim of abolishing capitalism itself.

On to our tasks, comrades; organize for fruitful ACTION.

## The World We Live In

# A Socialist View of the Week

### Socialist Activities That Are Urgent

IF we use the first page, the column to the left, and this leading item to the need of agitation, organization and action by Socialists in this critical emergency it is because we regard this as extremely important. To what we have said elsewhere we want to add the following suggestions.

Every state organization of the party should immediately take the leadership in planning state-wide activities for the purposes we have outlined. One of its leading tasks is to approach the labor organizations, emphasizing the grave situation that confronts the workers, and urging cooperation. Other sympathetic organizations should also be approached and for the same reasons. The state organizations may also arrange for local publicity agents in each locality of activity to obtain local publicity for the work being done and to report such activities to the state office which, in turn, can send news releases to the Socialist press and such dailies as are likely to accept them.

The national office of the party can and should stimulate the state organizations to action and urge them to make reports so that national news releases of what is being done throughout the country may be given to the press associations and to the party press as well. *Every party division, from the branch to the national office, should become a dynamo of activity in pushing this work.*

### New Farm Bloc to "Relieve" Farmers

A NEW farm bloc has been organized in Congress. The first one was organized eleven years ago and disbanded a few years ago. The first farm bloc is credited by some farm leaders with having obtained enactment of sixty bills to aid agriculture. Let us be thankful that agriculture was not "aided" by twice that number of bills in the past ten years. In that case it is doubtful whether many farmers would be alive today.

Sub-committees are to work out a four-point program which will include currency expansion, lowering of the price of the dollar, stopping farm mortgage foreclosures, and giving equality to agriculture and labor. Farmers and workers now have an equality of misery and incomes.

Conceding the realization of this program, we assert that it will not bring security and comfort to the rural workers. Agriculture has sunk to the bottom of the system of production. Capitalism has drained it of all its paying occupations and organized them into capitalist enterprises. The dregs are left to the farmers. United with the workers of the cities a program of relief could be worked out for both groups. Relief is important, but we do not expect even this to be obtained from the politicians of the capitalist system. The laboring millions must conquer public power not only for their relief but for the abolition of capitalism itself.

### Big Five Transact Important Business

ON Monday five men met in the suite of John F. Curry at the Hotel Plaza to consider a little business transaction. Not fish or cuspidors or even cabbage were under consideration. The other four who met with John are the Democratic leaders of four boroughs. They kindly selected the committee chairmanships in the State Senate, called it a good job, and adjourned. The next day the smug features of the Big Five appeared in the daily papers. Fat and sleek, each of them, the pirates of colonial New York, if they were able to peer through the veil, must have envied these gentlemen.

Hundreds of thousands of voters sweated and fumed and argued in the recent campaign regarding the "issues" at stake. The Big Five are just beginning to divide the big stakes, and the

## There Is a Hell

By William Allen Ward

There is a hell . . . across the street  
Where gray walls hide two weary feet;  
There was no milk—a baby's cry,  
A tired mother—hear her sigh?  
A dingy room—outside the sleet!

The preacher shouts: "In hell there's heat!  
In judgment God you'll have to meet!" . . .  
That damning preacher told no lie,  
There is a hell—

Across the street—in dark retreat;  
There is no food, no bread, no meat,  
Yes, preacher, men and babes must die—  
Food jobless fathers cannot buy—  
Dig deep their graves, and make them neat;  
There is a hell!

rubber stamps in the upper house at Albany will soon be told what they are expected to do. The Big Five will not be found in the bread line. That place is reserved for tens of thousands who sweated and fumed and argued but a few months ago.

It's capitalist politics; that's all. It is the art of winning public offices for the exploiters of labor and incidentally coining ignorance into nice dividends for yourself. Daniel Drew, who salted cattle and led them to water before he sold them, must also envy the Big Five.

### A New Robot to Displace Labor

THE latest marvel in robotology (pardon this coining of a new word) is a micro-wave radio-typewriter. It transmits typed messages through the air to be typed by a receiving apparatus or a number of them. The power required to send messages is negligible.

The micro-ray typewriter is expected to prove of great value for intra-fleet communications; in peaceful endeavors for use in large manufacturing plants for the circulation of all types of information, such as production schedules; office communications in large organizations scattered over wide areas so correspondence and reports can reach all departments simultaneously; related businesses operating in different cities; news gathering by radio; forestry service communication; train dispatching; airplane, police secret reports, etc.

How extensive the displacement of labor by this robot will be is not stated. However, that it will displace workers and increase the incomes of the owning classes is obvious. That is the curse of the labor-displacing machine but it is a curse due to capitalism, not to the machine itself. If capitalists are to continue to own industries the robot will produce for the owners. If the ownership is taken from them and vested in society the robots will work for us, reduce our hours of labor and increase our incomes.

### Paul-Boncour to Head New French Cabinet

WITH Senator Joseph Paul-Boncour heading the new French Cabinet this recalls what Jaures once said. "The bourgeoisie takes our renegades and cast-offs and makes prime ministers of them." For some years since the end of the war Paul-Boncour was in disagreement with the party and he finally resigned. He now follows the course of Briand, Millerand and Viviani. It is a curious fact that both Left and Right have contributed ministers, both Briand and Viviani having been fiery Lefts and Millerand and Paul-Boncour representing opportunist wings.

When Paul-Boncour was a member of the Socialist Party he favored participation in a government with Socialistic Radicals. There was no exceptional situation in France that would justify this even as a temporary course. In the present instance the party has put forth

a program of reducing military expenditures to the 1928 level, national control of the manufacture and sale of armaments, control of banks, nationalization of railroads and all insurance, the forty-hour week with no reduction in wages, and a balanced budget without reducing the social services.

This program goes too far to suit Paul-Boncour, whose Cabinet will be composed of Radicals, Socialistic Radicals and groups with central tendencies.

### Argentina Again Faces Revolt

SENSATIONAL reports from Argentina indicate that this South American republic has again faced general turmoil. The semi-dictatorship of General Uriburu ended last February with the election of President Justo, and now it appears that the Radicals, who had been ousted by Uriburu who headed a military clique in 1930, plotted a revolt against the regime of President Justo. The intrigue was discovered and it collapsed.

The New York Times correspondent cables some amazing details. Letters, telegrams, codes, maps and instructions found in the possession of plotters show that the city of Buenos Aires was to have been handed over to criminals and terrorists of the worst type for forty-eight hours, not for military purposes, but with the avowed object of revenge on the city by which the Radical Party had been repudiated and which welcomed General Uriburu's revolt against the Radicals in 1930 by showering flowers on him from balconies.

Nothing is reported in the dispatches regarding the actions of the Socialist and labor organizations which are very strong in the capital. President Justo declared a state of seige on Monday and for an indefinite period and wholesale arrests of plotters have been made.

### An American Export To the Japanese

ONE phase of "Americanism" has been accepted as an import by Japan and the Tammany brokers might well set aside a day to celebrate it. Thirty members of the Tokyo City Council were accused of bribery. The scandals grew out of contracts made during the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake of 1923. The graft had become so rampant in the City Council that at one time that body was dissolved because so many members were implicated!

The Appeals Court this week concluded its labor in the trial of the thirty. Eleven were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from one to seven months; sixteen were convicted, but liberated on probation, and five were acquitted. Two members of the Diet were among those sent to prison.

Statesmen of New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and other burghs: salute your Tokyo peers! When Admiral Perry opened the gates of Japan with his naval guns and introduced "civilization" to that country, no one living in that simple age could have anticipated that the American art of graft would be one of our important exports. The next art for the Japs to learn from our politicians is how to keep out of jail. They will then be thoroughly Americanized.

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

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By C. H. Hendley

# The Bankers Rule the Roost

THERE are reports from all parts of the country that bankers are dictating policies to municipal and state administrations everywhere. Taxation and the costs of government are leading topics up for discussion at their convention to be held in Los Angeles soon.

Bankers have made peremptory demands upon national governments throughout the capitalist world and have directed the course of diplomatic history. They have forced wholesale reductions in wages and destroyed labor unions in private industry.

The elder J. P. Morgan set the pace in this direction when he demolished the steel workers' union at the time he founded the United States Steel Corporation. The bankers are themselves among the worst employers. Their employees are among the lowest paid white-collar workers, and numbers of them have been peremptorily fired in recent years for daring to attempt to organize. In the great railroad strike of 1922 the workers found that the bankers were dictating the labor policies of the railroad managers.

### Bankers' Profits

These modern demigods, however, are corporeal and have great ability to take care of themselves in both fair and bad weather. For they employ other people's money and manage generally to shift the main burdens of risk to their customers. For example the thirty-one largest public banks in New York have been very prosperous during all this depression.

During the first six months of this year they paid \$55,985,000 in dividends to their stockholders. If they continue the same rate of payment during the rest of the year, their total dividend for 1932 will be nearly \$112,000,000, which is substantially greater than their dividends in the boom year 1929.

They Still Make Their Fat Profits, But They Make Teachers and Streetcleaners Accept Wage-Cuts—How Long Will the Masses Allow Them to Run the Works?



The average rate of dividends this year for the thirty-one banks is over 14.5%, which is not bad for the fourth year of the worst depression in history. Twenty-five of these banks are paying dividends that range from 10% to 100%. Four of them pay over 50%. Twenty per cent seems to be the normal rate of profit for New York banks in hard times. The follow-

ing is a record of the profits of thirty-one largest public banks during the last three and a half years:

Year	Net Profits	Dividends Paid
1929-----	\$162,039,000	\$103,402,000
1930-----	143,746,000	112,306,000
1931-----	189,924,000	132,003,000
1932 (6 mos.)	66,433,000	55,985,000
Totals-----	\$562,142,000	\$403,696,000

The total dividends paid to the stockholders during this period is in excess of 53% on the present capital stock. There has indeed been a decline in net profits, but no one can say it has been alarming. And their surplus and undivided profits of over one billion promises to enable them to continue to pay high dividends for a long time yet.

### Poor Old J. Pier!

The figures very much understate the amount of profits of the leading banks of the city for several reasons. (1) The profits of the big private banks like J. P. Morgan & Co., Speyer & Co., etc., are not included, for they are not available in the published records. We should mention incidentally that the private banks usually participate in the financing of the city government. (2) The record above does not include the stock dividends that make up much of the capital structure of many banks. (3) We have not tried to estimate the profits made by the favored few in the numerous mergers, in the splitting up of stock, and in the numerous subscription rights given to the stockholders.

The figures are available in Moody's Manuals, in the publications of the Standard Statistics Corporation, and are in convenient form in "The Handbook of New York City Banks" published by Overseas Statistics, Inc.

It is of interest to New York

Accumulated Surplus and Undivided Profits
\$11,244,714,000
1,396,945,000
1,172,847,000
1,058,473,000

municipal employees to note that the bankers have a dominating representation on the so-called Citizens' Budget Commission. In a list of about forty members of the commission published during the summer 21 were directors and officials in the leading banks of the city. The Chase National and the Title Guarantee and Trust Co. each have three representatives, The Guaranty Trust Co., the Irving Trust Co., the Bank of Manhattan Trust Co., and the Fifth Avenue Bank each have two representatives, and nineteen other banks have one representative each. No other interest in the city is so prominently represented on it except the mortgage companies and other realty interests.

Over sixty mortgage and realty companies are represented on the commission by one or more directors or officials. Some of these companies, especially the mortgage companies, have been prosperous during the depression. The record of others show impressively the collapse of the sky-rocketing speculation in New York realty. A few members of the commission are apparently interested in other enterprises than banking or realty; but the organization is overwhelmingly representative of financial and realty interests.

Of course, the Real Estate Board is actively represented by Peter Grimm and Anton L. Trunk. There are only three or four representatives of the merchants on the body although Messrs. Watson and Booth of the Merchants' Association were active in establishing it and are members of it. There are several names on it for window dressing as for example Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, John W. Davis, and Prof. E. R. A. Seligman.

### The Bankers' Nerve

It is nothing less than a hold-up for the bankers to threaten to (Continued on Page Seven)

## A Manual for Socialist Speakers

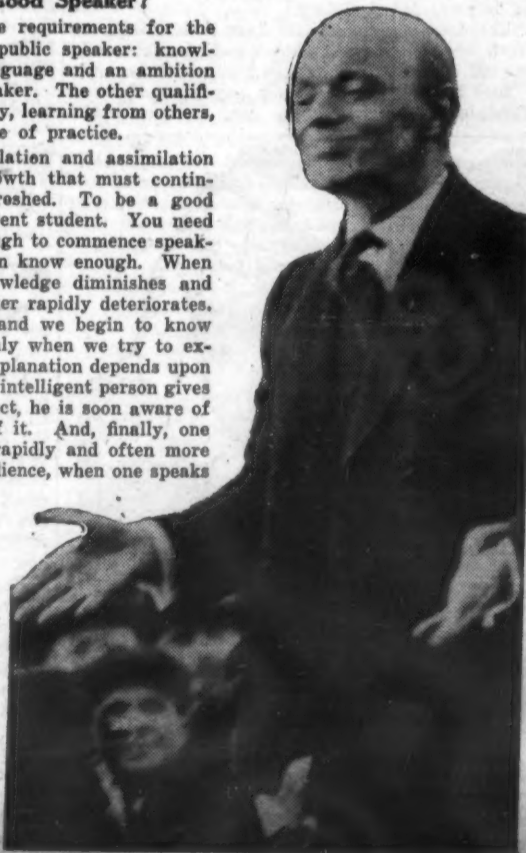
by August Claessens

### Can I Become a Good Speaker?

THERE are at least three requirements for the development of a good public speaker: knowledge, a fair command of language and an ambition to become a good public speaker. The other qualifications come along with study, learning from others, experience and an abundance of practice.

Knowledge is the accumulation and assimilation of information. It is a growth that must continually be nourished and refreshed. To be a good speaker, you must be a diligent student. You need not wait until you know enough to commence speaking. You certainly never can know enough. When you stop reading, your knowledge diminishes and your effectiveness as a speaker rapidly deteriorates. Speaking is thinking aloud and we begin to know how little we really know only when we try to explain it to others. A clear explanation depends upon a clear understanding. If an intelligent person gives a muddled account of a subject, he is soon aware of his lack of understanding of it. And, finally, one is compelled to think more rapidly and often more lucidly when one faces an audience, when one speaks to, and thinks with, others.

There are some people who acquire a good command of language easily and rapidly and they are often referred to as gifted, talented or "born speakers." The possession of language, nevertheless, is a growth. Our vocabulary becomes richer and the flow of language easier the more we read, listen and speak. There are cases, to the contrary, of well informed persons who are very poor



speakers. There are many and complex conditions involved in these exceptional cases. In the case of the general run of public speakers it is absolutely true that they do improve by practice. Practice does enrich one's vocabulary. A well read person accumulates a great quantity and variety of words, and in oral exercises he develops the power and art of expression. Finally, and most decidedly, any one who can converse fluently and effectively can become a good public speaker.

The other important requirement in the making of a speaker is the ambition to become a public speaker. Of course, most people have little ambition to become speakers or to be conspicuous. Among most of those who would like to do some public speaking, the greatest obstacle to begin with is the lack of confidence in their own potentialities. But where there is the will to try, the desire to succeed, the development is easy. As knowledge and vocabulary can be acquired, the technique of effective delivery can also be learned.

When a person has ideas and opinions, he usually enjoys expressing them. Such people are propagandists, and whether they care to mount a platform or not, they are public speakers. Those who want to be successful speakers, however, must master the technique and art of delivery, system and logic in argumentation and they should have some knowledge of crowd psychology.

As to the so-called "born orators" or "talented speakers," there is little evidence that any of them came into life with special gifts or capabilities. On the other hand, there is an accumulation of evidence that unusual ability is largely the product

of unusual encouragement, diligence, practice and determination.

### Nervousness.

BEGINNERS in all professions are nervous, some more and other less so. There are several causes for this ailment; and except in rare cases it is easily overcome. The commonest form of nervousness is the mental condition of most all of us when we are engaged in doing something new and unusual and, particularly, when we do it in the presence of others. We then become unduly self-conscious. We center too much critical attention upon ourselves and bring on a nervous tumult. This condition destroys our normal poise and makes it difficult to do what we intend to do. Thus we cough, fidget, stammer or speak too rapidly and get our feet entangled. Now, we don't behave in this fashion in ordinary conversation. But doing an unusual thing especially before an audience, makes us nervous. After a few experiences, the unusual task becomes less unusual. Progressively the concentration upon ourselves diminishes, and as we increase our attention on what we are doing, our nervousness vanishes.

Nervousness may also be caused by the inability to find a ready supply of words on the tip of one's tongue. This is overcome by giving the tongue plenty of exercise and by frequent peeps into a dictionary. We learn to talk only by talking. The great art in public speaking is knowing when to stop.

