

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Unemployment and Our Elected Representatives—A
Brave Labor Fight—Matthew Woll's Address—
Hopeful Signs for the Party—John Dewey's
Group—The Outcry Against Russia

IOWA CITY, IOWA.

AS I go around the country I am impressed with the breakdown of the old parties in facing the real issues of our time.

Unemployment is general and tragic. Long lines of unemployed are outside all the slave markets. Steel mills and coal miners are working three or four days a week. But the steel mills still keep men on ten hour shifts and coal mines in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio pay not more than 60% or 70% of the old wage scale. Here in Iowa farmers tell me of the bitterly low prices for the things they produce.

But government, federal and state, is ducking every issue. No one but Socialists is urging unemployment insurance. Old age assistance laws or bills, like the one in New York are travesties of justice and of the thing we Socialists seek. They are tragically inadequate and more likely to build up political machines in many counties than to help the aged who have grown old in toil. If we New York Socialists put up a real fight for a real measure of social insurance it will help the whole country.

DO WE NEED A SOCIALIST PARTY?

IN Washington things are no better. Congress draws near the end of its labors in producing a profoundly unsatisfactory tariff law. The federal power commission by common consent—even by President Hoover's statement—has broken down. Its secretary, according to recent testimony before the Senate Committee, is a tool of the interests. Yet even progressive Senators like Walsh and Wheeler when it comes to brass tacks won't fight the probable delivery of Flathead River power to the tender mercies of the power trust and the Anaconda Copper Co.

The Senate is burying a bill forbidding the war and navy departments to assign officers to duty in the Caribbean countries. President Hoover is allowing our delegates to the London Naval Conference to interpret his plea for naval reduction into a plan for a bigger navy. If France and Italy bear an especial responsibility for the dubious outlook in London we Americans are not innocent, for it is our delegation which blocked the abolition of battleships. And Republicans and Democrats are equally responsible. Yet people ask: "Do we need the Socialist Party?"

THE TRADE UNION POSITION

IN the way of getting a Socialist or labor party one of the chief obstacles is this wet and dry wrangle. Now the issue is important, it is going to be discussed, it should be discussed. But not all the time to the exclusion of every other issue. Newspapers like the Chicago Tribune and Cincinnati Enquirer suspect of deliberately exciting the populace about prohibition so that they will forget unemployment. Hard boiled capitalists pose as "liberals" because they want to get their liquor legally. Politicians, wet and dry, without ideas or courage on great issues of freedom, peace and plenty, rehash old arguments on liquor. More than ever should we try to force all parties to give legal efficacy to a referendum on prohibition. I see no other possible way out. Meanwhile Congress might put a time limit on prohibition orators in a country that needs bread more than legal beer.

It isn't only the breakdown of the old parties that impresses me as I go about the country but also the inadequacy of the unions, with honorable exceptions, to their task. What I have heard and seen makes me more than ever long for the success of the Miners' Convention called for March 10th at Springfield, Illinois. In West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois well informed men have told me "there is no hope under the Lewis regime."

One brave union fight I have seen is the struggle of the Pittsburgh taxi drivers for the union that is their only protection against exploitation by the Parmelee Company which has a terrific hold on the taxi industry in and out of Pittsburgh. I am delighted with the help Pittsburgh comrades are giving in the struggle. Local unions, too, are giving nobly to relief. But it must unfortunately be said that neither the teamsters' union nor the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor has given these men leadership. Indeed, the acting president of the Pennsylvania Federation actually tried to help Secretary of Labor Davis put over an agreement as a recognition of the union that was no recognition at all.

I thought of this when I read some account of Matthew Woll's speech at our New York Labor Institute. It was good to hear what he had to say. But aside from the basic difference in his point of view and ours, the plain truth is that the A. F. of L. as a whole isn't doing very well its own avowed job. Of course, the A. F. of L. is a federation, as Mr. Woll pointed out, not a One Big Union. But as a federation it finds power to smash or recognize or discipline radical unions or central bodies; e. g., in New York and Seattle. On the other hand, it rarely finds power to fulfill its own promises to Negroes barred by local unions or effectively discipline dilatory conservative unions or effectively aid vital strikes. It becomes Mr. Woll to criticize the Marion strike which the A. F. of L. did so little to help. And remembering how various building trade strikes of orthodox unions have been conducted I read with amazement and resentment Mr. Woll's uncalculated and misleading statement that if the usual A. F. of L. tactics had been employed in Marion instead of the methods of violence and disturbance the massacre might not have taken place.

Of course, we Socialists ought to work in the established unions without trying to dictate to them or control them from without, but we have a right and a duty, in view of existing conditions, to urge our own labor program by all honest, fair and democratic means of persuasion.

SOCIALIST STRENGTH RETURNING

FOR our cause I find much encouragement in the size and attitude of the audiences I meet; in my talk with our capable young secretary, Clarence Senior; in the activity of our Pittsburgh office and the way Pennsylvania comrades are lining up to push Maurer for Governor and Van Eosen for Senator; in the fine work of the party in Milwaukee and the way the party and local unions are joining hands to save the Milwaukee Leader. It has been good to see and feel all these and other signs of life and vigor in our movement. I am pleased also at the student interest and especially pleased by the vigor of the Chicago University Socialist Club.

Among the "intelligentsia" I find a good deal of hopeful interest in the League for Independent Political Action. It reaches mostly those who for one reason or another won't as yet call themselves Socialists. It is pushing a genuinely Socialist immediate program and is sticking to its independence of the old parties. Since it is careful not to call itself a party and has cooperated so honestly thus far with us I think we can hail it as a useful agency worth watching in a friendly and cooperative spirit. But I can't help adding how much better it would be if it would come all the way with us and work with and through us, as, indeed, some of its members do. Still maybe it has been a little bit our fault that it went its separate way, and we ought to rejoice in every educational force that is at work for a new party alignment on the basis of real economic issues. That is why I want to help guide the L. I. P. A.

THE CRY AGAINST RUSSIA

I THINK that the present outcry in the world against religious persecution in Russia arose out of some real and indefensible persecution, but unquestionably that outcry is being exploited in England by the Tories to hit the Labor Party which recognized Russia, and in America to bolster capitalism against a new economic order. I suspect this outside agitation is welcome to Stalin because it plays in his hands to unite Russia behind him. Hence the need of going slow in a very difficult situation. We want facts, not rumors. We must distinguish between restrictions on the churches and religious persecution solely for religious beliefs and practices.

Some regulation of the churches was clearly necessary in Russia. Likely the government has gone too far, but that which may logically excite the Pope and Bishop Manning need not be looked on by the rest of us as outrageous persecution. I believe that men are better off with various associations for various purposes, cultural, etc., not too much under the iron hand of an all-powerful state. That certainly applies to Communist treatment of labor unions and I think it applies in some degree to Communist rules for churches. But Socialists who believe in religious as in other liberty cannot afford blindly to jump in one boat with the Pope, the English Tories, Bishop Manning, and various Jewish and Protestant leaders, not all of whom always believed in religious liberty for other folks.

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A BETRAYAL OF THE AGED

Proposed New York "Pension" Bill Is Less Liberal
Than The Existing Poor Law Provisions

By Louis Waldman

(Chairman, Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party)

WHEN Governor Roosevelt and the New York state legislature created a commission to report "the most practical and efficient method of providing security against old age want," the hopes of old age pension advocates ran high. To be sure, an ideal old-age pension bill was not to be expected. The economic, political and legal difficulties were known to be great. Nor did the composition of the commission inspire complete confidence. We knew that six appointive Republicans and three Democrats would not produce an ideal piece of social legislation.

Nevertheless, the intention of the resolution which created the commission was plain: it was proposed to draw up an old age pension system.

Progressive men, women and organizations—trade unionists, Socialists, independents and progressives—will be profoundly disappointed by the legislation which the commission has drafted and which has been submitted to the legislature on behalf of a unanimous commission.

A POOR LAW AMENDMENT

WHILE an immediate complete and adequate system of old age relief was perhaps too much to expect under the circumstances, we did not contemplate that the commission would completely abandon the purpose for which it was created! We did not expect that under the guise of a pension bill, the commission would introduce an amendment to the Poor Law containing none of the elements of an old age pension law. Our disappointment is the more keen because the report of the commission was unanimous. Not even the Democratic appointees of the commission dissented.

The established conservative newspapers of the state cannot see in the commission bill an old age pension law. "It (the bill) does not propose old age pensions at all," says the New York Sun. "It is a long way from a comprehensive and satisfactory solution of the problem of old age pensions." And the New York Times is forced to say: "Hard upon the heels of the report submitted to the legislature by the Commission comes Socialist protest against this 'tragically inadequate' scheme of old age pensions. The difficulty about this complaint is that the commission's plan is not an old age pension system. . . . Essentially, the commission's proposals constitute a modernized poor-relief scheme."

THE POOR LAW IS BETTER

DESPITE the lukewarm reception accorded the proposed bill, some newspapers, individuals and organizations, see the bill as an important "first step" which would mean some advance, if not much, in the problem of caring for the aged. But an examination of the bill and a comparison of it with the poor law shows that the aged would gain nothing by the adoption of this bill. The alleged benefits to the aged provided for in this legislation are already incorporated in the poor law!

The most astounding fact is that the poor law is actually more liberal in its provisions than this alleged old-age pension bill. Whereas the pension bill prescribes numerous limitations and qualifications for those who become beneficiaries—such as citizenship, 70 years of age or over, ten year residence in the state, one year residence in the county—the existing poor law gives an old person qualified to receive relief under the commission bill, the same relief without any of these qualifications.

Let us compare the provisions of the proposed commission bill with the existing poor law.

THE POOR LAW

The poor law, which dates back over 300 years, back to the days of Queen Elizabeth, was modernized in 1929 and re-enacted under the title of "The Public Welfare Law". Article 9 provides for relief and service for "those unable to maintain themselves." So much of Section 77 of this article as is material reads as follows:

"77. CARE TO BE GIVEN. It shall be the duty of public welfare officials, insofar as funds are available for that purpose, to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves."