Still another kind of nervousness is caused by attempting to discuss what one does not sufficiently understand.

(To be continued next week)

By Charles Solomon

# And Still Tom Mooney Is in Jail

**T**HE literature on the Mooney-Billings case has been enriched by the recent appearance under the imprint of a private publishing house (Gotham House, Inc., N. Y.) of the Suppressed Mooney-Billings Report, an exhaustive, critical review of the history of this famous case, the result of an investigation conducted by the Section of Lawless Enforcement of the Law of the Wickersham Commission.

This study was not contained in the printed reports of the Wickersham Commission. Its commercial publication is explained in a foreword to the book written by U. S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

When the general report of this sub-committee of the Wickersham Commission was made public, Wheeler says, it contained only a reference to the investigation that had been conducted into the Mooney-Billings case by Dr. Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, Carl Stern and Walter Pollack. Several members of the Senate, taking the view that here was a public document prepared at public expense and covering an essential phase of the subject, demanded in a Senate resolution "that the President produce the suppressed report." It was sent to the Senate by the Attorney-General but all efforts to have it printed as a public document at public expense were blocked.

The appearance of this report is contemporaneous with the 50th birthday anniversary of Tom Mooney (December 8th) and the reported statement of Governor Rolph of California that the Mooney case is "closed" as far as he is concerned.

### A Galaxy of Witnesses

The report thus characterizes the "basic witnesses" in the case: "McDonald, a syphilitic and 'psychopathic liar'; Crowley, a syphilitic, whose testimony, when defending himself unsuccessfully against prosecution, was condemned by the judge who tried his case; Oxman, who testified falsely and who signed letters whose clear effect was to induce another to do the same thing; Mrs. Edeau, who was a victim of hallucinations and whose testimony was demonstrably false; Sadie Edeau, whose testimony followed her mother's, and falls with it; Estelle Smith, a prostitute with a police record."

The report concludes, among other things, that

There was never any scientific attempt made by the police or the prosecution to discover the perpetrators of the crime. The investigation was turned over to a private detective who used his position to cause the arrest of the defendants. The police investigation was reduced to a hunt for evidence to convict the arrested defendants.

There were flagrant violations of the statutory law of California by both police and

### FROM OKLAHOMA

From a former subscriber: I like The New Leader, but I will not renew my subscription while wheat sells at 25 cents per bushel, and other farm products in proportion. Money costs a farmer too much. Not long ago a bushel of wheat would carry 50 letters; now it takes six bushels to do the trick. I must use a post card now instead of a letter in an effort to keep in line with "prosperity."

## Labor Leader Passes 50th Birthday in San Quentin, Sixteen Years Stolen from His Life—Commercial Publication of Suppressed Government Report Confirms All Charges of Frame-Up.

prosecution in the manner in which the defendants were arrested and held incommunicado and in the subsequent searches of their homes to procure evidence against them.

Their arrests were followed by a deliberate attempt to arouse public prejudice against them through almost daily interviews given to the press by the prosecuting officials.

Witnesses were coached to a degree that approximated subornation of perjury.

In addition to the prejudice aroused against the defendant by the newspaper campaign, unfair and intemperate appeals were made to the jury in opening and closing addresses by the prosecution.

Every attempt has been made to defeat the liberation of the

defendants by a campaign of misrepresentation and propaganda carried on by the officials who prosecuted them.

### And Still He Is in Jail

Notwithstanding all of the foregoing, Tom Mooney has been in prison over sixteen years after having been convicted of murder in the trial growing out of the San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade explosion, July 22nd, 1916, as a result of which 10 persons were killed and many more were wounded. Mooney was sentenced to be hanged but his sentence was commuted by Governor Stephens after President Woodrow Wilson, acting on the report of a Mediation Commission appointed by him, appealed for a new trial.

Wilson was moved to this action by a demonstration against the Mooney conviction outside the

American Embassy in Petrograd just after the March Revolution. Billings was convicted in an earlier trial and sentenced to life imprisonment on recommendation of the jury. Several others who were arrested and indicted in the same case, including Mrs. Mooney, were either acquitted or never brought to trial.

The Mediation Commission reported to President Wilson that "a solid basis exists for the feeling that an injustice was done, or may have been done, in the convictions that were obtained, and that an irreparable injustice would be committed to allow such conviction to proceed to execution."

### Our Dreyfus Case

Senator Wheeler characterizes the Mooney-Billings affair as a "National scandal . . . it is to the United States what the Dreyfus

case was to France." This statement fails to convey an adequate picture of the present status of this extraordinary case. It is strikingly stated in a recent letter of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee:

"All the witnesses against Mooney have been exposed as perjurers. . . . Three United States commissions have declared that Mooney was framed. Two state legislatures, scores of United States Senators, congressmen, governors and mayors, thousands of newspaper editors; scientists, clergymen, leaders in the field of art, literature and science, have gone on record as believing in Mooney's innocence and demanding his pardon. The judge who tried him, the jurors who convicted him, the head of the detectives who gathered evidence against him, the present district attorney of San Francisco and two ex-district attorneys, have all come out for a pardon. The Attorney-general of California stipulated that Mooney was entitled to a new trial. This was denied by the California Supreme Court, based on a technicality in the law. The whole world knows that Mooney is innocent, but Mooney remains in prison."

Powerful as this statement is, it does not state the international aspects of the case. Mooney has become a symbol of proletarian martyrdom to the workers of the world. He is another John Brown whose soul goes marching on. His impalement on the cross of California justice has made him almost a mythical figure to millions of toilers everywhere.

The reported statement of Gov. Rolph is not to be taken seriously, of course. No one who knows anything about this case does. Not even Gov. Rolph. He is whistling to keep up his courage . . . rationalizing to keep smiling. But the "Mooney-Billings Affair" will yet remove that much advertised smile from the face of "Sunny Jim."

mad game of war that much more insane.

If they do not watch out they will the quicker teach the working classes of the several countries that there is no sound reason for going to war at all. Then there will be an end to arms.

But the chances are that they will try to have wars, even without money. For ruling classes are not clever enough to learn. So they will at least try to have wars, and, if they cannot be paid for by money they surely will be paid for by revolution.

## SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT PUSHES DISARMAMENT

The Socialist Speaker of the lower house of the Danish Diet, H. P. Hansen, has been called to the Ministry of National Defence in succession to the present Social-Democratic member of the Government, Nils Rasmussen. The latter had announced before the recent elections, that because of advanced age, he desired to be replaced.

Hansen declared, he considered his task to be that of continuing the work of his predecessor.

Above all, he would again and at the earliest possible opportunity submit the Social-Democratic Disarmament Bill to the new Diet.

Mrs. Martha Crousbre sends in her renewal with a sub from the Gillespie Branch of the Socialist Party. Also a sub from a recruit. She says: "The paper is fine. I like it much better than I ever did."

By Joseph E. Cohen

## Let's Try to Pay For Wars As We Go Along—And Then What?

### And Why Not Union Wages and Union Conditions for the Fighters?—If We Used a Pay-as-We-Go Policy Wars Would Cease.

**E**ND of payments to this country on war debts raises some ticklish points. Only the old statesmen and diplomats will stay serious about them. For the great masses of the people who are expected to do the fighting in war, get maimed or killed and bear the brunt of post-war financial obligations there may be other thoughts.

If wars are to be paid for as they go, how much war can there be?

Without "Liberty" loans here, for instance, the cost of carrying on hostilities would have had to be met out of taxation. And taking from the profiteers all they were pocketing by skyscraper profits and prices would certainly take the stomach out of their patriotic enthusiasm.

They might become so sore that they would go off and fight. And what kind of a war would it be if the ruling classes slaughtered each other? That might make war more high-toned. But what would be the use of having such goings-on?

### What Would You Fight On?

Worse than for America would the case be for Europe. Taxation would be limited more quickly since goods destroyed and wealth wiped out by invasion could not be replaced while the factories were busy making war supplies. Without being able to borrow abroad to load debts problems on future generations a day would come when firing would cease.

Just think how awkward it would be when the fighting was going good and a few inches of advance had been made along a wide front for the Secretaries of the Treasuries and the Chancellors of the Exchequer of some countries to come rushing out to call a halt to the generals! They had had all the war the treasuries could stand for! Gosh, wouldn't it be fierce!

Anyone can see the disaster that would come from carrying too far this business of balancing budgets by paying as they go.

### Time Out!

Since such armistices would be inconclusive it would be necessary to wait until the treasuries could again pay for more fighting. Then there would be a few more rounds

of firing. But the whole trend would be to make war uncertain and haphazard. Instead of one knockout blow there would be a sort of hit-or-miss contest and possibly no final decision. And that would be tough on the generals.

But having wars pay for themselves as they go would bring about worse complications. There would be no merit in promising decorations for bravery and bonuses in the sweet by-and-by. There again it would have to be cash in hand. That means the armed forces might decide before they permit themselves to be conscripted just

what would be union rates of wages on weekly paydays. Here, likewise, would be a good spot to establish the universal thirty-hour workweek. If spreading work should be impractical, then all the more reason for at least time-and-half pay for overtime and double time on whichever day might be agreed upon as a universal Sunday for all nations and religions at war.

### A Union War

Any war which could not keep its assets above its liabilities could go into receivership. The World Court of the League of Nations might be called upon to appoint the receivers. In return for allowing a nation to go out of receivership the court could attach a string of promises as to mandates and terms of settlement in the event of victory.

From just these little details can be told what a snarl our esteemed Allies got the business of war into by defaulting payment of their debts to us. They have made the



"Say you—you big stiff—why don't you disarm?"

By William M. Feigenbaum

# When Will We Become Really Civilized?

**Before Thrilling With Horror Over Medieval Tortures and the Fiendish Barbarities of Nero (as Per the Movies) Just Read About Tortures of Political Today.**

THE other day I went to see a screen super-super-super spectacle in which the inspired producer undertook to paint a picture of Rome in the days of Nero. The grand smashing, thrilling, blood-curdling, breath-taking, heart-arresting climax was in the arena where gladiators battled each other to the death, where wild women from the forests of the North battled pigmies to the death, where wild animals were set upon beautiful maidens, stripped naked and bound to posts, and where one hundred (count them!) Christians battled ferocious lions to the death.

In earlier scenes a Christian lad was third-degreed by cops of the Rome police department, who sought to sweat out of him information of the meeting of the local branch of the Christians. The soles of his feet were burned, he was beaten with whips and he was threatened with red-hot irons.

"When will people ever get over their sadistic cruelty?" asked my companion at the theatre. "Will the human race ever cease to be savagely, horribly cruel? Will human beings ever cease taking joy in inflicting fearful pain on others?"

### The Iron Maiden

Students of human psychology (and of theology, too!) can find much food for thought in a study of instruments of torture on view in many museums in Europe. In Nuremberg, for example, the prettiest, gentlest girl you ever saw was guide through a mediaeval museum that fairly bristled with instruments of torture, many of them used as recently as 1800. "This," the girl would say gently, "was used to break the bones of heretics." "This cradle," she would say with a slow, sweet smile, "studded with spikes, would give rest to those laid within and rocked to eternal sleep."

The instruments of torture ranged from stocks, the pillory, and ducking stools to the rack, the "iron maiden," the "pear" (forced into the heretic's mouth and slowly opened) and other bone-breaking devices; and included the ingenious device of the noble Crusaders to insure their wives' devotion during their absence.

But that is all over now; we no longer inflict torture and even the "third degree" doesn't officially exist. This is an age of humanity and science, even in penology. . . .

At least, that is what we tell ourselves.

And here come to the desk some documents on the treatment of political prisoners TODAY.

For example:

### Torture in Italy

During the interrogation of the "Intellectuals" in Turin—Andreis Scala, Cosmo and others—Andreis was subjected to every kind of physical and mental torture. Use was made of intimate personal correspondence to wound his deepest feelings in the most ruthless fashion. The police commissioner who interrogated him beat him cruelly about the face. When he

In past years the generosity of a number of friends made it possible for us to send THE NEW LEADER to a large number of public libraries. At the present time we have no fund with which to keep up this valuable work. There are many workers who would keenly feel the loss of not being able to consult THE NEW LEADER in their public libraries. Will those who are in a position to do so kindly send a donation to a fund to supply public libraries with subscriptions to THE NEW LEADER?

been burned in order to compel them to talk. They are still unable to walk.

### And in Roumania

Recently the police of Czernowitz, Roumania, in their efforts to discover the authors of political plots, have endeavored to extort "confessions" by subjecting their victims to bestial tortures more horrible than anything hitherto known even in the Balkans. The Social-Democratic "Vorwärts," published in Czernowitz, has given detailed accounts of the ferocious brutalities of the "Siguranza" (Security Police), who have been behaving with especial barbarity to girl prisoners.

"The local police have lately adopted an instrument of torture which is in great favor in Bessarabia and which the inquisitors, with a pretty wit, have nicknamed 'Little Mary.' A prisoner under interrogation who will not confess has his hands and feet tied together and is then slung over a horizontal pole and turned over and over like a wheel, so that he is flung repeatedly and with increasing force against the floor.

"Another favorite is beating on the soles of the feet and the tips of the fingers.

"A girl named S. was dragged around by the hair until a whole handful came away in the torturer's hand.

"A warder recently discovered upon the walls of a cell in which

12 girls were imprisoned some scribbled words which he considered dangerous to the State. This misdeed had to be avenged immediately, and the 12 girls were thrown into a cellar and there beaten into unconsciousness by the warder with a rubber cudgel."

"Two eyes like those of a tortured animal peered at me as I entered the visiting room," wrote a lawyer sent to defend her. "That is how Polla Vascautann looked after she had been tortured by the police. Were the stories published in 'Vorwärts' true? A weary smile flickered over the wan face: 'True enough—but not complete! They could not describe in print all that I have suffered.'

### Tortured by a Dozen

"Why had she named only one of her torturers in her statement, could she not give the names of the others?" "There were over a dozen who tortured me. Oh, the faces of those devils are impressed on my memory forever," she added.

## VIENNA CAR MEN REMAIN SOCIALIST

(By World Wide Labor News Service)

VIENNA.—Despite an active and noisy campaign waged against the regular Socialist organization in the Vienna street car workers' union during the last few months by both the Austrian followers of Adolf Hitler and the handful of Communists, the recent elections of personal representatives and general committees of the union held showed that the extremists of neither the Right or the Left have any real following here.

Although the total number of voters had declined during the last two years from 15,351 to about 14,400, the candidates of the Socialist union increased their vote on an average of about 800 to 11,142 in the balloting for personal representatives and gained one seat, bringing their total up to 23.

The so-called non-political group and the "Hakenkreuzler" (violent anti-Socialists and anti-Semites) polled only 1,627 votes together, against 2,895 by the non-politicals alone in the preceding election. The Christian Social union's vote dropped from 895 to 310, while the Communists, who ran for the first time, got only 261.

Comment in the labor press is to the effect that the street car workers have shown the world how solidly the mass of Viennese workers stands behind the Socialist city administration.

### An International Emblem

The symbol of the Iron Front in Germany, the three arrows pointed downward, is becoming widespread internationally. It has now been adopted in Hungary as the official Socialist Party badge. In that country the three arrows are intended to symbolize the demand for Freedom, Ground and Work.

A Socialist Party section in Paris is also making use of the three arrows. This section has published a membership card with the three arrows, which are described as the symbol for "Propaganda, Education, Recreation."

"Keeping up the agitation for new subs. The New Leader certainly deserves the widest possible circulation." (Charles Pogorelec, Jugoslav Federation, S. P.)

"Your paper has a great educational value," writes a Minnesota reader, as she forwards 4 subs.

"She is going on quite well now, they say, but up till a little while ago, when her whole body was one mass of wounds. . . ."

"The pale, wasted face and eyes full of agonized suffering are those of Jossie Feldmann. He cracks the ghastly jokes of those who are about to die. Whether the commissioners and police officers who 'handled' him have yet received any decorations for their exploits, is his first question. . . ."

"Imagine," he says, "that whole handfuls of hair were torn from my head just as you would pluck a goose. I was held by the hair and flung time after time against the wall or the floor until a handful of hair came away in my torturer's hand." And he showed me the gaps in his thick crop of hair.

"Feldmann showed me the scars of wounds between his fingers. They look like healed scratches, except for their striking regularity; they are on the inner side of each finger. These wounds are caused by a special form of torture, explains Feldmann—iron rods between the fingers. I do not understand his explanation, and have to give him my fountain pen and pencil so that he can demonstrate the torture on the hand of one of his companions.