NO NEW PRINCIPLE ESTABLISHED

TO some the language of the commission bill may sound revolutionary. The apologists for the bill call it a new declaration of state policy. But is it a new declaration? The policy enunciated has been public policy for decades, if not centuries. As a matter of fact, the public welfare law, in so many words, says that it is the duty of the state or its subdivisions "to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves." The only difference between the commission declaration and the poor law declaration is that the poor law is all-embracing, covering all ages and all conditions of men and women, whereas this proposed article limits that policy only to the aged, and not to all aged, either.

Section 123 of the proposed law, entitled "To Whom Relief is to be Given," contains the limitations, none of which are in the poor law. So that I may not be accused of misinterpretation, I will quote that section in full. It is as follows:

"Relief shall be given under this article to any person who

1. Has attained the age of seventy years; and

2. Is unable to support himself, either in whole or in part; and has no children or other person able to support him and responsible under the provisions of this chapter for his support;

3. Is a citizen of the United States; and

4. Has been a resident of the state of New York for at least ten years immediately preceding his application for relief; and

5. Has resided in and been an inhabitant of the county or city in which the application is made for at least one year immediately preceding the date of application; and

6. Is not at the time an inmate of any public or private home for the aged, or any public home, or in any public or private institution of a custodial, correctional or curative character, except in the case of temporary medical or surgical care in a hospital; and

7. Has not made a voluntary assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of qualifying for such relief.

Under the limitations provided for in this section no aged person is entitled to receive any benefits under this proposed plan who is able to maintain himself. But that is precisely the test provided for in the poor law! It will be noted that age is not the test. Poverty and destitution is to be the test. Poverty and destitution, likewise, is the test under the poor law!

It will be noted, further, that an old person, though of the qualified age of seventy years and entirely unable to support himself but who has children or other persons able to support him "and responsible under the provisions of this chapter for his support" is not entitled to any benefits. "This chapter" referred to in the bill is a chapter in the Public Welfare Law—the old poor law.

Thus we find that the same limitations imposed upon a person unable to maintain himself under the poor law are also imposed upon the aged applicant in the commission plan. In other words, a helpless old person who has a child or children who, under the poor law are obliged to support him—cannot receive any benefits. Such obligation on the part of a child or children or other person has to be established in a trial under the criminal law. The ability of such child to support his parents depends entirely upon the judicial outlook and the standards of living allow for such a child. If, let us say, a tailor or farmer has ambitions to send a son or daughter to college to study medicine, notwithstanding that he does so at great family sacrifice, I have no doubt a court would say that such a man ought to be able to support an aged parent.

AN INSULT TO THE AGED!

IT IS CLAIMED THAT THE PROPOSED PLAN BY THE COMMISSION ESTABLISHES ANOTHER IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE—THAT OF "OUT DOOR" RELIEF, WHICH MEANS THAT AN AGED PERSON MAY BE MAINTAINED IN HIS HOME OR IN A PRIVATE HOME WITH SOME MEMBER OF HIS FAMILY.

Those who make that claim do so either out of ignorance or worse. The right to "outdoor relief" and service to be

given a poor person in his home or in the home of a relative or friend is clearly established in the existing Public Welfare Law. Section 77 of the Public Welfare Law (the old Poor Law) provides as follows:

"As far as possible families shall be kept together, and they shall not be separated for reasons of poverty alone. Whenever practicable, relief and service shall be given to a poor person in his own home; the commissioner of public welfare may, however, in his discretion, provide relief and care in a boarding home, the home of a relative, a public or private home or institution, or in a hospital."

Thus the poor law already provides for the sort of relief for which the Commission bill is hailed as a great innovation.

The Commission bill itself is a proposed article to be added to the poor law. Its administration is left, substantially in the hands of the same public welfare officials and agencies created for the administration of the poor law.

There will be no gain of any kind to the aged in the adoption of this bill. The poor law already gives everything that this bill provides for; but that is not old-age pension. If the commission plan is old-age pension, then the poor law is old-age pension.

To the sincere advocates of old-age pensions the meaning of that kind of social legislation is clear.

First of all, there must be security for the aged.

The proposed commission bill does not provide for security for the aged. It provides for "relief" indefinite in amount, dependent upon the judgment of the local public welfare official, subject, of course, to the theoretic right of appeal by the helpless aged. Much has already been said by the Socialists on that point. Failure to provide for a definite grant in the bill would place every helpless old man and woman at the mercy of local politicians. Funds made available by the state for the aged would constitute another source of political patronage to the local ward heeler, with all that this hideous practice implies.

Under the proposed bill the old person not only is to get no more than the indefinite amount of "relief" already provided for in the poor law but the manner in which that relief is spent and the mode of life of the unfortunate old man or woman is to be under the constant surveillance of the local public welfare official.

What a prospect for the old man or woman! What security for the aged this bill proposes! No greater insult and betrayal of the aged could be imagined.

IS THIS THE OLD PARTIES' BEST?

WHEN under the pressure of popular demand the legislature last year appointed a commission on old-age security, consisting of three persons to be appointed by Governor Roosevelt, three by the temporary president of the Senate, and three by the speaker of the Assembly, it charged them with definite duties. Section 2 of chapter 664 of the laws of 1929, creating the commission, provides, as follows:

"[2]—PURPOSES AND DUTIES—

Such commission shall study and investigate the industrial condition of aged men and women in order to ascertain and report to the legislature the most practical and efficient method of providing security against old age want. It may examine the statutes and regulations of other states and countries relating to the old age relief and the effect thereof. It may seek the aid of actuarial authorities in the compilation of statistics and in the formulation of a general plan for security against old age want. It shall study the subject of district infirmaries, their establishment and maintenance. It shall report to the legislature on or before the 15th day of February, 1930, the feasibility and practicability of the establishment of a plan which will provide security against old age want, including a proposed method or methods of financing such plan. The commission shall cause to be prepared a draft or drafts of such legislation as may be required to carry out its recommendations and include such drafts of legislation as part of its report. Such commission shall have all the power of a legislative committee as provided by the legislative law."

If the legislation drafted by the Commission is, in the judgment of this commission "the most practical and efficient method of providing security against old age want", then it is clear to the whole world that labor of hand and brain in industry and on the farm, to whom old-age pensions are a vital necessity, need not expect anything from Democrats and Republicans. Their needs will have to be satisfied by organizing politically to fight for a program of social legislation which will not treat them as beggars.

The Socialist party calls upon organized labor, progressive and civic groups, and progressive individuals everywhere to unite with it in the formulation of a sound, just and workable old-age pension bill and urge its adoption upon the legislature.

Conference On Pension Bill; Institute to Analyze Measure

TRADE UNION, Socialist and liberal groups will decide on the position they will take on pending old age pension legislation before the State Legislature at a conference to be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Friday evening, March 7. Four days later, on March 11, the hearing on old age pension legislation will take place.

The conference, called by the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party in conjunction with its Committee on Labor, will have an analysis of the provisions of the bill, which even Governor Roosevelt has characterized as inadequate, presented to it by a number of Socialists and trade unionists.

Suggestions that several objectionable provisions in the bill as drafted by Senator Maslick, chairman of the Legislature's Committee to Investigate Old Age Pensions be removed before the bill receives the support of organized labor and other primarily interested in its enactment will be submitted to the conference. If the suggestions are adopted, delegates named at the conference to appear at the hearing on March 11 will present these suggestions as the recommendations of the conference.

In the meantime, the views on old age pensions as well as on other phases of social insurance of those who disagree as to how far progressives can go in support of measures which do not fully meet their wishes will be presented and their differences thrashed out at a series of four sessions of the Institute on Social Insurance, to be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday and Sunday, March 1 and 2, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The Institute is being arranged under the joint auspices of the Rand School and the city committee of the Socialist Party.

The opening session, on Saturday, at 2 o'clock, of which B. Charney Viadeck will be the chairman, will be devoted to various phases of the unemployment problems, and the remedial steps that can be taken to relieve distress caused by it.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler will discuss "State Insurance Against Unemployment." Abraham Beckerman "Union Insurance Against Unemployment" with particular reference to what the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have done, and Henry Rosner, who has just completed a study of employment exchanges for the Municipal Research Committee of the Socialist Party, will discuss "Employment Exchanges."

The session will be followed by a discussion, the second session to be presided over by Charles Solomon, Socialist candidate for Controller in the last election.

On Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, the conflicting views on old age pensions will have an opportunity to find expression. Dr. Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, and regarded as one of the leading authorities on the subject in the United States, will lead off the discussion with a talk on "Problems of Old Age Security." He will be followed by Louis Waldman, author of a social insurance measure when he was a member of the State Legislature, who will discuss "Adequate Old Age Pension Plans." The present bill before the State Legislature will be taken up. Algernon Lee will preside at this session.

The fourth and concluding session, on Sunday, at 4 o'clock, will take up health and maternity insurance. Dr. Eveline Burns, an authority on health insurance, will take that question, and Leif Magnusson, American representative of the International Labor Office, will speak on "Social Insurance Abroad."

Admission to all sessions will be by ticket. Tickets, which are free, can be obtained at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

As for those progressive men and women, Socialist and non-Socialist, outside of New York State: The demand for old age pensions has cut across state lines. It is heard in all states. Yet the very danger that exists in New York State, the danger of allying and stilling an aroused public demand for a vital reform by the passage of meaningless variations of existing charity relief measures, will confront every state in the union. A recent survey by the U. S. Department of Labor of the old-age pension bills in operation in six states indicates that but 1,003 persons are receiving pensions! Old-age pension legislation of this type is of questionable value. The national Socialist Party and its affiliated state organizations call for the aid of the progressive men and women of the nation in a campaign for old-age pension laws in fact as well as in name.

2,500 New Members Joined Socialists During January

Secretary Senior Reports Phenomenal Gains Made All Over the Country — N. Y. C. Speeding Up

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—The first month of the national drive for an increased Socialist membership comes to a close with 2,500 members added to the rolls. Something less than one-half of that number has come from New York City, which began the drive earlier. The goal in the nation is 30,000 new members, in New York City 10,000 new members.

Next to New York, Pennsylvania has been the first of the state organizations to make arrangements for an intensive drive. The machinery for the drive has been established, and work will be gotten under way beginning next week.