### Ingenious Fiendishness

"Small rods of iron are thrust between the fingers of each hand and tied firmly together. Then one torturer twists the right hand and the other the left hand. The pain is excruciating! And then comes the most horrible thing of all. Feldmann undoes the bandages on his left foot. It is no longer a foot at all, but a shapeless, swollen mass. The toes are swollen, too, until they are indistinguishable from the swollen mass of the foot. There is a scab as wide as my finger all along the foot from which, four weeks after the wound was inflicted, blood and pus are still oozing."

And this is only a small batch of items from a single communication.

Week after week there come to this desk fat envelopes with detailed information of tortures in country after country inflicted upon political opponents, just as religious dissent was once treated with fiendish savagery.

How far advanced are we beyond the Romans of Nero's time? And what will we have to do to become really civilized?

### Authority Straight From Headquarters

"Anyone starting a disturbance at this meeting," we read, "can only be a police agent."

The meeting referred to is a debate between a prominent Communist and a notable reactionary. We read that "a large attendance of workers is expected," and that police agents "have formed a plan to bring about a disturbance among the audience, with the supposed objective of provoking an 'incident' 'justifying' police repression."

Hence the world is reminded that anyone starting something at the meeting is a provocateur. And this is a good thing for Socialists to remember when Socialist speakers, lecturers and debaters are heckled by hoodlums, insulted and outraged. They will have excellent authority if they fling into the faces of their would-be tormenters the words: "Anyone starting a disturbance at this meeting can only be a police agent."

The authority is C. A. Hathaway, district organizer of the Communist party, quoted in the official sheet of that party of December 16. There

## Oh, Liberty Can Man Deny Thee?

APPARENTLY not; at least if good old Economic Determinism is somehow involved.

The United States has held the Philippine Islands for 34 years, at a cost of a billion dollars and thousands of lives and much anguish of the spirit. Every attempt of the Philippine people to secure independence up to now has been crushed at the cost of much blood and treasure and further anguish to the spirit.

Now independence seems to be looming up just ahead. And how? Just this way: that noble son of freedom, Huey P. Long of Louisiana, threatened to filibuster the Short Session of Congress into a state of coma unless there was immediate action on Immediate Independence.

And why Huey Long of all people? Why his frenzied interest in the freedom of the half-naked people of Mindanao and Albay, of the bolo-throwers of Samar and the Moros of Sulu? And why did Franklin D. Roosevelt get such a Big Hand when he mentioned Philippine Independence in a campaign speech in Salt Lake City?

Well, it's this way: the Philippines produce sugar—much of it, and good sugar. And since they are a part of the United States shipping sugar from Manila to San Diego costs no duty—no more than shipping potatoes from Patchogue to Quogue or newspapers from New York to Hackensack.

But Louisiana and Utah likewise raise sugar, and the Louisiana cane sugar planters (whom Huey represents in the Senate) and the Utah beet sugar people would like to see Philippine sugar behind a high tariff wall, just as Cuban sugar is—to the joy of the Utah and Louisiana planters and the frenzy of the Cuban sugar planters, most of them Americans.

And Franklin Delano got the plaudits of the Salt Lake City crowd by hinting that he would favor putting the Philippine competition to Utah beet sugar behind high tariff walls. . . . or rather by dropping hints about freedom for the Philippine people which the cheering Mormons interpreted to suit themselves.

When you see old party politicians getting into a lather over freedom, justice and liberty, rub your eyes; and before you throw your sweaty nightcap into the air in loud huzzas snoop around a bit and see what there is in it for some of the dear old constits.



By Gertrude Weil Klein

# A Woman's Point of View

THE old boys are getting ready to whoop it up again! From the United States Senator who shouted that every American had been insulted by France's attitude on her war debts to the appeal to "Buy American," they're setting the stage for another war.

The plea to boycott everything with a French label is directed primarily to the women, the assumption being that they do most of the shopping. England has been carrying on the same sort of propaganda against Uncle Shylock. "Buy British" is their slogan. Germany has been advertising that every dollar spent on German made goods "gives your neighbors work and bread." This is a game that any number can play at, with what insane consequences we leave to your own imagination.

As for this business of an American boycott on French made products, it's interesting to know that



G. W. Klein

## Do You Hear the Roll of the War-Drums in the Offing? — "On the Square."

since 1920 the United States SOLD to France \$1,100,000,000 worth MORE goods than she bought from France. Our annual average exports to France amount to \$245,000,000, while our average annual imports amount to only \$145,000,000. France need only stop buying American automobiles and American business will want to know who threw the monkey wrench?

And the insult? Well, those of us who don't carry our pride in our purses will manage to get over it. Personally, I feel much more insulted when I'm being jammed around in the subways twice a day.

### The Drums Are Rolling

Yes, they're beginning to roll the drums! And while there is plenty of anti-war sentiment right now, and while the press for the most part is keeping its head, we remember too well the anti-war atmosphere of 1914, '15, '16 and '17—with "America, Stay in Your Own Back Yard," and "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," and "Vote for Wilson, He Kept Us Out of War"—not to know that

when the stampede starts, these United States will be shooting the works with more hysteria than any other nation.

The most tragic part of it all is that thousands of young workers are anxious for a war. Social workers will tell you that vast numbers of the unemployed can see no other way out of their dilemma. War would be a chance of escape and a possible opportunity for glory and vindication.

### "On the Square"

And while we're busy "Buying American" it may not be amiss to cast a somewhat jaundiced eye at the American institutions we are asked to patronize. For instance, the famous "on the Square Klein" employs a sweet little trick by which it gets a large portion of its help for practically nothing. The first week, they are told, they will have to learn the business. (Hanging dresses on a rack, it seems, requires a special technique.)

Of course, they can't expect full pay while learning. Having no choice in the matter they agree. After working a week they are fired. This merry-go-round keeps repeating itself. And Klein's isn't the only one.

What stories we could tell, given the space and time, of the cheap swindles some of the gaudier de-

partment stores practice on their employees. Still their names shine bright on philanthropy's scrolls.

The teachers and the bankers had their little set-to last week and the teachers took second money. Of course, anyone who knows anything about the facts of life—economically speaking—knew what the outcome would be. The bankers are not going to take any chances because of the rotten, corrupt mismanagement of the city by the politicians. Not that the bankers are shedding any tears—not even crocodile tears—over graft and corruption. It's all right with them, at least so we assume, never having heard a peep out of them before. But right now they're holding too much municipal paper to be taking any risks. So the teachers, along with the other legitimate city employees, will have to pay.

What are the teachers going to do about it? We hear that they are carrying on a quiet but vigorous campaign urging all teachers to withdraw their money from the Chase National Bank and the National City Bank, and to let the banks know about their action.

### Boiling Mad

My, those nice, refined, individualistic young ladies and gentlemen must be boiling mad. We were quite boiling mad about it too at first, but if it's going to shake some of these aristocrats of labor loose from their conservatism and individualism it might be a good thing. Maybe some of these smug little squirts will begin to see the necessity for a teachers' union. Maybe other enterprises based on their cooperative efforts will get some attention. Maybe it will mean something to them when we tell them that in Birmingham, England, and in Socialist Vienna municipal banks are operating for the benefit of their depositors. They may even become class-conscious. Who can tell! Why, there must be enough money in the teachers' pension and retirement funds to start a municipal bank in this city. With the pension funds of the firemen, policemen and other city employees, it should be easy.

However, as it is now, not only do we workers "pay the piper," far from "calling the tune," we also "face the music" in every crisis. How long, oh Lord, how long?

## Thomas Inspires Throng In Debate with Kaltenborn

NORMAN THOMAS was at his inspired best in defense of the Socialist position in a debate with H. V. Kaltenborn at the Brooklyn Forum Sunday night.

Kaltenborn, distinguished journalist and lecturer, admitted that "Socialism is wonderful in theory," but believed it "impractical and visionary." Thomas, who appeared weary and worn out at the beginning of the debate, warmed up as the evening proceeded and indicated capitalism in a manner that caused the record audience to rise in their places and cheer him to the echo.

The subject of the debate was "The world economic crisis; Which is the way out, Socialism or Capitalism?"

Kaltenborn, admitting the justice of many of the criticisms of capitalism, insisted that capitalism is sound in theory, but that its principles had been misapplied. The solution," he said, "can be found in improving what we have, rather than in making a rapid switch to a system which is fundamentally opposed to human nature."

"The present world economic slump," said Thomas in rebuttal, "is merely an expression of the defeatism which the capitalist system cannot escape."

"The world has been led into this tragic situation and now capitalism can find no way to get us out. The backbone of the system is production, but no provision has been made for proper distribution."

"To distribute successfully some means must be found to enable the workers to buy back what they produce. This is the only way to cut down the surplus which piles up."

"With its chronic inconsistency capitalism turns about and cuts wages to such an extent that we can't buy back what we have produced. Thus it destroys its only hope of getting rid of its deadly surplus."

"There can never be world peace while the class distinctions resulting from capitalism prevails. In fact, nationalism is a heady wine used to pacify the workers while they are being exploited."

"Solidarity against this exploitation must be attained."

Mr. Kaltenborn said that "financial interests are doing real work to bring about better times." He urged that the system be "polished and reformed," but urged that we "do not grasp at straws in the form of an appealing philosophy that is illusory and illogical."

Many members of the audience so far disregarded Mr. Kaltenborn's advice that they left the

hall cheering and singing Socialist songs. Charles Solomon presided.

On January 1st, Thomas will again uphold the Socialist end of a debate, when he faces General Smedley D. Butler on "Dare We Disarm?"

### Jessel to Appear At Forum Frolic

GEORGE JESSEL, premier entertainer, will join the merry-makers at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Christmas night in the first annual Christmas Frolic of the Brooklyn Forum.

Jessel will be only one of the guest stars, and he will sing and talk to the crowd. The Frolic will be the first annual affair that is expected to become a regular feature of Socialist life in the city.

The regular lectures and debates will be resumed January 1st, with a debate between Norman Thomas and General Smedley D. Butler on "Dare We Disarm?"

## NEW MACHINES ARE DISPLACING MANY

Thousands of steel and metal workers will be added to the already long list of unemployed by the introduction of new mechanical improvements which do away with them, says the Labor Research Association. And again men suffer because men have been too ingenious in labor-saving.

It is now possible for 70 men to produce four times as much wrought iron as 225 men by the old method, and the A. M. Byers Co. has taken advantage of the new process to throw almost 90% of its hand puddlers on the street.

An efficiency jump of 500% in turning, facing and boring operations by means of the new Monarch-Keller form-turning machine has displaced many workers. Similar effects have been secured on other operations.

Precision boring jobs have been menaced by the Heald Borematics, which increase production on aluminum parts 100 an hour to 265 an hour. Refrigerator parts production has been speeded from 10 to 80 parts an hour by a new machine.



### IN THE CLUB-WINDOW:

"I wonder why those loafers don't find something to do with their time instead of annoying us with their disgusting presence? How can a man enjoy his cocktail with bums looking at you all the time?"

## Two Features Begin Today!

NEXT week the New Year number of The New Leader will appear with A. M. Sullivan's great poem, "Epoch's End," as the leading feature. Illustrated with Robert McGeehan's splendid drawing, this number will be one of the very best we have ever published. Many readers will want to preserve the two pages carrying this poem and this issue should be widely distributed.

Branches should order bundles without delay. All orders must be in the office not later than December 27. In bundles of 25 or more the rate is 2½ cents a copy, prepaid. Order now.

### USE THIS BLANK

#### THE NEW LEADER

7 East 15th Street, New York.

Please find enclosed \$2 for a yearly subscription to The New Leader to be sent to:

Name .....

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City .....

August Claessens' "Manual for Socialist Speakers" begins with the current issue and we are sure that many members who will be party speakers in the next few years will find this contribution very helpful. And a word of advice to the experienced speakers: they will find much in this series that will be just as helpful to them.

We also begin a series of short sketches of Socialists of another generation with this issue. The life and work of these comrades are little known to many Socialists of the present generation. These portraits will introduce to our readers some comrades who in their time gave inspiration to many party workers and sympathizers.

Among the outstanding Socialist figures of another day was Ben Hanford, a printer and twice candidate for Vice-President. Ben incarnated the very soul of the proletarian whose life is dedicated to the emancipation of the working class and we are glad to start the series with a sketch of his life and work.

Socialist propaganda never ends. The New Leader carries on every week and brings into tens of thousands of homes the message of Socialist deliverance from the wreck of capitalism. We cannot get the subs. You in the field can. Get them. Use the blank and fire them in!

# R. R. Managers Battle Unions Over Continued Wage Slash

**H**OLDERS of railroad securities are still collecting their returns regardless of industrial conditions, but railroad workers are battling with their backs to the wall to safeguard the wage scales they won in decades of struggle.

While railroad bonds—in many cases representing fictitious values and often the vilest corruption—are still paying returns the railway workers are engaged in a desperate battle to prevent the recent "temporary" ten per cent cut in wages from becoming permanent.

Meeting in conference in Chicago, the railway managers faced representatives of the 21 standard railway unions and told the workers that their pay cut will have to be extended to July 1st, at least.

Chairman A. F. Whitney of the labor group, in a 2,000 word statement, challenged the position of the managers, saying:

"Your attention was so concentrated upon fixed charges that you evidently failed to observe the glaring injustice of paying unearned interest out of the earnings of railway labor. Reductions of railway wages would mean simply to take from the employes part of the money which they are earning in order to pay this money to other persons (bondholders) who are not earning it.

"This is a time of practically universal distress in which it is necessary to disregard conventions and fictions and to get down to the realities of life, and we cannot permit you to advocate a glaring social injustice concealed under the convenient disguise of what is called financial necessity.

"You talk about the financial integrity of the railroads, and we agree that the financial integrity of the railroads should be protected, but our primary responsibility, and we believe it is the primary responsibility of the nation, is to protect the integrity of human lives. It is certainly no time to take one single dollar away from a human being who has earned it and pay it to another human being as earnings from his idle property. We are convinced that a restoration of basic rates of pay would be beneficial not only to the railroad workers but to the entire nation. But we recognize that the financial leadership of the nation has not yet learned the lesson of the depression, that it is perhaps incapable of learning it."

There is no yielding on the issue of continuing to make interest upon bonds (a form of guaranteed profit) the first fixed charge upon railway earnings; while the managers are strengthened in their position by the widespread unemployment among railway workers.

Later: On Wednesday an agree-

ment was reached by which the cut of 10 per cent early this year will continue nine months. After June 15 either side may move to change the basic rate of pay.

## Penn. Labor Foe Is a Democratic Leader

**HARRISBURG, Pa.** — Chester Rhodes, foe of organized labor, will lead the Democratic forces in the 1933 Pennsylvania legislature. Franklin D. Roosevelt's party for the first time will be a powerful minority in the House.

Democratic State Chairman Van Dyke has named Rhodes chairman of the steering committee.

Rhodes was legislative spokesman for non-union concerns during the Stroudsburg hosiery workers' strike in 1931, when the murder of a girl striker was coldly ignored by authorities and a yellow-dog contract and injunction judge were used to fight the strikers. As a member of the House judiciary committee he fought bitterly the anti-injunction bills sponsored by the State Federation of labor and voted against job insurance, investigation of the price of bread, limitation of strike-breaking activities of state police and other progressive bills.

# UNION MEN HAIL CONVICTION OF P. J. COMMERFORD

**PATRICK J. COMMERFORD**, vice-president of the New York State Federation of Labor, Tammany leader, and official of the Union of Operating and Hoisting Engineers, under charges of evading income tax returns, was convicted by a jury last week. The verdict carries a maximum penalty of six years in a Federal prison and fines of \$11,000.

The government contended that Commerford, who filed no tax return in 1929, received in that year and the two following years large sums paid by contractors and non-union hoisting companies, besides salaries paid by the locals of which he was supervisor.

In the course of the trial a number of witnesses testified to the good character of the accused; three members of the union took the stand in rebuttal.

Roland Savage, business agent of Local 125 of the union, called by United States Attorney Medalie as a rebuttal character witness, was the most emphatic in his denunciations.

Commerford's bad reputation, he said, was an established fact among at least a thousand men he knew. Asked by Thomas E. Dewey, chief assistant to Mr. Medalie, if he would believe the defendant under oath, he said:

"Not on a stack of Bibles as high as the Empire State Building."

It is said that many members of the union expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the trial. They are opposed to the practices which

# FIVE-DAY WEEK VOTED BY PRINTERS

**INDIANAPOLIS.** — Complete returns from local unions of the International Typographical Union favor the five-day week in newspaper plans, officials of the union announced, the vote being 32,073 for and 18,010 against the shorter week.

New York printers, members of Typographical Union No. 6, have been working under a voluntary five-day week for over a year, the members giving up a day's pay to give employment to as many union printers as possible. This vote makes the plan a national policy of the I.T.U.

Local unions whose members are employed by commercial printing businesses are required by the new regulation to negotiate similar contracts with their employers as soon as possible, so that they will be working only five days weekly also.

Woodruff Randolph, secretary of the international union, announced the result of the vote on the shorter week proposal and other proposals voted upon.

the trial exposed and realized that exposure, damaging as it is, is much to be preferred to a continuance of practices that enrich a few leaders and that sacrifice the interests of the members, to say nothing of besmirching the principle of trade unionism itself. The tie-up with Tammany Hall is also regarded as a sinister sidelight on the activities of the convicted leader.

On Wednesday Commerford was sentenced to prison for a year and a day and fined \$2,000.

# Meeting for Kentucky Miners' Defense

In a furtherance of plans for extensive publicity on the Kentucky Miners' cases, the first of a series of mass meetings will be held Wednesday, December 28th, 8:30, at the 5th A. D. Socialist Party headquarters, 904 Prospect Ave., Bronx.

Among the speakers will be Benjamin H. Fletcher of the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. Persons interested in the Kentucky cases should help in making these meetings a success, not only with their presence but by bringing clothing or shoes which they may have no use for.

# The Bankers Rule

(Continued from Page Three)

withhold all credit from the city in case retrenchment policies are not to their liking.

It is nothing short of intolerable effrontery for such profiteers as the bankers to demand that workers of limited means be forced to assume the main burden of retrenchment. It is plain that retrenchment and other needed economic readjustments are being made in the direction of the least resistance. There is no limit to what the bankers will take if we accommodatingly give them what they ask.

Somewhere and at some time a resistance must be set up against this financial hierarchy. Every group of municipal employes owes it to their fellow-workers to oppose this unconscionable dictation.

These demigods have feet of clay. They are the same wise men who told us less than three years ago that only the sky was the limit to the expansion of market values. It was they who financed the modern towers of babel in which there are so many vacancies. And it was they who unloaded so many millions of South American and German bonds on the American people. Are their wage-cutting policies any wiser than their blue-sky speculations?

We owe it to our fellow-workers everywhere to put up a fight against this intolerable tyranny.

what the machine would do for man, wrote, and he said: For I dipped into the future, far as human eye could see, Saw a vision of the world and all the wonders that would be, Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails, Pilgrims in the golden twilight dropping down the golden bars, Then the war drums beat no longer and the battle flag was furled, In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

And fifty years after, looking back across half a century of time, looking at all the marvels of mechanism, he wrote another great work, "Locksley Hall Fifty Years After," and he said:

Is it well that while we range with science, glorying in our time, City children soak and blacken, soul and sense in city slime, There within the gloomy alleys progress halts on palsied feet, Crime and hunger fling our maidens by the thousands in the street?

That is the reply, my friends, to half a century of technical progress. Man is a social and a political animal. We believe the day has gone when labor can remain quiescent, begging here of a friend and asking for a favor of another one. A new condition has arisen, labor is entering into its might, and labor will control the world in the future, not in a narrow sense of that word, but when they have emancipated workers where they will no longer be the class that needs to be emancipated.

Grant E. Howe, of Washington rounds up three more new speakers: Algernon C. Sapiro. There

# A Call to the Workers of the World

(Concluded from last week)

When London and Wall Street were called upon to find credits, you know the results. Our unemployment had grown to 3,000,000 total, many millions underemployed in our basic industries, like coal, engineering, ship building, figures ranging from 25 per cent upward, and the state, which should have met its obligations by placing the burden upon the backs of those best fitted to carry it, piled up its debt against the unemployment funds until the interest upon the borrowing almost equalled the employers' and the workers' contribution.

The crisis was to be forced. For what reason? To protect the gold standard, to protect the rentier. We crashed, not because we could not balance the budget, oh, no, but because we were not prepared to sacrifice the unemployed and the short-time worker.

## Chas. Dukes' Great Speech to the A. F. of L. Convention at Cincinnati.

The power of finance expressed itself, and that power will always express itself when you reach the core of a great crisis of that character. But that power will be dealt with. The day has come to say that those who handle the social credit of the nation shall no longer be its dictators! It must become the servant of the state. We will no longer tolerate the divine right of finance any more than our forefathers tolerated the divine right of Kings.

### The Gold Standard

They failed to protect the gold standard. The very forces which conspired to our defeat proclaimed the righteousness of abandoning the gold standard within a few weeks of having defeated us at the polls. What did they do in the field of the social services? Seventy-five million pounds were taken away from health, from education, from unemployment, forty millions of that taken from the unemployed workmen. In the course of a few short weeks two hundred thousand had been struck off the register, and thousands of them compelled to resort to poor law relief. That is the picture of the struggles, my friends. Not in a country unable to feed its people. Our returns from England's revenue reveals where the money goes. The complaint of high taxes is an artificial scare. We have got to know what they mean by high taxation. If we are called upon to decide between taking forty million from the unemployed, or imposing further economies upon the wealthy, we would decide upon the latter course. Our military and our naval budgets afford every opportunity for further economies.

This is the fourteenth year from the war to end war, and the leading nations of the world are spending nine hundred millions [of pounds sterling—about three

billion dollars] a year. For what? For another war.

Those of us who lived in the years immediately preceding the last war can see a fatal comparison. I beg of you men to understand this: A generation has come to manhood who knew nothing of the horrors of war. If our day can not solve that problem, we will hand on to them the heritage that our fathers handed on to us.

We are running a fatal race with time. The day has gone for fine words. The day has come to act, and if we believe in a world disarmed, a world of peace, it can only arise from a world in which economic conflict is no longer permitted to obtain. We can not have a world of peace, a superstructure of brotherhood built upon your narrow nationalism, your economic conflict in which a nation supposed to be at peace continues in economic rivalry. Our vision has got to be wider than that. We have got to give practical effect to our ideas of brotherhood. We have got to recognize the rights of people throughout the world to live as they wish, to live without any intervention from the powerful.

### A World in Ruins

In England today we have 300,000 miners unemployed, redundant, not merely unemployed, redundant, and there are thousands of homes in which coal has become a luxury. We have a quarter of a million members of the building trades unemployed and nine millions of our people are living in overcrowded conditions. We have thousands of our textile workers unemployed, thousands of our boot makers out of work, in a nation that is under-clothed and badly shod. What is the reply of capitalism to that? Let us know it. It has no reply, there is no reply.

In the middle of the 19th century when machinery was being developed at a rapid rate Tennyson, that great English poet, as a young man with all the vision of

**!! RESERVED !!**

FRIDAY

**10**

FEBRUARY

1933

Socialist organizations and friendly groups are reminded not to arrange any events for this date. It is the date set aside for The New Leader Ninth Anniversary Dinner.

**Bill Is Just as Stubborn as Ever  
By Rejecting a Radicalism That  
Has Awakened Joe's Enthusiasm**  
By Autolycus

"IT'S a shame that the Liberty Party didn't get a larger vote," said Joe as he met Bill at the lunch hour. "It would have increased the radical vote in general and that would have been all to the good. Besides, the money problem is important and that party certainly went after the bankers."  
"A revived Populism is about as useful in these days of a concentrated capitalism as a pine torch is for lighting up your room," said Bill, "and for that reason it is fortunate that the Liberty Party received the small vote it did."  
"Now I know that you are a dogmatist," Joe replied with some warmth. "You think that in politics nothing is worth while outside of the Socialist Party vote. I noticed that even the 'Christian Socialist' said that Coin Harvey's book is a great work worthy of consideration by all radicals."  
"Yes, that statement amused me," Bill replied. "The Harvey book is a revival of the primitive Christian reaction against the money lender that has continued for over a thousand years. Harvey proposed to reprint some of the ancient ideas of usury on stiff paper suitable for hanging up in homes, illustrated with portraits of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Luther, Calvin and King Edward III as propaganda for his party. How little he understands the role of the money lender in each epoch of the world's history will be apparent to you if you will compare his book with Tawney's 'Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.' One is sorcery and the other is science."

**But What Does It Mean?**

"THAT word is vague and may mean anything," said Bill. "To the Daughters of the American Revolution the enforcement of the Bill of Rights is radicalism and to the sugar Senator from Utah reducing the tariff rates one-half is also radicalism. To the liberal capitalist enforcement of the Bill of Rights is good conservative policy because, as his type has often put it, it permits 'blowing off steam.' Let's not interpret things by using vague words. What concerns us is not whether Harveyism is considered radical or conservative. Does it serve the interests of the working class, give the workers an intelligent analysis of capitalism, and develop a class conscious will to overthrow the capitalist system?"

"I might have known it would come to this," said Joe with a trace of weariness. "You always bring in class interests and class consciousness. I'm for the workers, too. Don't forget that."

"Sure you are," said Bill, "but you keep slipping out of your class into a zone of vague ideas and impressions and when you do that you are off the working class range of thought. In the present instance you have swallowed archaic ideas regarding money."

**But They're Sincere!**

"BUT these Harveyites are just as sincere as you," said Joe with a trace of heat.

"They are," said Bill. "I have heard of some of their workers in the West giving their last pennies to the Liberty Party. That's a fine spirit, but I am not discussing sincerity. I am discussing a movement and what it stands for."

"And the only criticism you have offered is the ancient origin of Liberty Party ideas," Joe replied.

"That was to clear the ground," Bill responded. "Suppose we concede the utmost that this party could achieve. Suppose it wipes out all private banking and the whole banking system is nationalized. Would this end the troubles of the wage slave and the exploited farmer?"

"Now you are facing the question, Bill," said Joe. "Shoot."

"All right. The bankers have disappeared. The wage worker will go to the capitalist owner of industry and offer his labor power just the same. He may sell it and he may not. If he sells it to the capitalist the latter buys it because that worker will produce surplus values which represent unpaid labor. The wage worker was a wage slave before the bankers were wiped out; he remains a wage slave after they are wiped out. The Liberty Party has not brought him liberty."

"But it's the poor farmers the party would help most," said Joe.

**Pity the Poor Farmer**

"EVEN the poor farmers would not be released from the chains of economic bondage," said Bill. "Excessive rates of interest would probably be wiped out but that would not bring him economic independence. He would still sell his produce for prices fixed by a world market. Access to the home and foreign markets is controlled by his enemies. His machinery and supplies will remain in the hands of his exploiters. Middlemen would still line the route which his products must take from the farm to the consumer, each levying a toll upon them. Even what he saved by lower interest charges would probably be taken by other exploiters' exactions. Poor farmer he was; poor farmer he would remain."

"It seems that you are determined to take the joy out of life," said Joe.

"On the contrary, I'd like to bring joy to the two divisions of the working class army," said Bill. "I'd like to see them united and marching in a disciplined army for the abolition of the whole capitalist system. The Harveyites would take one ancient fortress when our job is to take all of them."

"Well, you're a radical, anyway," said Joe.

"A revolutionary, Joe, as I want to be distinguished from the D. A. R.," Bill replied as they parted.

By Vasily Dmitrovich Mont-des-Fleurs  
**And Here We Learn, Dear Ones,  
How the Workers Were United**

**The United Front Campaign Strikes a Lotta Unions in Irontown—And See What Strikes It!**

A MOVEMENT without a parallel in the history of the labor unions of Irontown is that recently inaugurated for the purpose of strengthening for offensive and defensive purposes a number of the city's outstanding workers' organizations.

The unions active in building up of what may be termed a "united front," are the following: Rammermen & Pavers, Longshoremen, Truckers, House Wreckers, Blacksmiths, Boiler-makers, Structural Iron Workers, Safe, Machinery & Piano Movers.

The members of the organizations named filled the largest hall in the city when the first open meeting was held last Saturday night. As soon as the meeting was called to order, a feminine voice addressed the audience without waiting for recognition from Terrance Patrick Mulcahy, the presiding officer.

"The rank and file of the union are dupes. The officers are social fascists, crooks and fakers who sell the dupes out every day. There is no hope for betterment until you join the organization I represent or are smashed by it. There are other capable speakers [at this point a dozen of them arose] who will tell you about the yellow unions you are members of and what we are going to do for you and to you." Thus spoke the lady.

**Mr. Mulcahy Is Annoyed**

"Pardon me," said Mulcahy in his most urbane, dulcet tones, "pardon me," he repeated, "to whom are we indebted for the illuminating remarks we have just heard? What organization do you represent?"

"The Fishwives' Union which is affiliated with the Billingsgateski Nucler."

"This is indeed an honor and I am certain that we will be charmed listening to the other speakers," said Mulcahy, with a gallant sweeping bow, "as we have been in listening to the eloquent representatives of the Fishwives."

"We are glad to know that this is an open meeting," said the next speaker. "It is the first time that we have succeeded in speaking to a large number of American reactionists whose unions are controlled by the boss class. We are here to correct the errors of labor union infantilism. Later, we will give you a list of the unions we succeeded in smashing, thereby earning the approval of the plenum."

This information was followed by the reading of excerpts from a number of theses. "These," said the speaker, "are of intense interest to the proletariat of this country."

**A Dose of Statistics**

"Do you know why the bourgeois fears us? I'll give you the reason." For the next hour statistics on Russian agricultural and industrial conditions were read, the words such as roods, poods and versts being translated for the benefit of the audience into the familiar terms of the metric system. Here the speaker was talking down to his audience, to judge from the vexed expression seen on the faces of its members.

"This evening has been an intellectual treat, if one may be permitted the use of a hackneyed expression," said the chairman, Terrance Patrick Mulcahy, in a rather humble manner. "My regret is that the lateness of the hour prevents the other speakers from being heard, or at least given the floor. It is certain that they would have added something to our enlightenment and would have maintained the high tone which

has characterized the efforts of their colleagues. The sergeant-at-arms and his assistants, one from each union, will now do the honors.

**First Aid**

"Before they proceed, let me alip it to the dames of the Fishwives that care has been taken to provide for their speedy recovery if they pull their usual fainting spells, although the water in the fire buckets is none too fresh. Now, just a minute boys! Remember, this is not the second but the third floor that we're meeting on tonight. The hour is late and ours is a law-abiding crowd. Nothing should be done that may awaken the cop on the beat who usually takes his nap at about this hour. We'll be leaving soon," said Mulcahy with a yawn.

"This is not the end," shouted one of the visiting orators dramatically. "The comintern will hear of this!"

"Huh, huh," yawned Mulcahy wearily. "One word more, boys. When you finish escorting the visitors, see to it that the entrance to the building is not cluttered up—too much."

Thus ended the first open meeting for a united front, held by the Rammermen & Pavers, Longshoremen, Truckers, House Wreckers, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Structural Iron Workers and the Safe, Machinery & Piano Movers' Unions of Irontown.

**ON EARTH PEACE**

**DISARMAMENT at last!**

One sovereign nation has taken its fate in its hands and has disbanded its army.

Deaf to its super-"patriots," blind to dire perils pointed out by its professional military clique, throwing itself open to all the dangers the war-mongers insist can be avoided only by a standing army, the free and independent principality of Monaco on the Azure Coast has completely disarmed.

Its regular army of 71 gloriously caparisoned men and three glittering officers is no more, and the heroes will have to seek jobs as head waiters or hotel porters. Or as a comic opera chorus.

The world has fallen upon evil days, alas! and there are no longer so many American millionaires, Argentine cattle-kings, grand ducal Russians and other gentry lousy with money to shoot the works on rouge et noir. And when people don't gamble at the Casino at Monte Carlo, the principal industry of the free and independent nation of Monaco, there isn't any rake-off for the state to keep the nation going, and the nation has been kept going tax-free by receipts from the gambling-hell. And now that the plaintive call of the croupier is stilled and the gambling parlors are no longer thronged there isn't any money to keep the army standing . . . which is as good a reason as any for disbanding it.

On earth peace! And why not, now that we are busted and can't afford the luxury of glittering uniforms to amuse the idle rich?

"I am so pleased by the samples of your paper that I herewith send my sub. I couldn't get along without the genuine message of intelligence." Ed. A. Kay, Cal.

**Christmas**



"PEACE on earth." And in the skies  
The white dove soars serenely.  
The earth is mantled soft. Men pause  
For nature, now most queenly.  
Through the clear air the white dove flies,  
With gas bombs in her claws.  
"Good will to men." The bells now peal  
Their joyous note of love.  
Send wide the human hope, to seal"

**Merrie Christmas**

BELIEVE it or not—Christmas is the anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ, a member of the Galilean proletariat. Contrary to popular belief, the National Dry Goods Association did not invent the idea.

Today Christmas is firmly entrenched in the hearts and sales charts of the nation. Anyone who would shout, "Repeal Christmas" at a convention of department store managers would be nailed to the nearest cross.

At a convention of advertising men at the beginning of this century it was voted to change the theme song from "Forgive Them, Father" to "Do Your Xmas Shopping Early."

The prophets of religion have been modernized into the profits of religion.