"If we continue the present pace, our goal will be reached," Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, declares. Marx Lewis, who has been named by the national executive committee to assist Senior in getting the drive under way, declares that the rate of speed will increase as more state organizations rally to the support of the drive. The plans for the western tour of the members of the national executive committee provide for a membership drive wherever meetings are held.

New members are coming not only from organized territory, but from cities and towns where the Socialist Party never had an organization.

New Yorkers Filling Quotas
In New York City, party members are continuing to furnish their quota of five members each, in order to reach the goal of 10,000 by May Day. Names of those who have already furnished their quota will be published in The New Leader in the near future.

At meetings held during the past week, addressed by Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens and others about fifty members were added to the membership rolls. In several cases, the application cards were placed in the hands of all those present, when it seemed that better results could be achieved in that way than by insisting that prospects sign up immediately. The total number for the week will probably exceed 100 when all the returns are in.

One of the meetings was held in what for years has been regarded as territory extremely difficult to cultivate. The meeting was held at the 210 West 91st street, on Tuesday evening, February 25, with Judge Panken and August Claessens as the speakers. There were more than 50 enrolled Socialist voters present, and when the meeting was over 10 of them had signed up, and others indicated that they would within the next few days.

A canvassing committee is at work enrolling new members in the territory in which the meeting was held.

Karl in to Speak
In Workmen's Circle branches, the favorable results which have characterized the drive from the beginning continue. August Claessens addressed four meetings of Workmen's Circle branches during the past week, and is scheduled to address several others before the week is over.

On Friday evening, February 28, William Karl in will be the speaker at a meeting of Branch 24, Workmen's Circle, at 1581 Washington avenue, Bronx. On the same evening, Claessens will address a meeting of Branch 501, at the Laurel Gardens, 79 East 116th street. Another meeting will be held by Branch 83, at the Fordway Building, 175 East Broadway.

The fourth meeting on Friday evening will be a general membership drive meeting at 482 Sutter avenue, Brooklyn, arranged by the Jewish Socialist Verband. James O'Neal, a member of the na-

tional executive committee, will be one of the speakers.

On Sunday morning, March 2, at 11 o'clock, the Verband will hold another meeting in the East New York section of Brooklyn, at 218 Van Sicken avenue, with James O'Neal and others as the speakers.

At a meeting of the city executive committee of the Socialist Party it was decided to provide Lewis with additional assistance in order to arrange for the numerous details in connection with the membership drive, especially in the getting out of the mailing to the enrolled Socialist voters.

Membership Drive Depends On Fund Plea

\$1,000 Given to N. Y. Party to Date — 300 Send-In Dollar Bills

OVER 17,000 enrolled Socialist voters, and as many more who have not enrolled as Socialists but are known to be inclined towards Socialism, will be reached with an appeal to join the Socialist party, if the voluntary offering every Socialist party member has been asked to make to make this appeal possible continues to grow during the coming week as it has in the past.

As the New Leader goes to press, about \$300 have come in on the \$1 or more, contribution which former Judge Jacob Panken, chairman of the Socialist party's Finance Committee, has personally written to every party member to make. That response came when only part of the mailing was out, and the steady stream of contributions should bring the total received for this particular purpose to \$1,000.

While many of the contributors send the \$1 named as the minimum which every party member ought to contribute in order to finance the mailing of about 35,000 letters, others adopt the suggestion made by Judge Panken that they contribute more than \$1 if they can. Twenty-five dollar contributions, \$10 and \$5 contributions are among the many \$1 contributions. A complete list of those who have contributed to this fund, which will not be used for any purpose other than the membership drive appeal, will be published in next week's issue of the New Leader.

As funds come in, letters to the enrolled Socialist voters and the others will go out. Every dollar will finance the mailing of at least thirty letters, and will in return result in several additional members.

The fund is separate from the regular sustaining fund, on which contributions are being solicited by Judge Panken to finance the regular party activities, including the Municipal Research Bureau, the setting up of county organizations in the various counties, and other activities by which the Socialist party expects to take advantage of the favorable opportunities which exist for the building up of the organization.

The sustaining fund for 1930 exceeds \$2,000, with only a handful contributing that amount for the year. If many who are not on the list at the present time would do as well as those who have made their pledges, the goal of a \$10,000 sustaining fund for the year, assuring the success of all features of party work, would be reached.

All contributions are to be mailed to Jacob Panken, 225 Broadway, New York City.

City to Supply Electricity
LAKE MILLS, Ia. (F. P.)—Municipal owned lighting and power will be the rule in Lake Mills with the expiration of the power trust franchise. Diesel engines will manufacture the juice. The vote for the power trust was 496 with only 23 votes hostile to the public ownership idea.

Socialists Attack N. Y. Election Law

One District Costs 70,000, Another 10,000 Votes—"P. R." Would Give Party Seven Aldermen, Gerber Shows

UNDER the present aldermanic district apportionment in New York City, some districts cast as high as 70,000 votes for alderman, while other districts cast less than 10,000 votes, making the vote for alderman count for seven times as much in some cases as in others, according to a tabulation just compiled by the Socialist party and submitted to the New York Senate Committee on the Judiciary by Julius Gerber, who went to Albany on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist party this week to appeal for a favorable report on the Hofstadter proportional representation bill.

These figures show, the Socialists declare, that New York City Republicans are deprived of twelve members of the Board of Aldermen, the Socialists of seven, while the Democrats have twenty-two aldermen more than their vote for Mayor at the last election indicated their strength in the city to be. Over 200,000 voters who had registered for the elections failed to vote for the aldermanic candidates, due to the fact, the Socialists stated, to a realization that in districts overwhelmingly Democratic their vote could not affect the result.

Of the number of voters registered for the last municipal election, 1,464,689 voted for the Mayorality candidates. Over 88,000 failed to vote. Taking the number of actual votes cast for Mayor, and dividing it by the number of aldermen to be elected, 25,533 votes would be sufficient, under a system of proportional representation, to elect an alderman.

Straight Vote Considered
The Democrats would be entitled to 38 aldermen, instead of the 61 they elected, the Republicans would be entitled to 16 aldermen instead of the 4 they elected, and the Socialists would be entitled to 7 aldermen instead of none. The use of the fractions would complete the 65 aldermen for the city.

If, instead of the majority vote, the vote for members of the Board of Aldermen were taken as the basis for determination, the Democrats, who received 842,586 votes, would have been entitled to 40 aldermen, instead of the 61 they elected, the Republicans, who received 428,720 votes, would have been entitled to 20 aldermen instead of the 4 they elected, while the Socialists, who received 78,092 votes, would have elected 3 aldermen instead of none.

Taking the aldermanic vote by counties, the following changes would have resulted if representation were based on the proportion of the votes cast for each party:

Manhattan
Total vote cast 345,264; divided by 24, 14,386 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 223,668; entitled to 15; elect 20 Republicans, 107,941; entitled to 7; elect 4 Socialists, 16,595; entitled to 1; elect 0

Brooklyn
Total vote cast 327,671; divided by 24, 13,653 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 183,898; entitled to 15; elect 8 Republicans, 151,438; entitled to 7; elect 0 Socialists, 32,335; entitled to 1; elect 0

Queens
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 6, 7,198 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 146,734; entitled to 3; elect 6 Republicans, 151,438; entitled to 7; elect 0 Socialists, 32,335; entitled to 1; elect 0

Richmond
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Westchester
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Putnam
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Rockland
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Orange
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Sullivan
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Ulster
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Warren
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Columbia
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Delaware
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Montgomery
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Prince Georges
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Stafford
Total vote cast 43,190; divided by 3, 14,398 sufficient to elect 1 Democrat, 28,487; entitled to 2; elect 2 Republicans, 16,637; entitled to 1; elect 0 Socialists, 970; entitled to 0; elect 0

Warwick
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Nicaraguan Laborite's Son Jailed by Marines For Father's Activities

Farcial Trial of Larios, Jr., for Death of Marine Officer Fails to Convict Him — Vindictiveness Brings Young Man Four Year Sentence

(This is the third of a series of articles dealing with conditions in Nicaragua today)

TO be specific about the strange things that are happening in Nicaragua under Marine rule, the LARIOS case is of special interest.

Fernando Larios is a Nicaraguan citizen of advanced age, a graduate of French Universities, who has successfully practiced his profession of civil engineering.

In the course of the last twenty or thirty years a great many of the poor people of Nicaragua who hold land inherited from their fathers from time immemorial, have had difficulties regarding registered titles. Lacking that requisite they have become easy prey for land-grabbers.

As a surveyor, who has made a special study of communal lands allotted to the natives since colonial times, Larios has become prominent in defending these poor peasants, and it was natural that when the Labor movement was organized in Nicaragua, he should be one of its prominent leaders. Again, it was natural that in the efforts of the Labor movement in Nicaragua to maintain municipal public services such as water supply, electric light, etc., owned by the municipalities, he should have much counsel to give. As an engineer he was eminently qualified for this.

Larios was in the way, and so, when in the autumn of last year, the transfer of the municipally-owned public services was to be made by the marine-controlled Executive of Nicaragua to certain American interests that were acting through W. B. Fosby & Co. of Minneapolis, Minn., Larios and a score of other Labor leaders, including Salomon de la Selva and Tranquilino Saenz, who had represented the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor in conferences of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, in Washington, D. C., were made the objects of clap-net charges, and captured and imprisoned by U. S. Marines.

After many days in jail, without having their case taken before any proper authority, or indeed before any authority of any kind, U. S. Marines exiled some of these prisoners, while others were left to take further punishment in jail. Larios was one of those exiled. He was deported on Oct. 5th, 1929, aboard the steamer Colombia of the Panama Mail Steamship Co., together with seven other Nicaraguans. Larios, after many tribulations, found refuge in Honduras.

Now, a man with Larios' ideas, devoted to the service of the underdog, had found work aplenty in Nicaragua, but his income was greatly reduced. He therefore permitted his son, Fernando Larios, Jr., to join the Guardia Nacional.

Larios Jr. could have become a school teacher, but a school teacher's salary of only \$12.00 a month, then frequently not paid at all, could not help the family budget very much. The Guardia Nacional offered greater inducements: maintenance, \$30.00 a month, and prompt payment.