Christ was born in a manger, lived as a carpenter and agitator and died on a cross. Those were the days when a Chamber of Commerce had influence.

There has been a lot of talk about what Christ were to do if he couldn't, of course, get into the Holy Land is all right.

He'd have a difficult time to get in as a visitor. Patriot Corporation. Him to be a Cox.

If he did get into Labor Doak would earth to get Him undesirable Alien.

Citizenship question for Him this country until to wear khaki and mias with bullet.

If Christ were to try any rough money-changers. He'd be promptly duct unbecomingly. The police court ably make a humility being Christianity an



1932

### Socialist Profiles

## The Father of Jimmie Higgins

"JIMMIE HIGGINS."

It sometimes happens that the name of a man becomes so intertwined with the name of a fictitious character that the one becomes symbolic of the other. And to tens of thousands the name of Jimmie Higgins is known as the symbol of selfish devotion to the cause of Socialism while Ben Hanford, Jimmie's creator, is . . . but a name.

But to those who have been in the Socialist movement a quarter of a century or more the name of Ben Hanford evokes a living, a throbbing reality. Dead nearly 23 years, his old comrades-at-arms can still hear his eloquent voice, can still thrill to his great spirit and to the beauty of his character.

Ben Hanford was a little printer who learned his Socialism from life itself and who was steered into the party by Fred Long and Abraham Cahan.

For many years he had been a wanderer. Born in Muscatine, Iowa, he had begun his career as a worker at the age of 18 on the Marshalltown, Iowa, "Republican," and then drifted into every part of the United States, earning his living at his trade in the authentic tradition of his craft.

In his early thirties, during the terrible depression of 1893, he was down and out; he was little better than a tramp. He had nothing to hold him to life. And then Socialism came to him.

In Philadelphia he had heard Fred Long, another great character of the early days of Socialism in America, and he had heard Cahan lecture in the same city. Back in Washington he attended a meeting of his union at the Typographical Temple on G Street, and he took the floor during the discussion period.

He spoke a few minutes, and when he sat down a fellow printer said, "Ben, I didn't know you are a Socialist." Ben denied it in the vigorous language of which all printers are masters—but he was.

Shortly afterwards he was working in New York and living in Brooklyn. There, in a boarding house, he met three rare souls at the dinner table, Charles L. Furman, Charles H. Matchett and Julius Gerber. The four became fast friends, and organized Socialism gained a great recruit in Hanford.

Later he said, "Socialism is life." Speaking of the time that Socialism had given him inspiration and something to live for he said, "Next to Socialism the greatest thing on earth is working for Socialism." And it was no bombast but sober truth he was telling.

Almost on a chance the Socialists named him for Governor of New York in 1898, and he amazed everyone by his energy, his eloquence and his willingness to go anywhere and do anything and everything for his cause. He ran again for Governor in 1900 and 1902, for Mayor in 1901 and for Vice-President with Debs in 1904 and 1908. In his campaign in 1904 he outdid himself in glorious and inspired eloquence.

In 1902 the printers on the old New York "Sun" struck, and the union literature for that epic battle was all written by Hanford; he moved everyone by the fire, the cogency and the inspiration he put into his writing. He wrote straight trade-union stuff, and old-time printers still talk of that battle

got for betraying Jesus? If Judas had invested them at six per cent compound interest, he'd be richer today than Rockefeller, Ford and the Mellons combined!

Which goes to show that even a traitor can't succeed without the advice of a good banker.

and of Hanford with joy.

He was sent by the Party into Idaho and into Pennsylvania during terrible industrial battles, and he spoke and wrote on what he saw. He wrote with a pen tipped with



Ben Hanford

fire, and this unlettered proletarian became one of the greatest pamphleteers the American Socialist movement ever developed.

Toward 1905 his health began to fail, but no pain could quench the fire of his noble spirit. His writing became more inspired, his spirit more in flame for his cause.

"Let me thank you," said Eugene Wood to him, "for what you have done for Socialism."

"I have done nothing for Socialism," snorted Hanford. "Socialism has done everything for me. It gave me something to live for."

It was in this period that he wrote "Jimmie Higgins," the story of the devoted worker for Socialism who has become a symbol, and as the author of "Jimmie Higgins" Hanford will live as long as there are Socialists.

During 1908 and 1909 his health failed rapidly. He wrote his daily pieces for the old New York Call, bringing them into the office and joking with his comrades with a voice high-pitched and cracking with pain. But like Jimmie Higgins he never gave up.

He died in January, 1910. Before he passed he was in a delirium and imagined himself on a platform, speaking to multitudes. His mind cleared, and he signaled for pencil and paper. He wrote, "I would that my every heartbeat had been for the working class and through them for all humanity." That was the end. . . . That, and the sorrow of his comrades and a memory and an inspiration that will live for ever.

W. M. F.

(Next week: Charles H. Matchett)

### A Daredevils' Union

HOLLYWOOD.—"Stunt men" in the motion picture industry are planning a union for those who risk their lives to make thrilling scenes for stars too careful of their precious persons to risk their own hides. Unemployed willing to do anything for a meager wage are encroaching on their jobs, they say. Airplane daredevils already have a union.

Several conferences with the Los Angeles Central Labor Council have been held and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor is expected.

Pearlanna Briggs, Sec'y of Local Wichita, orders The New Leader for three libraries out in Kansas.

P. H.

### THE CHATTERBOX

## Liberal Fire at Tammany by the Daily Press Does Not Extend to Profit-Mongers Who Advertise

By S. A. DeWitt

### Christmas Up-to-date

THE Scribe and Holy Pharisee Buy the largest Christmas tree.

The windows of the high priest's home Spot the snow in polychrome.

And Judas hangs a crimson wreath With words of silver underneath.

And Pilate sends a greeting card To all the rabble in the yard.

Salome dances to the dawn And holds the foolish head of John.

The three wise men who travelled far Are tipsy in the Pullman car.

King Herod has no taste for gore; He owns a huge department store.

While every hostelry in town Wears a brilliant Christmas gown.

A thousand Marys lie in pain, A thousand Christs are born in vain

And Joseph pressing on the bell Is rudely told to go to hell.

And every vacant room is priced To bar the coming of a Christ. . . .

The Scribe and Holy Pharisee Trim the largest Christmas Tree. . . .

A. M. Sullivan (from "Elbows of the Wind")

The amusement I have felt over the crusade of the liberal dailies of the city against the Tammany Saracens has turned to bitter reflection with the coming of the Yuletide. Somehow, I doubt these glittering deliverers, these knights of righteousness who sally forth so valiantly to deliver my Jerusalem on the Hudson from the pagan clutches of Saladin-al-Curry et al.

For all of their high sounding editorials, their blistering cartoons, and the columns of news mitred by holy headlines, the full pages of department store advertisements, listing their dazzling wares to the public, have a sordid meaning for my querulous mind. And while the season's spirit forbids this meanness I am about to show, the wretchedness that lies beneath just cries for a hearing. . . .

The wages in department stores have been falling far below the minimum set by government statistics for decent livelihood. The unemployment tragedy that has befallen fully one-third of the workers throughout the land has proven to be an undisguised blessing to the profit-mongering owners of the stores. . . . Eight dollars a week is offered unblushingly for the excruciating task of waiting on and selling to the beastly bargain hunters that mob and mill about the counters. Overtime is grudgingly paid in some instances.

The regular employees are kept slavishly at their jobs, lashed into longer hours, and forced to take cut after cut in their wages, by the threat of layoff from above, and the long lines of the idle bread seekers on the outside. The owners who pay for the big ads. in the newspapers are having a graft racket of their own. They are making more millions out of the bodies and souls of their wage-slaves this year than Curry and his band of lusty buccaners have "honestly grafted" from the city treasury since they all walked in with Walker.

Now suppose I were to organize a Workers' Affairs Committee and draw up a long list of charges against the owners of the Big Stores, showing how they steal money from their employees, undermine their health with long hours, and crush their very lives by the inhuman load of toll they are forced to bear through the holiday season, . . . how much space would my committee get in the dailies?

In one of the recent vice-squad trials, an Irish cop who was accused and found guilty of extorting money from underworld ladies confessed that he resorted to this ugly method of acquiring wealth in order to finance the education of his brother, who was studying for the priesthood. . . . A sort of Mrs. Warren in brass buttons, blue coat and making God the nannygoat.

I cannot for the life of me see anything more reprehensible in that sort of equation than the silence of newspapers on general conditions in department stores as far as the workers are concerned, just because the greater part of their own livelihood comes from the advertisements so profligately flung and spread over their pages. . . . And so profitably paid for.

And if, for instance, an editor might say with the Irish cop, or the Shavian lady, "If it were not for the advertisements we receive and get paid for so handsomely by the department store owners, we would not be able to publish this 'fearless sheet that prints nothing but the truth,' and your fair city would be overrun with grafters and racketeers, and clean government would be impossible . . . etc." then would it not be decent and appropriate to flob a right good gob of tobacco juice plump in his eye, and with unprintable language consign him and his sheet to the regions through which all filth and foulness are drained away?

Algeron Shapiro. There

The bright hours' happy presage: All other cheerful tones above, Machine guns hold the message.

Three wise men have proclaimed the day, From far away, from far away: Our salvation from His loss, Our burden lifted from His cross. . . . We know, who see this world of men, It was the thieves that rose again.

J. T. S.

## Christmas

lot of speculation would happen if you were here today. He got into the quota from the

ult time trying The Woman would prove

Secretary of love heaven and reported as an

be out of the You can't join you're willing middle our ene

me back and like chasing of temples, led for con-Christian. could prob-ech about part of his Pris-

By the way, what ever happened to the pieces of silver that Judas

# Work for New Members

In a letter by Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary of Local New York City, to the 78 branches a number of important matters are touched upon relative to membership, dues, stamps, records, branch meetings, election of officers, and educational activities. There is a particular item relative to work for new members.

Secretary Gerber writes: "We have gained a large number of new members during the campaign. These new members must be kept active doing party work, or we will lose them. The new members are enthusiastic and we must utilize their enthusiasm for party activity. The best service our comrades, new and old, can render is by personal contact with the voters in their neighborhood. But just visiting them is not sufficient. We must leave with them something to read after the visitor leaves."

"The Executive Committee decided to get out a leaflet every month for distribution. The first leaflet will be written by Comrade Morris Hillquit and will be ready for distribution about the middle of January. Your branch should now organize its members for the distribution of this and subsequent leaflets. The branch organizer should immediately get every com-

rade in the branch for this work, assign to him or her a certain block or district in which to distribute the leaflet and see that a report of experience is made during the month and at the end or beginning of the next month.

"In this way we will establish direct contact with the voters in the district, get new members for the branch and readers for our press, and also create an efficient and active organization of our party in every district. Comrades who cannot or do not care to go from house to house distributing leaflets should be asked to contribute to the leaflet fund so that the branch or this office will be enabled to mail literature to the residents of the district assigned to these comrades.

"Your branch is asked to take this up, organize for the distribution of the leaflets and inform this office of the name of the comrade in charge of distribution and the number of leaflets your members will distribute, so that we will know how many to print. We want to print leaflets for distribution—they should not be wasted by remaining in the branch headquarters or to feed the furnace. Leaflets cost money, and I need not tell you that the party has no money to burn or waste."

## Y.P.S.L. NOTES

**Xmas Monday Frolic and Dance.**—Circle 5, Manhattan, will entertain at 2005 Seventh Ave. (120th St.) on Monday, Dec. 26, from 9 p. m. until . . . A good time is guaranteed. Music will be furnished by Tucker's Rebels of Rhythm. One-half of the proceeds will go for coal miners' relief. Admission will be 25 cents per, and a couple for 35 cents. A Falcon group has been organized at the same headquarters under the direction of Comrade Plaskett.

**Brownsville Xmas Eve.**—All comrades and friends are invited to a lively and interesting "proletarian" celebration at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Saekman St. Admission 15 cents per, and two for 25 cents.

**Circle 3 Sr., Kings.**—Ted Sabella will speak on "Development of Economic Thought" on Thursday, Dec. 29, at the new headquarters, 7308 Bay Parkway.

**Circle 4 Sr., Kings.**—The next two meetings will be held on Friday evenings, instead of Sundays, at 1722 East 12th St. Bill Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, will speak on "The Socialist Press."

**Circle 5 Sr., Kings.**—Sam H. Friedman will speak on "Socialism and Trade Unions" at the Dec. 25 meeting, at 4 p. m., at 1377 42nd St.

**Circle 6 Sr., Kings.**—Alex Retzkin will give a talk on "The History of Modern Socialism" on Sunday, Dec. 25, at 8:30 p. m., at 187 Tompkins Ave.

**Circle 10 Sr., Kings.**—The Life of Eugene V. Debs will be reviewed by Paul Stricker on Dec. 25 at 4 p. m. at 250 So. 4th St.

Williamsburg.—More than 300

young people attended the Young Socialist rally to fight hunger, held on Dec. 16 at the Amalgamated Temple. Many prospects were obtained.

**Circle 6 Sr., Manhattan,** will hold a dance on April 1, 1933. Organizations please note so as to avoid conflicting affairs.

**Bronx Junior Group.**—A new group is being organized in the Washington Ave.-Claremont Parkway district. Meetings are being held at 1575 Washington Ave., Apt. 4-A, on Saturdays at 7 p. m.

**Circle 3 Jr., Bronx.**—Israel Saltzman will outline the "Defects of Capitalism" at 904 Prospect Ave. on Friday, Dec. 23, at 8:30 p. m.

**Circle 4 Sr., Bronx,** will hold a hike to Dunwoodie on Monday, Dec. 26. Comrades are invited to meet at the Moshulu Parkway station of the Jerome Ave. line at 10 a. m.

**Circle 10 Sr., Bronx.**—"Graft in the City School System" will be discussed by M. Levenstein on Friday, Dec. 23, at the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments, Workmen's Circle School Room.

**Athletics.**—District councils and circles are urged to organize basketball teams and soccer groups for this season. Neighborhood recreation centers should be used in most cases.

**California Y.P.S.L.s**

The Young People's Socialist League will hold its first State Convention Sunday, Jan. 1, at 126 North St. Louis St., Los Angeles. Visitors from many cities will be present. An interesting program has been arranged. The State Convention will be opened on Saturday, Dec. 31, at 8 p. m., with a Rebel Dance at the Hollywood Conservatory of Music and Arts, 5400 Hollywood Boulevard. The "Rebel Band" will play. The first session will be held on Sunday, Jan. 1, at 10 a. m., at 126 North St. Louis St. A luncheon will be served at noon, and another session will be held in the afternoon. On Sunday evening at 8 a mass meeting and banquet will be held. Information will be given at the Socialist headquarters, 126 North St. Louis St., Los Angeles, Cal.

**Wisconsin Y.P.S.L. Convention**

An intensive drive to organize Wisconsin more thoroughly was launched at the recent State Convention. Organizers will be sent throughout the state and a minimum of 1,000 members has been set for Milwaukee County. A speakers' bureau, located in Milwaukee, has been set up to aid youth rallies.

Resolutions demanding the immediate pardon of Mooney and Billings, opposing all capitalistic

## LECTURE NOTES

The lecturer on the program for the Ingersoll Forum, Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St., Dec. 25, will be Ex-Brother Lucian, who will speak on "Jesus Christ."

There will be no lectures by the People's Institute in Cooper Union until Dec. 30.

"Soviet Russia" will be discussed at the meeting under the auspices of The Group in the Auditorium, 150 West 85th St., Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30 p. m. The speakers will be Mrs. Lincoln Steffens, Michael Gold and Corliss Lamont.

Sherwood Eddy will speak on "Danger Zones in the World Today," Sunday at 8 p. m., in the Community Forum, 550 West 110th St. At 11 a. m., in Town Hall, there will be a symposium on "The Universal Religion of Good Will," in which speakers of various faiths will participate.

"A Carpenter Once Revolted" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near East 172nd St., on Sunday, Dec. 25, at 8 p. m. There will be a program of Christmas music, and poetry readings and comments by Bertha Sullivan Papazian.

## YPSL Holds N.E.C Meeting at St. Louis

THE quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League will be held Tuesday and Wednesday, Dec. 27 and 28, at St. Louis.

Plans to establish a National propaganda paper will be taken up, and time will also be devoted to the choice of date and place of the next National Convention. A more definite statement of function and rights of the Y. P. S. L. within the party will be adopted and submitted to the Party Youth Committee.

The St. Louis comrades have made elaborate plans in connection with the National Committee meeting. An opening mass meeting will be held December 26, at the Electrical Workers' Hall. Tuesday evening another mass meeting will be held at the Y. M. H. A. The send-off banquet will be held on Wednesday, Dec. 28, at 8 p. m., at the Workmen's Circle, 1411 Burd Ave. Edith Savnow, Irvin J. Reif, Shirley Schainblatt, and Bob Stone, District Organizer, will actively represent the St. Louis organization, which reports a doubling the membership in the last two months and greatly increased activity.

## Rand School Fellowship

The Rand School Fellowship, the student organization of the school, will hold its annual meeting for the election of officers Friday evening, Feb. 23. All students in the school are members of the Fellowship and are asked to attend and participate in the meeting.

The present executive committee, as its term of office comes to an end, has various proposals to make with regard to the organization which are of great importance. Moreover, in the present crucial year the students feel more than ever that they must perfect their organization and use their energy and enthusiasm to support the school. So they are eager to have the students turn out in large numbers.

wars and demanding drastic reduction of the army and navy budgets, and asking for adequate relief for unemployed single men and women and for a federal appropriation of \$100,000,000 to rehabilitate the half million vagabond young men and women roaming the highways.

Paul B. Schmidt was elected State Organizer, Ruth Haack, secretary, and John Strobel, treasurer; a State Central Committee was also chosen.

## THE TEACHERS' SALARY CUTS

THE general issues involved in the recent teachers' salary fight are discussed elsewhere in this issue; a few items more particularly concerning educational welfare may here be listed. It should first be pointed out that the capitalist press was universally unfair, either by direct misrepresentation of the teachers' actions, or by presenting, as news, only the bankers' point of view.

1. All ranks of teachers were represented by a "Joint Salary Committee," which presented their views. At the last minute one of the most unpopular superintendents in the city was sent to Albany by the president of the Board of Education, himself a large real estate holder. This man framed the percentage cuts as passed.

2. Naturally, the new bill makes much heavier cuts in the low salaries—starting at \$2,000—than is fair in a graduated scale. Also, the teachers alone are paying 44% of the 20 millions the bankers demand.

3. Money-control of government displays an effrontery seldom equalled since the French monarchy was guillotined. A bill was all ready and agreed upon, setting a two-year limit to the salary cut. But first the bankers must be consulted, and—as the N. Y. "Times" puts it—"an ultimatum was delivered that no time limit on salary reductions would be accepted." A new bill was at once passed; the teachers are still teased with the word "temporary"; but no time limit is set.

4. Certain features of the school health program have been cut out; it is not the bankers' children who will suffer. No funds are set aside for the many afternoon school playgrounds; it is not the bankers' children that will be thrust into the streets. And among the many more children who will be run over on our crowded streets, few will belong to the bankers. They will own the cars!

## SUPERINTENDENTS WILL HOLD BALL

Manhattan Superintendents Local 32 of the Building Service Employees will give a benefit ball in the Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th Street, Saturday evening, January 7. Twenty-five per cent of the net receipts will be given to the Union Health Center. An elaborate program of entertainment has been arranged and an enjoyable evening is assured.

Sam Beardsley of the Jewelry Workers will be the next lecturer on the educational program of the union. He will speak on the "Significance of the A. F. of L. Convention" in the assembly rooms of the union in Yorkville Casino Monday evening, January 4.

The organization drive of the union continues and will be made more intensive in the new year and an effort will be made to enlist miscellaneous workers as well. One meeting each month is given to a lecture on various phases of the working class movement.

## THE FRIENDS OF NATURE

This holiday weekend we will gather at Camp Midvale, where a Yule Festival will be held. Saturday, Sunday and Monday short and longer hikes from the camp will be arranged. Evenings we will have healthy proletarian entertainment in our camp home. Jack Frost has covered our grounds with a most beautiful white and it should be tempting to everybody to join us this weekend. Camp Midvale can be reached by Erie R.R., Chambers Street Ferry, to Midvale Station. Return fare \$1.30. One and a half hour walk to camp Wanaque Reservoir, or take bus. Last Call for New Year's Weekend

Under auspices of English Section a weekend excursion to Camp Catskill is arranged for New Years. This is a special treat for lovers of winter sport. Participants must register right away with W. Wenkert. Tel.: Fairbanks 4-4212. We leave the city Saturday morning by car.

## DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

**Benefit Ball, Entertainment and Dance**  
**Manhattan Superintendents Local No. 32**  
 YORKVILLE CASINO, 210 East 86th Street at Third Avenue  
 Saturday Evening, January 7th, 1933  
 Attractive Individual Acts and Matchless Revue  
 by Professional Talent  
 25% of the net receipts will be given to the Union Health Center.

**Xmas Nite • FROLIC AND DANCE**  
 SUNDAY, DEC. 25th "BERNIE" ORCHESTRA  
 5:30 P. M. GEORGE JESSEL AND OTHER BROADWAY STARS  
 BROOKLYN FORUM • Academy of Music Ballroom, 30 Lafayette Ave.  
 Price \$1.10  
 Sun., Jan. 1st—NORMAN THOMAS vs. GEN. SMEDLEY BUTLER

**THE COMMUNITY FORUM**  
 550 West 110th Street East of Broadway  
 Sunday, 8 P. M.—SHERWOOD EDDY  
 "Danger Zones in the World Today"  
 11 A. M.—Sunday Service, Town Hall, 125 West 43rd Street  
 "The Universal Religion of Good Will"  
 Symposium: Representatives of many faiths.

**INGERSOLL FORUM**  
 Tuesday Evening, Dec. 27th, at 8:30 P. M.  
 Mrs. Lincoln Steffens  
 Michael Gold  
 Prof. Corliss Lamont  
 will speak on:  
 "SOVIET RUSSIA"  
 at THE GROUP, 150 West 85th Street.  
 Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th Street  
 SUNDAY, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents  
 December 25th  
 EX-BROTHER LUCIAN  
 "Jesus Christ"  
 Questions and discussion.

**REBEL COSTUME FROLIC NEW YEARS EVE**  
 RAND SCHOOL 7 EAST 15 ST  
 TICKETS ADVANCE AT DOOR  
 HOLLYWOOD SERENADERS  
 DANCING AT 10 P. M.



will be two symposiums in April, one on "Present Tendencies in American Trade Unionism" and the other on "What Should Be the Attitude Toward a Labor Party?"

Women's Section.—The executive committee of the Socialist Women of Greater New York will meet on Saturday, Dec. 24, at 3 p. m., at the Party office, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Theatre Party.—Under the auspices of Local New York City a pre-view of an important new play known as "The Big Night" will be shown as a special theatre benefit performance for the benefit of the city organization on Friday evening, Jan. 13, at the Maxine Elliot Theatre.

City Central Committee.—The meeting of the City Central Committee will be held Wednesday evening, Jan. 4. The last several meetings of the committee were held on Thursday evenings because of difficulty in getting a room in the Rand School.

MANHATTAN

4th A. D.—The newly organized English-speaking branch on the East Side has arranged for its first big affair Saturday evening, Feb. 11, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton St., with an all-star show, entertainment and dance.

6th A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30 p. m. Following a short business meeting Bela Low, chairman of the Educational Committee, will speak on "The Situation in Germany."

Yorkville.—The branch will hold its annual Christmas Eve affair Saturday, Dec. 24, in the club rooms, 241 East 84th St. There will be plenty of amusement, refreshments and general jollification.

Upper West Side.—The regular branch meeting will be held Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30, at headquarters, 100 West 72nd St.

12th A. D.—Steadily and surely the newly organized branch is forging ahead. The next meeting will be held at the home of Norman Thomas, 206 East 18th St., Tuesday, Jan. 3.

BRONX

Bronx Ball.—The annual dance and concert of Bronx County will take place on Saturday evening,

March 18, in the Winter Garden, Tremont and Washington Aves., Bronx. The place is much larger than Hunts Point Palace.

2nd A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held on Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30 p. m., in the club rooms, 9 West 170th St.

5th A. D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30. Elections will take place. An educational program will follow the business meeting.

6th A. D.—Regular meeting will be held on Thursday, Dec. 29, at the Pal Park Palace, 708 Lydig Ave.

7th A. D.—Branch meeting will be held on Tuesday, Dec. 27, at 8:30. Election of officers for the new term. Educational forum of the branch continues to hold its sessions every Thursday evening.

8th A. D.—A very successful forum is held every Sunday morning in Burnside Manor. Business meeting held Thursday, followed by discussion on municipal problems.

Mid-Bronx Forum.—Norman Thomas will open the new Mid-Bronx Forum Friday evening, Dec. 23, with a lecture on "Debts, Peace and Prosperity."

Brooklyn Forum, which meets in the Academy of Music every Sunday evening and is run under the auspices of the Socialist Party, Kings County, will hold its first Forum Dance and Frolic Sunday evening, Dec. 25, in the ballroom of the Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Ave.

Downtown.—Since Nov. 18 a number of classes have been in progress at the Downtown Brooklyn Branch at 122 Pierrepont St. every Thursday evening.

New Monthly Paper.—Beginning Jan. 1, 1933, a new Workmen's Circle-Young Circle League publication, a combination of the English section of the "Friend" and the Y.C.L. "Bulletin," will make its appearance.

Midwood.—The new and commodious headquarters of the branch at 1722 East 12th St. will be formally opened by a housewarming, entertainment and card party on Saturday evening, Jan. 7.

Bay Ridge.—The branch has secured permanent meeting quarters in the club rooms of the Norwegian Engineering Society at 530 86th St. Beginning Wednesday evening, Jan. 4, and every Wednesday evening thereafter, meetings will be held there.

Place. There was a good attendance and an interesting discussion. Bela Low will address the next meeting next Thursday. The program will start promptly at 8:30 p. m. and will close at 10 p. m., after which the business of the branch will be conducted.

16th A. D.—With the opening of new headquarters at 7308 Bay Parkway, new energy and activity has been aroused. An educational program of lectures has been launched.

18th A. D., Branch 1.—The third of a successful series of lectures was delivered by August Claessens at the last meeting, Thursday evening, Dec. 15, at 1439 St. Johns

YOUNG CIRCLE NEWS

Eastern States Conference.—Philadelphia will be the scene of the third Eastern States Conference December 25 and 26, to be held at the Philadelphia Labor Institute and attended by 65 delegates representing 45 Y.C.L.A. clubs scattered along the eastern coast.

Intermediate Activity.—The Christmas-New Year week is Intermediate Week with the following events: Tuesday, Dec. 27, Soiree-Debate between Debs and Meyer London Y.C.C., "Resolved That the State Rear the Children," followed by a social at the League Center, 3 West 16th St.

Sports.—Monday, Dec. 26, at 1 p. m., Y.C.L.A. Soccer Team vs. Scotch-American Football Club, at Jasper Oval, 137th St. and Convent Ave., New York.

Orchestra.—The League Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Wm. Brailowsky, rehearses Saturday mornings at 11 o'clock at the studios of WEVD in the Claridge Hotel, 44th St. and Broadway, New York.

League Magazine.—A magazine printed by the New York division of the Young Circle League, "Youth Awaken," has made its initial appearance.

Topic of the Month for lectures and discussions is "Youth and the Family."

Keep the date open! The Ninth Annual Dinner of THE NEW LEADER will be held Friday evening, February 10, 1933.

Place. There was a good attendance and an interesting discussion. Bela Low will address the next meeting next Thursday. The program will start promptly at 8:30 p. m. and will close at 10 p. m., after which the business of the branch will be conducted.

16th A. D.—With the opening of new headquarters at 7308 Bay Parkway, new energy and activity has been aroused. An educational program of lectures has been launched.

No ambition?

Don't ignore this warning...

When you are absorbing poisons from food wastes held too long in the system, ambition dies quickly. Get rid of unhealthy wastes with Ex-Lax—safely and pleasantly.

Ex-Lax is composed of a high-grade chocolate, combined with a scientific laxative ingredient that has been prescribed by physicians for over a quarter of a century. It is pleasant to take, does not gripe, does not disturb digestion, does not embarrass—its action is prompt and dependable—yet natural.

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Workmen's Educational Association Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Tel. REgent 4-10038.

Socialism Explained

A mighty argument for Socialism that is making converts everywhere. Sells readily at meetings; 16c; 4 for 50c; 75c dozen; \$4.00 hundred. W. H. RICHARDS 611 Mass. Ave. Indianapolis, Ind.

the first weeks of January. Those interested can get in touch with L. Rogin, 4010-44th St., Long Island City, New York.

Flushing.—The third anniversary of the Flushing Branch will be celebrated with a banquet Friday, Jan. 6, at the Yangtze Restaurant, 36 Main St., Flushing. Good time, good cheer, good meal. Tickets \$1 from Sam DeWitt or any Flushing member.

Far Rockaway.—The branch has acquired headquarters at the Metropolitan Building, corner Mott Ave. and James St. Open evenings. On Wednesdays lectures will be given. Our Yipsel branch, growing fast, meets Friday evenings. Formal opening of headquarters will be announced in the near future. Last Sunday a Surprise Tea Party was given to our untiring friend, S. A. DeWitt, at the Hotel Commodore. An appeal for members was made and a good number of visitors have been added to our branch.

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Upon admission every member must make a deposit equal to \$1.00 for every \$100 of insurance. This deposit will be repaid in full upon withdrawal.

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# Barrymores Brought to the Astor Screen in "Rasputin"

John, Ethel and Lionel together in film directed by Boleslavsky.

Starring John, Ethel and Lionel Barrymore; directed by Richard Boleslavsky, author of "Way of a Lancer" and "Lances Down"; and written by Charles MacArthur, co-author of "The Front Page" — "Rasputin and the Empress" will have its world premier presentation at the Astor Theatre starting to-day.

Based on history within the memory of the present generation, the new film is said to be a spectacular replica of the most colorful royal court in the world. The story concerns itself with the fall of the

Romanoff dynasty, with Lionel Barrymore, playing Rasputin, the so-called Holy Devil, the motive power. Ethel plays the tragic Empress and John is seen as Prince Paul, intimate friend of the ruling family.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's cast in support of the three stars are Ralph Morgan as the Tsar; Tad Alexander as the little Tsarevitch; Diana Wynyard has the romantic lead opposite John; C. Henry Gordon plays the Grand Duke Igor. Also in the cast are Gustav von Seyffertitz, Purnell Pratt, Louise Closser Hale, Sarah Padden, Brandon Hurst, Nigel de Brulier, Edward Arnold, Ruth Renick, Reginald Barlow and Jean Parker.

Boleslavsky was born in Warsaw, directed in the Moscow Art Theatre, served in the Russian army, and since coming to Hollywood several years ago has become a prominent figure in this country.

## Heroine in longest running dramatic play on Broadway



Dorothy Stickney, whose fine performance as Stella in the successful play "Another Language" at the Shubert has been acclaimed as one of the real treats of the year.

## RADIOCITY THEATRES AID UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.

When the Radio City Music Hall and the RKO Roxy Theatre open next week, they will play a significant role in the unemployment situation in New York.

The two new Radio City theatres will require the services of no less than 1,076 persons on their permanent resident staffs.

These figures include the men and women engaged in the operation and maintenance of the two theatres, as well as technicians, craftsmen, musicians, choral ensembles, ballet girls and principals.

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52nd Street, West of Broadway  
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Extra Matinees Dec. 26 and Jan. 2

Maxine Elliotts' Theatre  
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**MATINEES THIS WEEK:**  
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50c, \$1, \$1.50 Evenings at 8:30

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Monday Eve. . . . . "Liliom"  
Tues. Mat. . . . . "Alice in Wonderland"  
Tuesday Eve. . . . . "Camilla"  
Wednesday Mat. . . . . "Peter Pan"  
Wednesday Eve. . . . . "Cradle Song"  
Thursday Eve. . . . . "Liliom"  
Fri. Mat. . . . . "Alice in Wonderland"  
Friday Eve. . . . . "Dear Jane"  
Saturday Mat. . . . . "Peter Pan"  
Saturday Eve. . . . . "Liliom"

Seats 4 wks. adv. Box Off. & Town Hall, 113 W. 43.

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METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE—SEATS NOW, 25c to \$2.00

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New World Symphony, Dvorak  
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GEO. M. COHAN THEA. Broadway & 43rd Street  
Eves., 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat.

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A New Play in Eleven Scenes—by  
GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and EDNA FERBER

CONSTANCE COLLIER CONWAY TEARLE ANN ANDREWS  
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Music Box Theatre 45th Street West of Broadway  
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

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JACK HOLT  
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On Stage—  
Charles A. Niggemeyer's "CARNIVAL JUBILEE"

Flatbush Ave. at  
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50 George White Dancing Beauties

**CASINO** Theatre, 7th Ave. & 50th St. — COL. 5-1300  
EVENINGS 50c to \$2.50  
Sat. Mat. 25c to \$2. Thurs. Mat. 25c to \$1.50  
Extra Holiday Mat. Mon., Dec. 26

ARTHUR J. BECKHARD presents

## ANOTHER LANGUAGE

A Play by ROSE FRANKEN  
with a Distinguished Cast  
GLENN ANDERS  
DOROTHY STICKNEY  
MARGARET WYCHERLY  
JOHN BEAL

SCHUBERT THEA., W. 44 St. Eves. 8:50  
Mats. Xmas Week: Mon. Dec. 26,  
Wed. Dec. 28, Fri. Dec. 30, Sat. Dec. 31  
and New Year's Week: Mon. Jan. 2,  
Wed. Jan. 4, and Sat. Jan. 7.