Guardians in a Mutiny
On November 26th, the day his father was being arrested, Larios Jr., at the time stationed at Telapane, in northern Nicaragua, serving under the command of Sergeant Troglor of the U. S. M. C., was retired from Guardia service, to join the Guardia Nacional.

Telapane is a small tropical town on the jungle border. Newspapers do not get there. There is no postal service connecting it with the rest of the country. Moreover, it is in a zone under martial law since 1927 when Colonel Henry L. Stimson "pacified" Nicaragua. Larios Jr. at the time knew nothing of what had happened to his father. He left Telapane, which is a front line outpost in the Stimson war of pacification; and went to Ocotol where, it will be recalled, following the Stimson "peace," Colonel Stimson himself reported the massacre of hundreds of Nicaraguans by American war airplanes on July 17th, 1927.

But on the very night of Oct. 5th, by coincidence, at the very time the elder Larios was being deported, Sergeant Troglor's company mutinied. The poor marine was slain. The men he had commanded fled, some to join the Sandino armies of the jungle, some to take refuge in Honduras where, to the great joy of Latin Americans, the government let them escape "to parts unknown" rather than give them up to the marine authorities of Nicaragua.

This incident in itself is of high significance. Accused of murder, the men who had gone into Honduras were claimed by the Nicaraguan authorities. The Honduras authorities proceeded to capture and hold them. The legal difficulties involved were smoothed out. The Honduras Supreme Court rendered a decision that their extradition was not improper. But public opinion was incensed in Honduras, and from many parts of Latin America the Honduras government was told in many that to kill marines in Nicaragua could not be a crime but was a duty.

The "Jail-Break" in Honduras
As an example of the appeals made to President Mejia Colindres, Mrs. Elena Arizmendi, Secretary

Pension Bills Face Hard Row In the House

McGrady, For A. F. of L., Makes Vigorous Plea for Legislation — Mfrs. Call it Socialism

WASHINGTON, (F. P.). — Noel Sargent, of the National Association of Manufacturers, has made public his half-delivered argument before the House Labor Committee in opposition to any federal legislation to provide security of livelihood for aged workers. Sargent argued that Congress has no power to deal with old age pensions.

"Socialists wish to make the state supreme in all economic matters, and the individual completely reliant upon the state for his support and ultimate control of his economic life," argued Sargent. "The people will no longer be master of the government; the government will be master of the people."

"Socialists therefore favor every measure, such as unemployment insurance and old age pensions, which increases the individual's reliance upon the state, even though such measures may not in themselves interfere with private ownership and control of productive industry. But Socialists know that such public social service measures increase the burden upon industry; they reduce through taxation the amount of capital available for industry; they apparently relieve indigence, but restrict funds available to provide employment."

Sargent Answered
This argument was fully answered by Reps. Wingo and Swing, among others, and by Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and by Rabbi Edward Israel and by Harry W. Laidler, Edward McGrady and Abraham Epstein, before Sargent offered it.

Sen. Dill of Washington and Rep. Fish of New York, opened the discussion. Both urged old age pensions. Frank Herring, speaking for the fraternal order of Eagles declared that the three chief fears in the heart of the working man are sickness, unemployment and dependent old age. Of these, the worst fear is that of old age.

John B. Andrews, secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, argued that old age pensions are a necessary sequel to workmen's compensation. Dr. Laidler, on behalf of the Socialist Party, followed. Edward P. McGrady, of the American Federation of Labor, advocated federal sharing, dollar for dollar, the state appropriations for old age pensioning of the workers.

McGrady Speaks
McGrady said in part: "The press, the pulpit and moralists have been demanding that industry cease this practice of scraping the workers at 45 to 50 years of age; that industrialists should find places for these workers who are actually in the prime of life. But these good people might as well plead to the moon for all the response they have gotten or will get."

"It is this practice that makes it impossible for workers to save anything for their old age. So the A. F. of L. asks the Congress of the United States, the people's parliament, to enact legislation giving to our superannuated working men and women an adequate pension so that these people who by their toil and skill helped to make this the most prosperous nation that the world has ever dreamed of, may be relieved of the dread of poverty, degradation, of dependency, of hunger, and of taking that heart-breaking, soul-searing march over the hills to the poorhouse."

Vice-Presidents Lovell of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Clark of the order of Railway Conductors and Dock of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, appeared in support of immediate federal and state co-operation in pensioning the aged workers.

Dr. John A. Ryan of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference spoke for Old Age Security—adequate pensions for all the dependent aged at and after 65 years, the cost to be shared by the federal and state governments on the constitutional basis established in Supreme Court decisions for the Infancy and Maternity Act.

Fat Politicians Oppose
Chairman Snell of the House Rules Committee, with Majority Leader Tilton and Speaker Longworth—all in close touch with President Hoover and the Republican National Committee—are looked upon by the members of the House Labor Committee as the chief obstacle to action in this session of Congress on old age pension legislation. Without the consent of this triumvirate in the House, no resolution or bill which may advance the fight for payment of federal-state old age pensions can be brought to a vote on the floor of the House.

Realizing the danger from this reactionary and autocratic trio, members of the committee on labor are discussing the creation of a sub-committee within their own committee, to be instructed to draft and report an old age pension plan during the present session.

Hoover Economy Plea Made To Offset Move For Social Legislation

President Aiming at Demands for Old Age Pensions and Other Reforms, Is Washington Interpretation

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON, (F. P.). — "Hoover publicity was 'going bad.'" From the American Federation of Labor, which was denouncing the shameful violations, by pro-administration employers, of the Hoover wage freeze, to the Senate lobby probe committee which was digging up evidence of Hoover's intrigues against government operation of Muscle Shoals, the press was carrying a growing stream of criticism to the voters. One moment it was the disclosure that Hoover's hand-picked national chairman, Claudius Huston, was a waterpower lobbyist and chairman combined, with a reputation as a poker player for good measure. Next moment it was the scandal of non-enforcement of prohibition which Senator Norris threatened to "blow wide open."

Something had to be done. Hoover—whom the amiable Jim Watson of Indiana now calls "One Term Herb"—thought hard. Then he told the newspaper men that the country faced an emergency: Congress was trying to spend \$1,735,000,000 more than the federal budget called for. Ruin stared the treasury in the face unless the spendthrift Congress should be curbed. And by Congress he meant the Senate, which had just spoken its mind concerning his power trust sponsorship and his selection of Hughes to return to the Supreme Court.

Senateirate, Hoover Backs Down
But luck was not with the corner-dodging Hoover this time. Next day Senator Glass, former secretary of the treasury and author of the Federal Reserve Act, arose and took every bit of Hoover's hide off in a speech which flayed the White House statement. Glass called it "an utterly tawdry exhibition" on Hoover's part, and said "nothing more shameful has ever emanated from the White House within my 30 years of service in Congress."

Borah, always ready to show his poor opinion of the power trust man at the head of the administration, remarked that he and his Foreign Relations committee would start the economy program by dealing with two measures now pending before them, endorsed by the administration. For an hour said a half the Senate discussed the falsehoods implied in Hoover's publicity drive, showing that all of the proposed expenditures on roads, bridges, pensions, etc., had been proposed for years past, and were known when Hoover last fall urged a reduction in taxes. Besides, they would not be enacted.

Then, to bring the whole episode to anti-climax, there arrived at the Capitol a new statement from Hoover, saying that Congress was not at fault—it was just the people who were greedy for federal appropriations! But there is a sinister meaning behind this Hoover outburst. It is

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an attempt to cloak with civic virtue his doctrine—voiced by Postmaster General Brown—that when a long waiting-line of applicants for jobs can be seen, the government must not shorten the hours or raise the pay of postoffice employees. It is a warning that he will fight old age pension legislation, and more generous appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau, and adequate funds for a new Federal Power Commission which will cut down the swollen profits of his power trust associates.

To the astonishment of Washington correspondents of the press, Hoover has not moved toward dismissal of Claudius Huston, lobbyist, from his post as Republican national chairman. Nor has he moved toward forcing the resignation of F. E. Bonner, executive secretary of the Federal Power Commission. He has not breathed a word of apology to the country for his ridicule of public operation of power plants, since Chester Gray, posing as legislative agent for the American Farm Bureau Federation, has confessed his secret role as Washington political lobbyist for the foes of government operation of the government's great power plant at the Shoals, in league with Huston and Hoover.

Luncheon to Discuss Telephone Co. Mar. 8; WEAF to Broadcast

"The Telephone—Servant of the People," this will be the subject of the season's eighth Saturday luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy. The speakers are to be W. J. O'Connor, assistant vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Edward D. Bierzetz, International vice-president of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Donald Richberg, attorney for Railway Brotherhood; general counsel for the National Conference on Valuation of Railroads, and McAlister Coleman, writer. The discussion will be held at the Hotel Woodstock, March 8th, 1930, at 12:45 p. m., 127 West 43rd street, New York City. This luncheon will be broadcast over Station WEAF at 1:45 p. m., Eastern Standard Time.

Heywood Brown to Write For Milwaukee Leader

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Milwaukee, Wis. — The Milwaukee Leader, the only English Labor and Socialist daily published in this country, has announced that it has acquired the rights to a column by Heywood Brown which will be featured in each issue. The Leader will be the only Milwaukee daily that carries this feature.

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HOOVERIZING THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

By H. Kendall

"ONLY a white woman could cross that burning sand and get relief." In "The Rescue," one sees Lily Damita brandishing a torch and staggering gallantly, with chest thrust forward and determined men, to inspire the man she loves to greater effort. Coming out of the theater one is confronted with a bill-board "still" of a buxom lassie, more fully clothed than Miss Damita, yet wearing the same determined expression and carrying a similar torch, with the more worthy object of inspiring the nation to buck up and go to work!

Indeed this was the note on which Mr. Hoover ended his speech after calling on the Leaders of the Nation to "spur business."

Reading the newspapers one gets the notion that the Wall Street collapse was something we should all be thankful for. "Only paper profits were wiped out." "Let's forget the speculative side and go to work," etc. Also, the same old cries that the late Dr. Wilson made popular, again assail the ears: "This is all psychological," coupled with the old rabbinical slogan: "It won't be long now!"