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

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By Jerome Kern & Oscar Hammerstein 2d  
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SHEAN, Katherine CAR-  
RINGTON—Curtain at 8:30

ALVIN THEA., 52 St.  
Eves. 8:30. — Matinees  
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Xtra Mat. Dec. 26th

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and his HINDU DANCERS  
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Spain's Greatest Male Dancer

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**NEW YORKER THEATRE**  
54th Street, West of Broadway

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TEATRO PICCOLI  
VITTORIO PODRECCA

CONTINENTAL VARIETY SHOW  
COMIC OPERA  
ORCHESTRA & SINGERS  
FANTASIES  
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BALLETS  
CIRQUE  
CAST of 900

"Master Marionette Show of the Era"

TICKETS NOW ON SALE  
Evenings: \$1.00 to \$3.00  
Matinees: \$.75 to \$2.00

## Lecture Calendar

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

**SUNDAY, DEC. 25**  
Tucker P. Smith: "A Socialist Plan for Peace," 11 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.; West Bronx Socialist Forum.

**TUESDAY, DEC. 27**  
Bela Low: "The Socialist Movement of Germany," 48 Ave. C, Manhattan; 6th A. D., Socialist Party.  
V. Vacirca: "Fascism and Socialism," 1722 East 12th St., Brooklyn; Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.  
Henry J. Rosner: "Is Economic Recovery in Sight?" 218 Van Sicklen Ave., Brooklyn; 22nd A. D., Branch 3, Socialist Party.  
Maurice Gordis: "Soviet Russia—Promise or Menace?" 844 Utica Ave., Brooklyn; 18th A. D., Branch 2, Socialist Party.

**WEDNESDAY, DEC. 28**  
A. I. Shipiloff: "The Fundamentals of Evolution," 218 Van

Sicklen Ave., Brooklyn; Y.P.S.L., Circle 1.

**THURSDAY, DEC. 29**  
Theodore Shapiro: "The Socialist Party and the Labor Movement," 1439 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn; 18th A. D., Branch 1, Socialist Party.  
August Claessens: "Can Wealth Be Equitably Distributed?" 133-10 Northern Boulevard, Flushing, L. I. Socialist Party Branch.  
Samuel E. Beardsley: "The Convention of the A. F. of L." Belamy Club, 904 Prospect Ave., Bronx; Labor Forum.  
Matthew M. Levy: "Housing in a Socialist City," 789 Elmsere Place, Bronx; 7th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

**FRIDAY, DEC. 30**  
Leon R. Land: "Where Liberalism Fails," 411 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn; Socialist Party Branch.  
August Claessens: "Incentive and Ambition—The Motives in Human Behavior," Paradise Manor, Mount Eden and Jerome Aves.; Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.  
Samuel E. Beardsley: "The Convention of the A. F. of L." 327 East 9th St., Manhattan; 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

## ON WEVD

**STATION WEVD**, the Debs Memorial Radio Station (1800 Kc), announces Duke Ellington, well-known band leader, with his musicians, in the National Negro Forum Hour Thursday at 10 p. m. Among other features during the forthcoming week are "Spotting the Movies," the first of a regular movie review by Evelyn Koch, Tuesdays at 3:45, and William Kay Wallace's talks on important current questions at 4:45 Wednesdays, as part of the WEVD University of the Air.

Hendrik Willem Van Loon's talks under the general heading "The Making of Tomorrow," a unique history course, Fridays at 8:15, continues to be one of the most popular of the WEVD features.

Other WEVD features for the forthcoming week follow:  
Sunday, Dec. 25th, 11 a. m.—Michael Strange, dramatic and poetic readings; 8:15—Devere Al-

## Women's Class to Hold Social

An invitation is extended to all to come to the Rand School Studio Dec. 28, at 2 p. m., to spend an enjoyable afternoon, the occasion being the coming-out of the women's class in Socialism and Public Speaking which meets every Monday from 2 to 4 at the Rand School.

William Bohn and Algernon Lee will extend congratulations to the women for their splendid progress. Esther Friedman and August Claessens, the instructors, will accept the praise with due modesty.

This is the first class in Social-

len; 10:15—Dr. Harry W. Laidler. Wednesday, Dec. 28th, 4:45—William Kay Wallace, "The American Constitution"; 5:30—Isidore Gorn, concert pianist; 8:15—Oswald Garrison Villard.

Saturday, Dec. 31st, 4:30—Young Circle League, winning essay; 6:15—Cooperative League of America; 10 p. m.—New Year's Eve program.

ism and Public Speaking held especially for housewives. The results are very gratifying. With expressions of goodwill and encouragement from branches and active party members this may be and it is hoped to be the beginning of a systematic and continuous training course for Socialist women as propagandists and educators as is being maintained in countries abroad.

The committee promises enjoyable entertainment, chats and particularly free for all home-made cakes and other goodies which the hostesses themselves have baked.

## WAR OR PEACE

Those who think that the danger of war is passed are living in a fool's paradise. We face today a militarism far more powerful and destructive than that which brought on the World War disaster.—Albert Einstein.

D. P. Donahue is helping build the party organization out in Idaho. He sends in 4 subs.

# Eva and Alice Transport Us to Wonderland

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

**FAIR FLIGHT OF FANTASY**  
"ALICE IN WONDERLAND" and "THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS." From the books by Lewis Carroll. Music by Richard Addinsell. Scenery and costumes, after Tenniel, by Irene Sharaf. Heads, Masks, and Marionettes by Remo Bufano. At the Civic Repertory.

The spirit of the Reverend Charles Lutwidge Dodgson must have come, in dream, to kiss the hand of Eva Le Gallienne. For that sober mathematician, whose eyes seldom betrayed the elf within, looks from the other — land where he now rests, upon a consummate recapture of his Wonderland. That intelligent and sensitive spirit which Eva Le Gallienne always manifests has nowhere been more successful than in the service arrangements, the choice of dialogue (taken without alteration from the books) the selection and directing of the cast — the total effect of which is to bear us all to the mathematical musical phantasmal-gorical twistylogical land toher side the looking glass.

Alice discards the orthodox rabbit-hole for her journey, in favor of the mirror. Beyond that, Carroll and Tenniel dictate, as Josephine Hutchinson — become the perfect Alice, jocund Fancy's sweetest child — encounters the melancholy mouse, the cool caterpillar holding his hookah, the demoniacal Duchess, Tweedledum and contrariwise Tweedledee, the Knight of the Woful Countenance (off-and-on his heaving horse), high and mighty Humpty Dumpty, the Queen of Hearts (Joseph Schildkraut, by'r Lady!) and all the callumptious snickersnack Carrolling company. To their destined ends these figures go, the Mad Hatter no more gloriously absurd than the sensible sort — Aren't we all? — until Alice, brushing away the pack of

cards, is ready to sit with the other queens on the eighth square.

The swift succession of scenes, the topsy (not turvy!) wisdom of Carroll's illogic, the incessant flow of animals and folks, masks and miming faces and marionettes, the nonsense poetry and the poetry of nonsense that mark the evening, defy recapture in words. When I heard, a few years ago, that Eva Le Gallienne was contemplating this venture, I felt that "Alice In Wonderland" would be a final test of the Civic Repertory's power. That test is now her triumph.

### "CAUSE" TO BE REVIEWED NEXT WEEK

The Workers' Theatre first play of the season, "Cause," by Leonard Frank, will be reviewed in next week's issue of The New Leader.

### "Man Against Woman" Fox Brooklyn's Holiday Film.— Al. White, Others on Stage.

"Man Against Woman", Columbia's drama of the eternal conflict of the sexes, brings Jack Holt to the screen of the Fox Brooklyn Theatre beginning to-day, as the star of an entertainment that is said to combine action, suspense, and romance.

"Man Against Woman" was written by Keene Thompson and adapted for the screen by Jo Swerling. Lillian Miles, blonde newcomer, Walter Connolly, Gavin Gordon, Arthur Vinton and Jack DaRue complete the line-up of players in support.

Charles A. Niggemeyer brings to the Fox Theatre stage another of his revues called "Carnival Jubilee", in which Al B. White enacts the role of master of ceremonies. The Santora Four, the three Slate Brothers, Dalton and Rose, Sam Jack Kaufman and the Fox Grand Orchestra and Bob West complete the generous program

### Director of "Teatro Dei Piccoli"

Vittorio Podrecca, who with his world-renowned "Teatro Dei Piccoli" have been brought to this country by S. Hurok and can now be seen at the Lyric Theatre.

### "DEVIL'S PLAYGROUND" OPENS AT THE CAMEO.

George Vanderbilt's adventure film "Devil's Playground", will be presented at the Cameo theatre starting to-day.

Cruising the regions of the Bahamas and Pearl Islands, he recorded the thrills in the shark-infested waters near these tropical islands.

His exploits range from the colorful and picturesque scenes in the San Blas Indian village on the east coast through the Panama Canal through a series of escapades including a hand to hand battle with a tiger-shark, the harpooning of a whale, a furious fight to-the-death between a shark and a barracuda, and the harpooning of a Giant Sun Ra or Devil Fish.

### VONGRONA AT RKOROXY

Eugene von Grona, whose modern interpretive dance, "The Spirit of Labor", was widely acclaimed when he made his debut in New York in 1918, will present a new dance creation as a feature of the opening stage bill at the RKO Roxy Theatre in Radio City December 29th.

**JOHN · ETHEL · LIONEL BARRYMORE**  
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF THE THEATRE

## RASPUTIN AND THE EMPRESS

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

You will see Lionel Barrymore in the engrossing role of the demonic monk who hypnotized an empire... John Barrymore as the Prince of the realm... the incomparable Ethel as the completely regal Czarina... the Three Great Barrymores together for the first time on the screen... in a production that will outlive in your memory the greatest of Astor Theatre presentations... Hail the director, Richard Boleslavsky and the author, Charles MacArthur... Make your plans.

**ASTOR THEATRE**, BROADWAY at 45th St.  
Twice Daily following World Premiere  
Sat. Sun. Mon. (Xmas) & New Year's Day at 3-6-8:50  
Midnight Show Every Sat. Night (also Sun. Night, Jan. 1st)  
Mats. (Exc. Sat. & Hols.) 50c to \$1—Eves. 50c to \$2

GILBERT MILLER presents

**Judith Anderson** in **"FIREBIRD"**  
By LAJOS ZILAHY with HENRY STEPHENSON  
"Full of thrill... an international success..."  
—Hammond, Herald Tribune

**Empire Theatre** Broadway and 40th St.  
Eves. 8:50; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40  
Extra Holiday Mat. Monday, Dec. 26

**Pauline Lord** in **The Late Christopher Bean**  
with WALTER CONNOLLY  
"Alive with laughter."  
—Garland, World-Telegram.

**Holiday Mats.** Wed., Dec. 28  
Thurs., Dec. 29  
Sat., Dec. 31, and Mon., Jan. 2

**Henry Miller's** Thea. 124 W 43rd St.  
Eves. 8:45  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:45

**PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY**  
DOBROWEN, Guest Conductor  
CARNegie HALL, This Aff., at 3:00  
Soloist: EGON PETRI, Pianist  
SCHUMANN—BEETHOVEN—BRAHMS

**WALTER**, Conductor  
CARNegie HALL, Fri. Evg. at 8:30, Dec. 30  
FLAT., Dec. 30, 2:30; Sat. Evg., Dec. 31, 8:45  
ROEBER—MOZART—SCHUBERT

Brooklyn Academy of Music  
Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 1, at 3:00  
Beecher—Schubert—Tchaikovsky  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

"None of the recent animal or fishing pictures even approach it."  
—Fred Fletcher, News

**George VANDERBILT'S**  
Thrilling Adventures in Southern Waters  
**"DEVIL'S PLAYGROUND"**

**RKO CAMEO** 9 A.M. to 1 P.M.  
42nd and Broadway ALL SEATS 25c  
BUY RKO THRIFT BOOKS FOR XMAS

**BROADWAY SEATS TODAY**  
THEATRE OPENING DEC. 26  
53rd St. & B'way MON.EVE.

"Home of Big Time Vaudeville"

\*TED HEALY \*JOE FRISCO  
\*JACK McLALLEN with SARAH

\*ANNE CODEE  
\*MOSCONI BROS. & CO.  
\*TWELVE ARISTOCRATS  
\*VAL & ERNIE STANTON  
\*NITA MARTAN

Lou Forman & his Broadway Orch. and others

Daily Mats. 2:30 Nights 8:30  
25c & 50c | 50c, 75c, \$1  
exc. Sat., Sun. & Holidays, 40c to \$1.50

ALL SEATS RESERVED

**WILLIAM POWELL** in **"LAWYER MAN"**  
with JOAN BLONDELL  
**HOLLYWOOD THEA.** Broadway & 51st Street  
35c to 2 p. m. ex. Sun. & Holidays  
Midnite Show Sat.

**EDW. G. ROBINSON** in **"SILVER DOLLAR"**  
with BEBE DANIELS & ALINE MacMAHON  
**STRAND** Broadway & 47th Street  
35c to 1 p. m. ex. Sun. & Hol.  
Midnite Shows

**"AFRAID to TALK"**  
with ERIC LINDEN & SIDNEY FOX  
**WINTER GARDEN** Broadway & 50th Street  
35c to 1 p. m. ex. Sun. & Hol.  
Midnite Shows

with LILI DAMITA  
**WARREN WILLIAM** in **"THE MATCH KING"**  
And on the Screen **FATTY ARCHBUCKLE** in "Hey, Pop!"  
**BROOKLYN STRAND** Fulton & Rockwell  
25c to 6:30 ex. Sat., Sun. & Hol.

A NEW RKO IDEA IN HOLIDAY ENTERTAINMENT!  
**2 Completely Different Shows**

**DAYTIME ONLY** 9 A.M. to 6 P.M.  
**"LITTLE ORPHAN ANNIE"** Special Children's Price 35c to 6 P.M.

**NIGHTS ONLY** 8 P.M. to Closing  
**"THE PENGUIN POOL MURDER"** with EDNA MAY OLIVER James Gleason

**RKO RADIO PICTURES**  
NOW at both **RKO MAYFAIR** B'way & 47th & **RKO ALBEE** Albee Square Brooklyn  
FRED & DOROTHY STONE and other big acts on RKO ALBEE Stage ONLY.

The Picture You Have Always Wanted to See  
**NOW AT PRICES YOU WANT TO PAY**

The Seasons' Classic Film  
**'Maedchen in Uniform'**

**NOW AT 44th ST. THEATRE** W. of B'way  
Matinees 2:50—25c-40c-55c-75c  
Nights 8:50—40c-55c-85c-\$1.10  
Tax included

The Capitol's Christmas Gift to B'way  
On Screen  
**WILLIAM HAINES** in **"FAST LIFE"**  
with MADGE EVANS CONRAD NAGEL CLIFF EDWARDS  
On the Stage  
Belle Baker, Queen of Personality  
Harriet Hecter, and famous Ballet  
Paul Ash, and his Hot-Cha Orch.  
Max and his Canine Gang  
Extra Attraction  
Bill Robinson, World's Premier Colored Dancer  
**CAPITOL** Broadway at 51st St.

# Radio City Opens! — Roxy's Crowning Achievement

## One of the Wonders of the Amusement World Marks Introduction of New Era.

Radio City, the much discussed New York amusement center which has been in preparation for upwards of two years, is at last finished and ready to embark on its ambitious program. S. L. Rothafel, better known to the world as "Roxy", announces the opening of the 6,200-seat Radio City Music Hall for December 27, to be followed two days later by that of the 3,700 house RKO Roxy Theatre.

Both are under the direction of this showman who has revolutionized the science of showmanship by popularizing new types of presentations, who has got the masses to enjoy the better music, and whose world-wide radio broadcasts with his Roxy Gang are one of the air-transmission features of this season.

Radio City Music Hall will be devoted, as its name implies, to a music hall type of entertainment. RKO Roxy Theatre will give motion pictures in conjunction with a smart super-vaudeville bill.

Radio City is located on Sixth Avenue, between 48th and 51st Streets, one block west of Fifth Avenue. Its two theatres embody the ideas gained by Roxy in a lifetime. Technically and artistically they are said to revolutionize all yet known ideas pertaining to motion pictures.