To bolster up this psychological spirit the bill-boards are covered with cheerful slogans: "Forward America." "Business Is Good!" Intended to get the mature mind to return to a state of infantilism and rejoice with the Hatter in the Mad Tea-Party for being relieved of responsibility in ownership:

Tinkle, tinkle, little stock!
You have got your drop-out knock!

Back to Wall Street you are flown,
Which makes me think you were a loan.

And yet, with all this cheering overhead men are looking furtively

into garbage-cans, and begging pedestrians for a "cupacoffey,"—already!

Prize-fighters, seriously hurt in a mix-up, are warned to look as menacingly as possible in order to cover up a weakness until the bell rings and they can get a respite. This is a defence-reaction similar to the one used by the Player-Queen when she rhapsodized by saying: "The lady doth protest too much, methinks." Lots of people are beginning to think the same about the reactions of Big Business to the stock-market collapse.

It was common talk when Mr. A. I. Smith was beaten at the polls that "Anyways, they wouldn't be able to blame him for the panic." While this was a form of consolation the point to note is, people knew this crash was coming; although it was not expected quite so early. How did they know?

Well, it has been bruited around for over fifty years that trade runs in ten-year cycles. Since the war terminated so favorably to us there was a rapid expansion of increased real incomes, which, of course, increased consumption, especially through high-pressure salesmanship and installment-buying. Mass production means an enormous yearly output of commodities that must be disposed of to someone, and as these are produced for sale, that is, exchanged for money,—and not primarily for use,—if production is to continue running smoothly the Ultimate Consumer must be furnished the wherewithal.

But even if the policy of some

of the "new" school of economics were followed, and consumers' incomes increased pari passu with the galloping machine (vide Foster and Catchings), there eventually comes a time when no more

Screech's Radios, Rustem's Autos, Heinz' Bedella Peas, (in little cans) Slush-lux, for that skin you love to pinch, B.V.D.'s and E.Z.T.P.'s, can be used, and then we get slogans as this, from the "goget-terdamerung" with the star-spangled manner! "A two-car nation." "Every worker with two autos," (and we must suppose, ten radios, and forty pairs of shoes.)

Another school thinks we can dump the surplus in Europe—"sell it for what it'll bring,"—which is, perhaps, the reason for the high tariff that compels us to pay fancy prices so that the excess can be shot into the foreign market at lower prices than those of other enterprises. But these countries want none of it because they have no surplus we can use, in any quantity; besides, they sweeten their breaths with good, honest ale and need no gum to wriggle their jaws, nor Candy Mint with the Hole.

Before prostrating ourselves before this "High-Wages—High-Consumption Theory," which is supposed to be the road to Paradise, it will be well to glance at a few figures, and ask a few questions. Are wages higher,—have the majority been given a larger portion of the increase of the machine-process—or has this increased portion gone over to R.I.P. (Rent, Interest, Profit)? If the former is the case the majority will buy the standardized products that the Frankenstein grinds out,

while if the latter is true this minority will purchase hand-made goods, chiefly of the arts and crafts kind.

Well, in 1925, the factory wages were about 40 per cent. of the total value of all manufactured articles which, according to the American Labor Book, is the lowest percentage received by the workers in any year since '99. As for the farmer, it has been estimated that in the last five years his return on capital has sunk to less than 2 per cent., while he and his family have had to subsist on \$170 a year, plus food, fuel and shelter. Indeed, a Senate committee reported in 1927: "The percentage of the national income received by agriculture had declined from 13.8 per cent. in 1920, to 7.5 per cent. in 1926.55. This statement can only mean that 27 per cent. of the population got but 7.5 per cent. of the national income."

And yet, the best prescription the doctor can offer as a cure for crises is more work! Incidentally, no one seems to have noticed that the Industrial Barons entirely ignored the political faction called Congress! Economic power precludes political power—at least 'tis so in Denmark.

Doctors of the body politico-economic have been poking into this subject of business crises for many years, and, while almost all are satisfied that these take place cyclically, they disagree as to the cause. A book issued by the National Bureau of Economic Research, '27, mentions 67 prominent

professors, from Sismondi in 1803 to Prof. Mitchell in 1927, who have written learnedly on this subject. In a footnote the latter says: "... care has been taken to economize the reader's effort. In place of ten types of theories in some twenty variant forms, twice or five times that number might have been put forward as having claims on his attention..." the list above is a most exclusive list, etc."

According to this book of the Economic Bureau, Sismondi seems to have stated the reason for crises with the usual French clarity, (Mitchell needs another volume to spread it out). Sismondi says: "The fundamental cause of crises is inequality in the distribution of incomes. It is a serious error into which most of the modern economists have fallen to represent consumption as a power without limits, always ready to devour an infinite output..." The needs of the laboring man are narrowly limited of necessity. And what is this necessity today? Figures tell us that the average value per worker in sixteen general groups of American industries in '23 was \$6898 and the average wage paid was \$1,231 and this disparity between value produced by machinery and labor, and wages paid out to labor, is much greater now because of better organization and integration of industrial processes in the intervening years.

But of all the weird stories coming from the 67 varieties of economists in this book, and which many of them still twang a lyre for, that of Stanley Jevons was the

most fashionable up to recent years. It furnished the teachers in universities with something to bewilder their pupils and thus keep them from getting at the REAL reason for cyclical crises. Jevons' theory was that every ten years spots cross the sun and cause digressions in the weather which eventually means poor crops, and hence, poor times. Incidentally, the same luminary furnished the Shavian school with the theory of "Final Utility," which has been well called: "Final Futility." As an example of how professors rationalize, i.e., kid themselves, Wesley Mitchell points out that Jevons "had an admirably candid mind; yet in 1875, when the sun-spot cycle was supposed to last 11.1 years, he was able to get from Thorold Rogers' 'History of Prices in England' a period of 11 years in price fluctuations, and when the sun-spot cycle was revised to 10.45 years he was able to make the average interval between English crises 10.466 years. To get this later result Jevons purposely left out from his list of crises 'a great commercial collapse in 1810-11 (which will not fit into the decennial series)'; he also omitted the crisis of 1873, and inserted a crisis in 1878, which other writers do not find." (my bold).

The strange thing is, that these crises appear when the warehouses are glutted with goods; the workers have produced too many commodities and cannot buy them back with the insufficient wage given them (vide Foster and Catchings), and so each year these 'goods,' which ought to be re-

named "bads," continue to increase until the machinery badly needs a contraceptive; "abundance becomes the source of distress and want!"

Year after year commodities pile up in the warehouses until one day a bright and happy go-getter is told by his customers that wants are supplied for months ahead; he reports back; the insiders begin to unload stock while the price is good—the stock of their own firms,—brokers wiggle their ears and sell the stocks they hold for clients; prices drop slightly; statistical economists begin to sound warning notes to the gulls; one who has intimate contact with the Leaders, and has access to certain reports others are not allowed to see, spills the gravy by declaring publicly that: "the market is due for a 20 per cent. drop which will cause a greater crash than the Florida land boom!" This stimulates other rival prognosticators, fishing in the same pond, to brush up their whiskers and loudly assert in opposition that: the market will not drop, but if it does it will be sideways,—like a crab.

Then comes the big flop, and, in the words of Professor Cantor: "you're caught short." "Hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed..." the stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a can-

ter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steepchase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again."

It has always been a platitude for economists to say that the stock-market is the barometer of industrial conditions in this country. And when prices have dropped we have been greeted with the same old cries from the "Captains of Industry" and the Politicians. As Hardy and Cox say: "Leaders in business, Bankers and Industrial Leaders always express great optimism as to the fundamental soundness of business conditions, (during a panic) yet a general spirit of pessimism prevails." (Business Forecasts '26). And never a day has passed since the October crash but someone in authority has filled a newspaper column about how splendidly everything is going along, and how happy we should all be that we are now living in an Age of Reactivity, which makes the struggle for existence end, not in the survival of the Fittest, but the Survival of The Most Impudent!

For fear the above should be construed as: "Just propaganda against the administration in power," a quotation from a conservative business journal might help to allay this suspicion. In the Analyst, Friday, Dec. 13, Mr. B. Baker sums up his column as follows: "Surveying the whole field of business, the realistic observer is forced to be not a little skeptical of the ultimate value of the Washington propaganda of 'Cheerio.' It is a good thing for the leaders of business to consult, and to try to work out a practical stabilizing program; but to ignore facts is to court defeat."

Loose Central Authority Restrains A.F.L. Leadership, Matthew Woll Declares

Labor Leader Sees Progress in Social Responsibility of Private Property—Views Criticized at Forum

THE Labor Institute of the N. Y. Socialist Party held its first session with Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, as the first speaker. His address in the main was a defense and explanation of A. F. of L. policies. Mr. Woll's positive contribution to the discussion came when he described the policy of the A. F. of L. as one which sought the extension of the social responsibility of private property, changing the present social order.

Abraham I. Shipiloff, head of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, presided. He said what was needed most in the labor movement was to break the cobwebs of misunderstanding which exist between the Socialists and the American Federation of Labor. This the Labor Institute would strive to do.

Advised Against Talking
Mr. Woll, opening his address, said there was apprehension in both Socialist and A. F. of L. circles over the unusual circumstance of his addressing a meeting under Socialist auspices. While some Socialists opposed his speaking, some labor leaders had urged him not to speak. A third group was under the impression that the meeting was intended as a rapprochement between himself and the Socialists. Dismissing all three interpretations Mr. Woll understood the purpose of the institute was to create better understanding between Socialists and trade unionists. The goal of Socialists and the A. F. of L. on the economic field is the same, he said, and understanding should be easy to achieve.

The A. F. of L., said Mr. Woll, is a loose federation, with the central organization exercising no power to enforce decisions on its constituent unions. Strike powers are vested primarily in local unions, rather than in the International. For these reasons the A. F. of L. often cannot do as much as its leaders would like to do.

The A. F. of L. philosophy is based on the point of view of producers, rather than of consumers. Also, the A. F. of L. is economically-minded rather than politically minded. There are too many divisions of governmental functions, such as the division of the country into 48 states, to make political action effective. The labor movement had found, Mr. Woll declared, that when it stressed political action over economic action unfriendly legislation would often nullify the gains made. On the other hand, if the economic power of labor was strong, labor could more often enforce its demands.

The A. F. of L. Program

ety, the A. F. of L. is attempting to achieve two material things: to increase labor's income and, second, to win more leisure for the workers. A third function of the labor movement, he said, is to maintain operation of industry by skilled workers to the exclusion of the non-skilled so that the labor markets in the respective industries might not be so overcrowded as to endanger labor standards.

Starting from these material demands, the A. F. of L. seeks to raise the cultural level of the workers, Mr. Woll declared. It seeks the socialization of education so that all workers' children may enjoy to the fullest a system of free education. The A. F. of L. has also sought to establish the social responsibility of private property. It has also interested itself in legislative matters. To give the unions an opportunity to function freely, the A. F. of L. has striven to abolish injunctions by legislative action. Digressing a moment to enlarge his views on injunctions, Mr. Woll said the courts had not arrogated to themselves the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes. This right has been given the courts by the legislatures of the nation. Such action by the legislatures is in violation of the letter and spirit of the federal Constitution, he said. In the legislative field, the A. F. of L. also seeks affirmative legislation such as old age pensions, the eight hour day for women and the limitation of child labor.

Discusses Labor Party
Mr. Woll then turned to the Labor Party question. Since power and discipline reside in the international unions and not in the A. F. of L., each national or international union must determine its qualifications for membership. Members are taken in without regard to political views or affiliations. The unions could not if they wanted to organize on a political basis since not a single union has made political views a qualification of membership. The A. F. of L. could not enforce a decision to organize a Labor Party and therefore has taken the course, in political matters, of rewarding friends and punishing enemies. A Labor Party must come from the rank and file and not from the leaders. The A. F. of L. has never attempted to discipline its members who differed from its on matters of policy and will not do so to organize a Labor Party. Mr. Woll added that not even those trade unions which support the Socialist Party discipline their members who are not Socialists.

Concluding Mr. Woll said the A. F. of L. was not committed to any ultimate goal or philosophy. It sees a greater social consciousness and responsibility of private property without disturbing the present social order.

The discussion which followed was with the exception of a few preliminary remarks by one speaker critical of Mr. Woll's views.

James O'Neal led the discussion for the Socialist Party. He said that the speaker had confined himself mainly to the elementary aspects of trade unionism. Mr. O'Neal wanted to raise some important issues. He cited the fact that only 3.5 per cent. of the population and 15 per cent. of the salaried and wage workers were organized. This placed American trade unionism

in the rear of every modern nation and even behind peasant nations like Poland and Spain. He declared that this poor showing indicates that there is something fundamentally wrong in organization and policies.

Criticizes Basic Philosophy
One reason for this poor showing, said Mr. O'Neal, is that the old unionism does not fit into modern mass production. Then it has brought jurisdiction was between unions. The United States is the only country in the world where there are union strikes against unions and these grow out of the senseless jurisdiction wars. To show what happens to the old unionism when it faces mass production he mentioned the destruction of the Window Glass Workers, the near destruction of the Cigarmakers and of the Iron and Steel workers. They had tried to retain the old trade and craft forms within the new industry but had failed.

Moreover, official trade union policies were being justified by an archaic individualist philosophy. O'Neal said that Woll before the Carmens' union convention last year had said that he wished that Adam Smith's philosophy could be perpetuated but in an article in "Nation's Business" last year Woll had said that Smith's philosophy must be abandoned. These contradictions, said O'Neal, are evidence of the intellectual chaos among labor men. Smith's philosophy, said the speaker, had justified the slave trade, it represented the early factory owners and the justified the anti-combination laws. (Woll later said that his speech to the Carmens had been misquoted).

On the other hand Mr. Woll in "Nation's Business" had emphasized his opposition to Marxian Socialism and then in considering the concentration of capital had become more Marxian than Marx. Mr. Woll predicted the complete extinction of the merchant, shopkeeper, small manufacturing and salesmen classes which exceeded the concentration views of those who speak in terms of Marx. Again confusion of thought was evident.

In the magazine articles O'Neal said that Woll defended three fundamentals, 1. private property in our industries; 2. opposition to social legislation for the workers; 3. opposition to public ownership. And yet Mr. Woll was not certain of this program because of oligarchic tendencies displayed in the mass industries, their enforcement of "yellow dog" contracts, their support of company unionism, and the frequent employment of injunctions against trade unions.

Mr. Woll also fears the bureaucratic state with its increasing bureaus and commissions that interfere in industrial relations.

Mr. O'Neal recognized the oligarchic trends in industry and the tendency towards bureaucracy in government but his analysis and conclusions differed from Mr. Woll's. He said that Woll's fear of the bureaucratic state reminded him of William Ellery Channing's opposition to the extension of public education for workers beyond the public schools nearly a hundred years ago. He opposed this extension by citing the same fears of bureaucracy that Mr. Woll now represents.

Others Take Floor

While it is important to prevent the state from becoming an overlord, said O'Neal, we cannot realize this by maintaining a negative attitude. It is our duty to do our utmost to democratize the state so that the extension of its powers for social ends will not be bureaucratic. We cannot ignore the state and we can only democratize it by independent labor

Trade Union Membership Put at 4,331,251 Last Year

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Total membership of all trade unions in the United States in 1929 was 4,331,251, according to a summary published in the latest edition of the Handbook of American Trade Unions, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is somewhat less than the total for 1928. During these three years 10 national organizations, chiefly dual, have passed out of existence. American Federation of Labor unions report a gain of 126,430 over their 1926 total. The chief gains were reported in the construction and public service industries.

representation in all legislative bodies. The speaker urged labor to adopt a program of independent party organization and action to democratize the state, then socialize industry with the cooperation of trade unions and cooperative organizations.

One thing is sure, Mr. O'Neal concluded. Democracy has always come from below and we may expect industry to become oligarchic and the state bureaucratic unless the workers bring democracy into both state and industry.

Others who took part in the discussions were Leonard C. Kaye, of the printing pressman's union, who attacked Mr. Woll's views on a Labor Party and said the printers of the city were rapidly turning in favor of independent political action; Frank Crosswaith, who criticized the A. F. of L. policy toward the Negroes; Joseph Stein, George H. Goebel, William Karlin and others.

Replying to questions Mr. Woll deprecated the refusal of unions to recognize the inevitability of new and improved machinery and the new problems it creates for trade unionism. High dues and initiation fees, he said, was a policy decreed by individual unions and not by the A. F. of L. as a whole. Whether these unions which have high fees are justified, Mr. Woll said he did not know. On the subject of Negro organization, he said the A. F. of L. makes no distinction between races but seeks to include all workers. The Pullman Porters Union was granted a Federal charter because it is not sufficiently well organized. It is organization methods, Mr. Woll said, too many unions shout for outside aid in organizing.

Asked what the non-partisan political policy has accomplished in the direction of abolishing injunctions, Mr. Woll said the answer would entail "a long story." Labor thought it had won a great victory when it had secured the Clayton Act, but the courts have made the Clayton Act useless. If the Clayton Act had been enacted through the efforts of a Labor Party, the courts would not have acted differently, he argued.

One questioner asked why President Green had stated that the A. F. of L. was not in Marion, North Carolina, when the killing of six strikers took place when as a matter of fact, the strike then going on was under United Textile Workers' direction. Mr. Woll replied that while he was not responsible for President Green's utterances, he felt that if the usual A. F. of L. tactics had been employed instead of "the method of violence and disturbance" which was employed, the massacre might not have taken place.

On jurisdictional disputes, Mr.

Long Tour Is Arranged for Jessie Stephen

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO—The national lecture tour of Miss Jessie Stephen of the British Labor Party is being rapidly completed according to an announcement by Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party. Her tour includes the states of New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

March 3rd, Miss Stephen will lecture in Rochester, March 4th in Dayton, Ohio, and then will proceed to Illinois. In the latter state she will lecture from March 5th to and including March 11th. Conditions in many Illinois cities and towns and in the mining areas are favorable and it is expected that Miss Stephen will have splendid meetings in this state.

The lecture dates of Miss Stephen in Illinois have been announced by W. R. Snow, State Secretary of the party, who is in charge of arrangements. The dates are as follows: Collinsville, March 5th, 7:30 p.m. Miners Institute; Livingston, March 6th, 7 p.m. Miners Hall; Carlinville, March 7th, 7:30 p.m. Miners Hall; March 8th, Engagement to be filled; Gillespie, March 9th, 2:30 p.m.; Springfield, March 10th. Address to the national miners convention; Canton, March 11th.

From March 12th to March 19th Miss Stephen will lecture in Milwaukee and vicinity where her engagements are in charge of Al Benson. Dates from March 19th to March 23rd are to be filled.

On Sunday afternoon, March 23, Miss Stephen will lecture in Gary, Indiana, and in the evening will probably also speak in some town near Chicago. March 24th to the 26th are still open for engagements. Beginning March 26th Miss Stephen will fill a series of engagements in eastern Ohio that are being arranged by the Finnish Federation. These lectures include March 26th-29th.

From Ohio Miss Stephen goes to Pennsylvania where she will lecture from March 30th to and including April 6th. Her engagements in Western Pennsylvania are in charge of Sarah Limbach, the state secretary. Other lectures will be arranged in the eastern part of the state and probably in New England.

Applications for Miss Stephen's services may be made to Clarence Senior, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Union Health Center Achieves Legal Status

The trade union movement in general, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in particular, all have reason to be glad over the victory which has been achieved in the securing of a charter for the Union Health Center, thus giving it legitimate and legal status. To Mr. Ben. Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, belongs the credit for this achievement. Despite his ill health, his busy and long days, he still found time to put the finishing touches to a rather complicated, long, drawn-out attempt to secure a charter for this institution. But, Mr. Schlesinger, when he recognizes the justice of a demand

—be it a demand upon an employer or a government agency—will not give up until his efforts are rewarded by success. When all those who have been giving their time and thought to the task of securing a charter, felt a bit discouraged, Mr. Schlesinger stepped in and merely asked, "What do you mean you can't get a charter? We are entitled to it, are we not?" The answer to his question is a letter from the attorney to the effect that a charter has been granted to the Union Health Center.