Radio City Music Hall has its own permanent art department, headed by Robert Edmond Jones, where all scenery and costumes are designed.

In either theatre, the new style of decoration definitely announces the end of one era and the introduction of another. RKO Roxy Theatre with its tasteful refined modernism looks to the future.

Roxy has made a striking innovation in decreeing that the same talent that appears in one theatre shall function interchangeably in the other. Erno Rapee, for instance, as music director, will supervise the orchestra bands of both RKO Roxy Theatre and Radio City Music Hall. The same applies to the technical experts in charge of stage, lighting, etc.

In RKO Roxy Theatre is a new-type screen, 60x30 feet, the largest in the world, which has the virtue of receiving light rays in such a way that there can be no distortion of image no matter where the spectator sits. It can also be adjusted to half a dozen various sizes for various kinds of screen presentation.

In Radio City Music Hall, the dominant decorative note of the foyer is Ezra Winter's 60x30 foot mural, in sweeping curve following the grand stairway leading to the mezzanines, and portraying an Oregon Indian legend. In the auditorium is Roxy's contribution to theatre design, with the immense 60-foot proscenium arch that is semicircular, giving the effect of a vast sun rising. The idea was suggested while Roxy was sailing over the Atlantic Ocean.

These Radio City theatres will open their doors to an expectant public next week and will offer the best in stage presentations and motion pictures. Nothing will be too great to be essayed here, according to Roxy, who expects the amusement history of the United States to be changed and advanced through Radio City. Every type of entertainment will be given lavishly or intimately according to the appropriate need.

When it opens, New York will have one of the wonders of the amusement world, to be visited by every person whether part of the community, or visiting the metropolis.

## RKO ANNOUNCES THE OPENING OF RADIO CITY WITH THE TWO FINEST THEATRES IN THE WORLD



### RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL

... 50th Street and 6th Avenue  
**OPENS TUESDAY EVENING, DEC. 27**  
 (Spectacular Stage Shows ... Twice Daily)

Glorious parade of stage talent ... Eminent artists from every phase of the theatre ... Spectacle, music, dance, drama, comedy, minstrelsy, variety ... Created by a producing organization unparalleled in history ... Company of 1000 ... Miracles of lighting and stagecraft ... New standards of comfort and luxury ... New thrills, beauty, glamorous splendor ... The dazzling climax of two years preparation.

#### BRILLIANT ARRAY OF STARS

Dr. Rockwell, Ray Bolger, Weber and Fields, Taylor Holmes, DeWolf Hopper, Sisters of the Skiller ... Titta Ruffo, Vera Schwarz, Coe Glade, Caroline Andrews, Harold Van Duser, Otto Fassel, John Pierce, Jeannie Lang ... Orchestra of 90, Chorus of 100, famous Tuskegee Choir of 110 ... Harald Kreuzberg and his ballet, Martha Graham and her group, Patricia Bowman, premier danseuse; Ballet Corps of 80; Russell Markert's dancers, the 48 Roxyettes; Berry Brothers, Cherry and June Preisser ...

Frederick Lewis, the Wallenda Troupe, Four Bronetts, Kikura Japs, countless novelties.

#### MASTER PRODUCTION STAFF

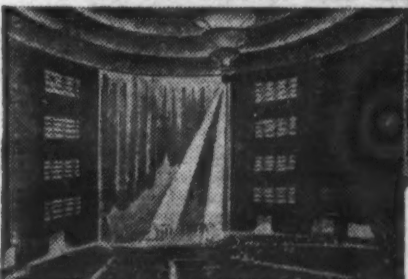
Leon Leonidoff, production director; Erno Rapee, musical director; Robert Edmond Jones, art director; Florence Rogge, ballet mistress ... Original music and lyrics especially created by Ferde Grofe, Maurice Baron, Dezzo d'Antalfy, Irving Caesar, James McHugh, Dorothy Fields, Harry Revel, Jack Gordon, Louis Horst and Friedrich Wilckens.

#### BOX OFFICE NOW OPEN

Above show twice daily ... Doors open 1:30 and 7:30 ... Performances begin 2:15 and 8:15 ... All evenings and Sunday, Sunday, holiday matinees 99c, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50 ... Monday to Friday matinees 75c, 99c, \$1.50, \$2.00 ... Prices include tax ... All seats reserved ... Phone COlumbus 5-3030 ... Mail orders filled on receipt ... Special complete midnight show New Year's Eve.



SUNBURST PROSCENIUM RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL



INTERIOR OF THE NEW RKO ROXY THEATRE

### New RKO ROXY THEATRE

... 49th Street and 6th Avenue ...  
**OPENS THURSDAY EVENING, DEC. 29**  
 (Fine Photoplays and a New Type of Smart, Intimate Stage Entertainment)

World Premiere:

**ANN HARDING and LESLIE HOWARD**  
 in "THE ANIMAL KINGDOM"

with William Gargan and Myrna Loy

An RKO Radio Picture

From the Celebrated Play by Philip Barry

Continuous, 10:30 A. M. to 1 A. M. ... Popular Prices

Both Theatres Under Personal Direction of



**RADIO CITY ROCKEFELLER CENTER**

# Eduard Bernstein Passes

WITH the death in Berlin of Eduard Bernstein, German Socialist leader and theoretician, the small circle of pioneers who were contemporaries and co-workers of Karl Marx continues to dwindle. The men of the heroic period of Socialism, the fighters of the period of savage repression of the Bismarck anti-Socialist laws are fast passing.

Bernstein was 83; he was 33 when Marx died; and now there are left only Karl Kautsky, who is in his 79th year, Robert Grimm of Switzerland, and possibly one or two more. And that is all.

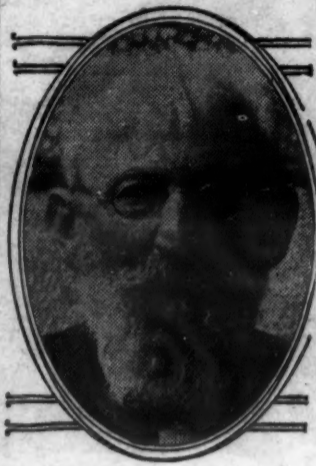
That period belongs definitely to history—but what a history! Socialists contemplating the character, the services and the devotion of the giants of that period feel a renewed devotion to their cause, a feeling of the greatness, the dignity, the nobility of the Socialist movement.

Bernstein was for years center of a great controversy with Kautsky over the very fundamentals of Socialism. He challenged several of the basic principles of Marxism, and his polemic battle was historic. It is noteworthy, however, that the battle was on the high plane of principle, and that it never became a party split or a vulgar brawl. The followers of Bernstein and Kautsky respected each other, honored each others' motives, and worked with each other. Would that all controversies were conducted on so high a plane!

It was in 1880 that the young Bernstein left Germany for a few months in Switzerland; it was not until 1903 that he saw his native land again. The intervening years are described in his book, "My Years of Exile," one of the most delightful autobiographies in Socialist literature. Bernstein edited the Social Democrat, official German party paper, in Switzerland to be smuggled into Germany, and he took a joy in his task that imparts itself to the readers of his book.

Later, in London, he was a member of the exile colony that was so important a part in the life of the British city, and that maintained such close cooperation with British Socialist pioneers. One gathers from his book that if she had lived Mrs. Margaret G. Mac-

Donald would have been an influence upon her husband sufficient to prevent his amazing betrayal in 1931, and his weakness of the years before.



Back in Germany, Bernstein was elected to the Reichstag, and there he showed that theoretical differences did not make it impossible to work in harness with his comrades. But over matters like support of the war he was unable to work with those of his fellow Socialists who followed Scheidemann, and together with Kautsky, Haase, Liebknecht, Hilferding, Breitscheid and others led in the formation of the Independent Socialist Party. His reunion with Kautsky was an event of world importance, and in latter years the two noble old souls had been cronies.

Bernstein was a jolly old fellow, a lover of humanity, a good companion and a good friend. But he was a great thinker, a great student, a great Socialist and a great man. Socialists walk more proudly because such men have walked among them.

## HOCH DIE "NEUE VOLKSZEITUNG"!

IT was a sad day for many when, a few weeks ago, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" had to suspend publication after appearing daily for more than fifty-four years. Founded early in 1878, and through the greater part of its existence edited by men of such devotion and such exceptional ability as Adolph Douai, Alexander Jonas, Sergius Schwitsch, and Hermann Schlueter, it was in their days one of the best Socialist papers in the world—in my judgment clearly the best in the United States.

The part which our German-born comrades played in building the old Socialist Labor Party and later the Socialist Party, and also, back in the 'seventies, 'eighties, and 'nineties, in building numerous labor unions, such as those of the bricklayers, the carpenters, the machinists, the bakers, the cigar makers, the brewery workers, is known to but few these days. In this work, by which we profit, the Volkszeitung was a leading agency.

### TO OUR COMRADES

We have only a limited number of addresses. We very much regret that we do not have the correct mailing addresses of most of our dearest friends and comrades. We therefore use this means of extending to one and all our heartiest Greetings of the Season. We are delighted to say, that so far we have enjoyed our trip and hope it will continue to be as pleasant the rest of the voyage.

Fraternally,  
Mrs. and Mrs. Morris Berman.

In those times when the personnel of the movement was largely of German origin, the Volkszeitung contributed heavily, with money and service, to the maintenance of our struggling English papers; and from about 1890 on, when the English-speaking element began to predominate, its constant effort was to promote mutual understanding and helpfulness between the older and the newer membership.

Schlueter, the latest survivor of the four whom I have named, guided the paper with courage as well as prudence through the ordeal of the World War. He died just as the movement was beginning to experience the yet more trying ordeal of Bolshevik disruptionism. His successor, Ludwig Lore, helped to carry the paper over to the Communist side, and then to engineer the first of the four tragicomic secessions from that camp. For nearly a dozen years he and his group held control. Under this period the Volkszeitung pretty steadily lost ground, and during the latter portion of this time it survived only by steadily eating up a reserve which had been built up

By Norman Thomas

# TIMELY TOPICS

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

### It Snowed

IT snowed in New York and 18,500 of the unemployed got temporary work. Now if God or nature will only continue to send snow or an occasional flood, or something of that sort, maybe human beings can find work. What fools we are that in a city in desperate need of housing inhabited by people without enough to eat or enough clothes to wear we have to have a snowstorm in order to put people to work! Incidentally the snowstorm cost \$1,421,500. The same amount of money invested in other enterprises than snow removal would be even more truly constructive.



Norman Thomas

### About This Technocracy

OUR Technocracy friends have at last given us an article, described as "authoritative," and worded in fairly simple language. It is published in Harper's Magazine which announces that the article was "prepared under the supervision of Howard Scott," and Scott is master technocrat. Once more we have very clearly stated the potentialities of machinery for good or for evil and the destructive power of death. Energy, mechanical energy, is advanced as the basis of values and values should be measured not by dollars but by units of energy, let us say, by calories which are units of heat, which heat is transformed into energy. A price system based on an attempt to measure value by dollar is the root of all evil. The only way out is "a new system based upon a recognition and an understanding of our available energy." It appears that "we need look for no help from Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Fascists or Communists, for each group in its way is devoted to price also." How the new system is to be established, what power will bring about the change, how the system will work, whether it means a dictatorship of engineers—these are some of the many unanswered questions.

Scott himself has been telling audiences that he wasn't ready to answer such questions and that anyway they, the audiences, wouldn't understand. All of which is not too helpful. I suspect that most Socialists will agree with me that the Socialist description of the capitalist system is more adequate than Scott's description of what he calls the price system, and that Socialism has and always has had room for what is true in the colorful emphasis that the Technocracy group has brought into a study of our present situation. On the other hand, it does not appear as yet that the technocratic criticism of our present order or suggestions as to the way out include elements of great importance which Socialism does take account of.

### The Allotment Plan

ACCORDING to Senator Capper of Kansas, the Allotment Plan for agriculture will amount to a subsidy of something like 750 million dollars to the agriculturists, which subsidy, of course, will be paid by the consumers. Probably an even larger subsidy will be paid because the middlemen will multiply what they have to pass on to the farmers when it comes to taking it from the consumers. Senator Capper thinks that this 750 million dollars in the hands of farmers will so increase their purchasing power that business will start up again. Maybe so. In South Dakota alone, an A.P. despatch says, between 5,500,000 and 7,350,000 acres of agricultural lands are affected by tax sales. If we are going to remain a high tariff nation it is not unreasonable for farmers to claim the equivalent of the subsidy the tariff gives manufacturers. On the other hand,

while it was still a Socialist paper, and then loading it with a burden of debt which finally became un-supportable.

Of the discreditable ending of the Lore regime it is not necessary to speak here. It gave the opportunity to bring the paper back to a Socialist position. Siegfried Lipschitz became editor, and a valiant effort was made to retrieve the ruin that had been wrought. But it was too late, and the old daily, created and kept up by the heroic sacrifices of two generations of self-disciplined German workingmen, at last became a proud and mourn-

ful memory.

But Socialism does not and cannot die, and every branch of the Socialist movement has an amazing faculty of surviving defeats and resuming interrupted tasks. Our German comrades, naturally far fewer than they used to be, could not endure the thought of being without an organ for Socialist and Labor propaganda among the German-speaking workingmen, who, despite the decline of immigration, are still a fairly numerous and important body. And so we have now the Neue Volkszeitung, a weekly, succeeding the old daily

and giving promise that it will have the fine quality that had marked the paper through the greater part of its history—of which the first issue appeared last week.

Our movement needs a German organ. The time is long past when the Germans can or should subsidize our English press. The situation is in that respect reversed. This new-old paper ought to receive report from other sections of the movement. And for our own good, those of us who can read German ought to subscribe for it.

Hoch die Neue Volkszeitung! Lang soll sie leben! A. L.

there is the danger that such a subsidy to agriculture will fasten the whole subsidy system more firmly on us without striking at any of our fundamental economic problems. It is for this reason that I should like to ask farmer readers of this paragraph who may be interested in the Allotment Plan to answer these by no means trick questions but honest requests for information:

1. What guarantee can there be in the law, or the nature of the propaganda for the law, that the Allotment Plan will not amount to a permanent subsidy to agriculture which will be a very heavy food tax? That is to say, how can this Allotment Plan be made a genuine emergency measure?
2. How can unemployed and low paid workers stand a food tax unless there are compensating advantages to them introduced by other action? If so, what other action would be appropriate?
3. It is generally agreed that the essence of the Allotment Plan is that the subsidy on wheat, cotton, tobacco, pork, and the like, will only be paid on the proportion that a given farmer raises which goes into domestic trade. Unless there is this restriction the subsidy will produce a terrible carnival of over-production. How can the restriction be enforced without a large army of regulators? How can we prevent bootlegging?
4. Is there not a danger that the Allotment Plan will divert attention among farmers and others from fundamental economic problems like farm tenantry, the waste in the process of preparing and marketing farm products, and the whole system of mortgages and of taxes?
5. What truth is there in the arguments of packers that the Allotment Plan, at least in the case of pork, will greatly reduce consumption of pork in a search for substitutes by a population that cannot pay the increased price?

### A Labor Racketeer

A FEDERAL Grand Jury in New York City has convicted Commerford, prominent official in the operating engineers, friend of Tammany Hall, and a great power in the building trades, for defrauding the government on income tax returns. The great income was apparently acquired by processes extremely hurtful to honest rank and file workers. This conviction calls attention to the importance of the campaign which President Green and some of his associates in the A. F. of L. have already undertaken against racketeering of one sort or another in the labor unions. Apparently the campaign will have to go high, wide, and deep to reach the evil. Nothing that capitalism has done to the labor movement is so bad as to poison it by this virus of racketeering. Recently I have had occasion to see how this sort of thing hurts the growth of the labor movement both on the industrial and political field.

Now there is a good deal of unfairness in these statements. Just now a labor leader has a hard row to hoe. In times like this he cannot satisfy the needs and demands of rank and file workers. In their irritation they become unjustly suspicious. But the sad part of it is that there is enough racketeering and exploitation in labor ranks, as the Commerford case shows, to give them some warrant for their suspicion. In the process of a labor house-cleaning the Socialist Party has a peculiar interest because the growth of the Socialist Party or any labor party is very considerably checked by the present situation.

### Holiday Greetings to All Comrades

SOMEHOW or other in the course of strenuous campaigning I lost a diary in which I was keeping records of meetings and the names of some of the active comrades I met. That rather serious loss has prevented me from sending some letters of greetings that I had intended to send. Hence I have to make this public greeting serve. For more than one reason it is simply impossible for me to reach by private mail those comrades whose fellowship made the campaign mean so much to me and makes life rich and abundant even in these dark times. My apologies, then, for using this column to convey personal greetings, but my greeting nevertheless to you all.