The advantages of having a charter for an institution like the Union Health Center are many. No one need ask any longer as to whether or not we have a right to exist—since we exist only for the wage-earner. In the granting of the charter to the Health Center, owned and controlled by the trade unions of New York, the trade unions have been given the legal

right to run its own health institution—an achievement of which every friend of the Union Health Center will be proud of.

Abramovitch to Lecture in German Language

The internationally well known leader of the Russian Socialists, Raphael Abramovitch, will speak next Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at the Labor Temple, 343 E. 84th street, New York City, on the subject: "Where Does Stalin Lead Russia?" The speaker will consider the political and economic consequences of the present system in Russia.

The meeting is arranged by the German Branch of the Socialist Party and the speech will be delivered in German. All friends of Socialism are welcome.

A SOCIALIST STATESMAN

The Life and Work of

MEYER LONDON

By HARRY ROGOFF

THE STORY OF AN IMMIGRANT BOY Who Became — Not Rich — But the Idol of the Millions of Workers of New York's Famous East Side and the National Spokesman of American Socialism.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

SPRING FEVERS

JOHN DOS PASSOS is largely responsible for the eye-strain from which we are at present suffering. He has kept us up nights reading his latest book, "The 42nd Parallel." A lot of the type which Harper & Brothers used in printing this book is small. But we go right on reading it just the same. Because this happens to be the sort of thing that fascinates us.

It is a book that sweats and grunts and yells in a high staccato. And sometimes it growls like a bunch of miners sitting in a tobacco-hung hall listening to Big Bill Haywood give the bosses hell, and sometimes it sings like a girl walking through a soft spring morning under a clear, blue Midwest sky.

It is a stormy book and in our opinion, a damned important book, whether you may happen to like it or not. It may be that Dos Passos tries to bite off a bit too big a chew when he gives us these raw cross-sections of America through which workers and hoboes and go-getting women and hard-driven labor editors move and have their colorful beings. But the book is so much better than most of these finicky, little, cameo doo-dads that have been coming our way lately that we admire its very sprawliness.

Life in America from the 'Nineties up to the War did sprawl anyhow. It was unguided, a matter of drifting and indecision. Almost anything might have happened, including a revolution. The whole country was not so far then, nor so scared to death. Folks knew how to laugh and have a good time. Their humor was of the earth, earthly. Balloon tires were not then between them and the soil.

So! We are getting old and sighing for the good, old days when we, as a matter of fact, were no closer to the soil than the pavement of West Seventy-third street, New York.

No, not exactly. The old days were not uniformly good, not by a long shot as Mike Gold's brilliant, "Jews Without Money" will inform you. But they were not uniform, either and in that lies their charm.

The machines then had not swallowed up the individual. Everything, including opinions, did not come in a can. In the most remote of the small towns, character could emerge and a certain crude integrity, and THE BUSINESSMAN was not looked on as a god. Most of his customers knew him by his own name and called him by another.

Nor was there quite so much whining around about people's insides. To be sure, every now and then whole communities would get religion with a whoop. And the roaming evangelist was sure of a pop-eyed audience.

But on the whole, and I believe I could make this argument stand, the semi-pioneering days were less concerned with other people's morals than are our own times, in spite of all our boasted "new freedoms," etc.

Symposiums on divorce, "Whither Articles," (Whither Are We Drifting? Whither America? etc., What of the Younger Generation? pieces) were fewer than now.

Today the bad, naughty people amongst us, seem strangely self-conscious and go about their sinning with the air of missionaries, preaching their sacred faith.

About the drinking and chasing around of our middle-class, middle-aged reprobates there is a sophomoric quality, which lacks the headlong gusto of the old bar-room era. H. L. Mencken is most painful when he is boasting how tight he gets and is there anything more distressing than the kissing and telling of the ex-clergyman or the college professor on a spree?

Doesn't this indicate that morals, the most conventional morals, plague us more than they did our fathers? The serpent may be made to seem unreal by the siren songs of the modern psychologists, explaining that it is not really there but is just the effects of our glands or complexes or something; but it still coils, even in the paradise of dynamo and Ford cars.

And it is a preening, Narcissistic serpent at that.

But windy disquisitions on morals should not be permitted on a day such as lies outside the window of the office of "The New Leader" even as this is being written.

What we should be doing is rushing around in a leopard skin, leaping high into the vernal air, doing fancy dances with nymphs and Nereids, piping on an oar and thrumming a lyre.

The only trouble is, that we would certainly be pinched and would feel like an awful idiot in the clutch of a constable, with a big crowd trailing along behind wondering what we were advertising.

You see, we are self-conscious with our age. If Nereids and oars and lyres were the order of the day, we would be peeved if we were not in on the schmeer.

But as it is, even going without a hat requires a lot of moral courage on our part and besides we have a lovely new hat which it would be a shame to discard.

So instead of celebrating the Spring, (even if it be the false Spring of these early March days,) in any public fashion, we shall retire with the writings of Spring's truest and most authentic poet and console ourselves with reading the first chorus of "Atlanta in Calydon," even as we have done these many Springs ago.

Pretty soon we hope to be on our way to Springfield, Illinois, where a courageous attempt is being made on the part of the coal-diggers to throw off the fat boys in the United Mine Workers of America and build up a union again that will have in it some of the old-time militancy and spirit that once made the union the strongest in the country.

Best of luck to Oscar Ameringer, Adolph Gerner and John Brophy and the others, who are calling a national convention of the diggers.

McAlister Coleman.

A Trade Union Tragedy

The Labor Injunction

How the Courts Got the Power-Labor's Tactics

By James Oneal

AN old theory that has rendered yeoman service to Conservative American legalism is the alleged three-fold character of American government. It affirms that it is organized on the basis of three coordinate departments, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial. Each is confined to its own sphere and is restrained from encroaching upon the others. Then power is distributed through the 48 states and by a series of checks and balances supremacy by any one source of power is said to be impossible. John Quincy Adams enumerated eight balances and attempted to define the value of each.

The theory has been absurd from the beginning. When the framers of the Constitution vested the President with the ancient prerogative of the king's veto it made him a third legislature. In a series of essays in 1884 Woodrow Wilson wrote that in the exercise of his veto power "The President acts not as the executive but as a third branch of the legislature." As for the balance between the President and Congress, his veto counts for as much as two-thirds of the members of both houses. How is it possible to obtain a balance of three pounds on a scale by placing two on one side and one on the other? We leave that for legal obscurantists to answer.

When we turn to the judiciary the theory becomes even more absurd. We are not concerned with the dispute as to whether the Supreme Court is vested with the power to nullify legislation. Whether it has this power or has usurped it the fact remains that when it rips a law out of the statute books it performs a legislative act. It ventures outside the judicial sphere and the old theory of the balance of power is again upset. It even reads into legislation what its authors did not intend. In the development of the injunction process it too often becomes a robbed oligarchy that rules with an iron hand.

This latter power of the courts is the theme of a notable book by Felix Frankfurter of Harvard University and Nathan Green of the New York Bar (*The Labor Injunction*, New York: Macmillan \$5). It is a study that should be in the hands of lawyers, men and women active in the labor movement, and others interested in the legal status of organized workers before the courts. The doctrines of conspiracy and restraint of trade applied to collective action by labor go back to a bygone age, more than 200 years ago in England, in certain cases of workers that came before British courts. The earliest American case was that of the Philadelphia cordwainers in 1806 and not till the decision of Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts in 1840 did labor organization as such come to be a "conspiracy." However, Shaw "pierced to the second fighting issue," declare the authors, when he said, "The legality of such an association will therefore depend upon the means to be used for its accomplishment" of its aims.

The Debs case in 1894 was the first to bring the injunction to the fore as an issue of grave import to the organized workers. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law had been enacted in 1890. Its title, its wording, and statements made in Congress while the bill was under consideration indicate that it was

aimed at industrial combinations. The sentence of Debs to prison for six months, the court basing its authority to issue the injunction upon the Sherman Act, revealed the peril that faced every trade union in the United States. The Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court. Other decisions piled up and by the beginning of the present century the injunction asserted itself vigorously in the growing conflict of industrial forces.

The authors then take up the maze of issues involved in the use of this judicial weapon, tracing its evolution through court decisions, relating the practice to the social and economic backgrounds of industrial conflicts, the economic and political training of judges, their social philosophy, the changing character of industry and the precarious status of trade unions before the courts. The old common law, statute law, and equity procedure have their proper setting in this study in relation to the injunction and, with the thousands of citations that accompany the text, this phase of the work is of special value to the labor lawyer.

In considering the procedure and proof underlying injunctions the authors declare that "The equitable glosses have rewritten the American code of industrial conflict" and that modern issues "due to new complexities are smothered beneath the delusive simplicity of old terms." They add that the term "property" has been "the lattice-work upon which the labor injunction has climbed" and yet, despite this fact, "American labor leaders have come to believe that the tropical growth of the injunction may be pruned away by artificially confining the notion to property."

The evolution of procedure has brought an amazing injustice. Of 118 cases reported in the federal courts in the last 27 years, not less than seventy ex parte restraining orders were granted without notice to the defendants or opportunity to be heard. In but twelve of these instances, was the bill of complaint accompanied by supporting affidavits; in the remaining 96 cases, the court's interdiction issued upon the mere submission of a bill expressing conventional formulas, frequently even without verification.

A significant characteristic of the injunction is its increasing uniformity. One gets the impression that the judges have the weapon packed in special cartons ready to deliver upon request. Then "there is the professional affidavit-maker—the privately subsidized policeman, the private detective, the industrial spy—who have injunction forms to fill out regardless of the special character of each case. The authors declare that "Phrases, and sometimes whole paragraphs, are stereotyped and transferred verbatim from case to case, without considered application by the court to the peculiar facts of each controversy." It would seem that mass production has influenced the output of injunctions.

The individual contract based upon corporate coercion—the "yellow dog" contract—has also received the holy sanction of judges. We had always supposed that valid contractual relations were based upon the uncoerced meeting of the minds of equals but the "yellow dog" contract involves not only the element of coercion but it makes a farce of the contract between equals. The rapidly extending use of this device, declare the authors, "has grown into a serious threat to the very existence of labor unions."

In view of the inequitable conditions that surround the formation of such agreements and the unfair division of their obligation, to appeal to equity for their enforcement is to disregard the fundamentally ethical foundations of courts of chancery.

The vague terminology of injunctions are also a grievance against this legal weapon. One cannot avoid contrasting the meticulous care taken by lawyers to be precise in drawing up contracts and wills that bear some relation to property and the loose phraseology employed by judges in issuing injunctions. If contracts and wills were so vaguely drawn, it is certain that billions of dollars would be stakes in court litigation as compared with thousands now. The standardized vagueness of the labor injunction is as menacing as the positive prohibitions are too often unjust and tyrannical. In the case of vagueness the victim must guess what is in the mind of the judge and the latter himself may not know until an incident is called to his attention. Thus injunction law becomes a mysterious and vague thing residing in the deep recesses of the judge's mind. One could not ascertain what it is if he called in a surgeon to perform an operation on the learned man's head.

Moreover, to again quote, "Many of the activities restrained are punishable independently as crimes. Others, while not so punishable, constitute torts actionable at law, however doubtful their vindication in damages may be. The blanket wording of numerous clauses frequently includes the residue of conduct even remotely calculated to have effect in the dispute, but neither criminal nor tortious. This raises the far-reaching question whether first principles of justice, no less than equity procedure, are not infringed in failing to inform the defendants 'and all persons whomsoever' precisely what it is they are forbidden to do." The intelligent reader, therefore, is inclined to agree with Justice Brandeis that the injunction is not sought "to prevent property from being injured nor to protect the owner in its use, but to endow property with active, militant power which would make it dominant over men."

What is to be done about it? British labor freed itself of this judicial menace in 1906 through independent political action while American labor faces the same situation, and in some respects even worse, than it faced in 1894. The American Federation of Labor, after many years of agitation, finally obtained the Clayton Act in October, 1914. It carried the sentence, "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." The late Samuel Gompers declared this to be the "magna charta upon which the working people will rear their construction of industrial freedom." There was rejoicing in the labor world except for some Socialist cynics. Mr. Gompers thought it was judge-proof. Twenty years had brought what appeared to be a victory.

But within four years the judges had torn the Clayton Act to pieces so far as its clauses protecting trade unions are concerned. After a series of decisions there followed the terrific blow in the Duplex Case. Of this decision the authors make this comment:

Thus ended the litigation which gave the pitch to all future readings of the Clayton Act. How much

of the life of a statute dealing with contentious social issues is determined by the general outlook with which judges view such legislation, lies on the very surface of the Duplex Case. Thirteen federal judges were called upon to apply the Clayton Act to the particular facts of this case. Six found that the law called for a hands-off policy in the conflict between the Duplex Printing Company and the Machinists. The decision of the majority of the Supreme Court is, of course, the authoritative ruling. But informed professional opinion would find it difficult to attribute greater intrinsic value for the views of the seven judges, White, McKenna, Day, Van Devanter, Pitney, McReynolds and Rogers than for the opposing interpretation of the six judges, Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke, Hough, Learned, Hand and Manton.

Other decisions followed and practically nothing survived of the "roses" hopes aroused by the Clayton Act. In the Bedford Cut Stone Case Judge Brandeis was again caustic in his dissenting opinion. In this dissent he came close to attributing upper class bias to majority decisions. He pointed out that the court had permitted capitalists to combine 50 per cent of the steel industry and other capitalists to "combine in another corporation practically the whole shoe machinery industry of the country" but in the Bedford Cut Stone Case members of a small union had been denied "the right to cooperate in simply refraining from work, when that course was the only means of self-protection against a combination of militant and powerful employers."

While the authors draw no indictment against the judges the evidence is overwhelming that the vast majority of the judges read their class philosophy into their opinions. As for the spokesmen of labor, the authors declare that they "bear considerable responsibility for the confusion which has characterized attempts to formulate the law governing the activities of labor. Its advocates have too often insisted that their only aim is clarification of judicial dicta, correction of misinterpretations by the judiciary, or formal pronouncement of what always have been law. This approach, however much inspired by the tactics of reform, breeds obscurantism. It is time to repudiate diplomatic disingenuousness and to rely upon the tactics of candor."

The authors regard the Shipstead bill, which embodies the ideas of Andrew Furuseth of the

Seamen, as "an attempt to throw out the baby with the bath." They have more hopes in a bill in the hands of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. As to the merits of this bill it would be folly for a layman to venture an opinion. We can only say that we are not as hopeful as the authors. It appears to us that Mr. Dooley said a mouthful about thirty years ago when he said that "the Supreme Court follows the election returns."

Taking that as our text we submit that when the election returns show a marching host of representatives of labor being sent to Congress in increasing numbers each year the Supreme Court will take notice. POWER is the supreme factor. Even courts respect it and it is because the working class is disfranchised at Washington that labor is bound by injunction chains. Increasing POWER in the British Parliament brought emancipation for the British trade unions nearly 24 years ago. We are aware of the fact that there are some differences between the legal system of the two nations but whatever they may be POWER is essential to bring a satisfactory change. So long as workers are beggars at the doors of Congress they need not expect better treatment before judicial tribunals.

It remains to emphasize the fact which the authors emphasize. American trade unions have no better legal status before the courts today than they had in 1894 and in some respects their situation is more perilous. For writing the history of this working class tragedy we are grateful to the authors of this book.

Debate On Life

"Has Life A Purpose?" will be threshed out by the famous novelist, John Cowper Powys, author of "Wolf Solent," and Harry Watson. The debate will be held, Sunday afternoon, March 2nd, at 2:30 p. m., in the Great Hall of Cooper Union, Dr. G. F. Beck, Director of the Labor Temple, will preside. The Workers' Educational Institute, under whose auspices the debate is to be held, announce that tickets are 75 cents each if purchased in advance and \$1 at the door. Tickets may be obtained at the following places: Rand School, 7 East 15th Street; Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue; Room 702, 110 West 40th Street; Rational Vegetarian Restaurant, 199 Second Avenue; Columbia University Book Store, Journalism Building.

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In his preface the "bad heretic" bishop says, I have done all within my power to make this book well worth while simply as a course of instruction in the sciences. He might have added, but, anyhow, I have succeeded in making the theology of the "good orthodox" bishops so utterly ridiculous as to make them laugh when they preach it.

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EDITORIAL OFFICES, 7 EAST 15th ST., N.Y.C.

Young People's
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NATIONAL ACTIVITIES
Philadelphia: Circle One, Juniors heads the list of national activities this week with the issuance of a new Junior Yipsey paper, THE FREE YOUTH, edited by Joe Gorelick. It is the intention of this paper to become the National Junior Paper. All those interested should apply to Joe Gorelick, 1644 So. Lawrence St., Philadelphia, for further information. The circle is further contemplating an open forum to be conducted by Juniors.

Latrobe and Daisytown, Pa.: A new Y.P.S.L. group was organized at Latrobe and the young people's group at Daisytown, which was organized a short time ago, has six members already.

Cleveland: Lucius Jones and I. Yud-in will represent the Cleveland Y.P.S.L. at the Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Party which is to be held March 15 and 16 at the Labor Institute in Cleveland.

The Seniors heard Anna Epstein, of the I.L.G.W.U., at last Friday's meeting. Miss Epstein is aiding in the direction of the strike in Cleveland. At this meeting Florence Nelson and Sylvia Epstein were elected as the Y.P.S.L. directors of the Young Workers' School, which is now being formed.

Wilmington, Del.: The Juniors held elections last week. The officers elected were: Julius B. Baluk, Chairman; Rose C. Bond, Sec'y; Louis Rozen, Treasurer; Robert V. Silver, Organ-

izer; Sam Silver, Educational Director. This group is steadily growing in numbers.

Montreal, Canada: Comrade Shaton of Toronto is to lecture to the Young People's Labor League on the 16th of March at 4433 St. Lawrence Blvd. The subject will be "The Aims and Duties of Youth."

New York City Activities
Manhattan: Circle Six will hear Julius Umanisky this Sunday evening. He will initiate his exodus from the office of Executive Secretary with a talk on "The History of the Red Flag." The circle meets at 62 E. 106 Street.

Bronx: Circle One will be addressed by Glenn Carrington, a brilliant young Negro, on the "Problems of Negro Labor in the United States." The meeting will take place this Sunday at 1167 Boston Road.

Brooklyn: Circle Two, Sr. enthu-siast by its four years of successful and fruitful existence, will hold its Fourth Anniversary Social on April fifth at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. This will be a double anniversary for the circle since the New Vista will then be one year old. In this year the circle has given an unparalleled exhibition of how a Yipsey paper can be put out without any funds to speak of and how good such a paper can be. Admission to the social will be fifty cents. Those who remember the last social will surely get their tickets far in advance.

Circle Six, Kings: At the last meeting, Gunther Halls delivered a lec-

ture on the Social Democratic Party in Germany, up to 1890. He will present a compelling installment at some later date.

Circle Four, Kings: Morris Cohen will speak on the PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM this Sunday at 8:30 P.M. at 7216-26th Avenue.

Circle Ten, Kings, Jr.: The circle underwent a reorganization recently. The new organizer, Frank Fidele, is nursing the circle along, with the able assistance of Julius Merengoff. The circle has already issued a challenge to any "darned" circle in the League in default of backing up its claims. What have you? The other officers are: Debel, Ed. Director; Axelrod, Sec'y.; Young Fidele, Treas.; Goldberger, Ath. Dir.; Aitschuler, Soc. Dir.

Staten Island: Comrade Umanisky addressed a joint meeting of the growing Yipsey group and the Socialist Party Branch at the Steuben Club last Friday on the Fundamentals of Socialism. Regular meetings of the Y.P.S.L. will be held hereafter.

JUNIORS IN CONVENTION
The Junior section of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York held its annual City Convention last week at the Rand School. One of the most outstanding decisions was that of establishing the office of JUNIOR ORGANIZER. He will be elected by referendum vote. The nominees made by the Convention are Morris Solotrowsky of Circle Eleven, and Julius Merengoff of Circle Ten, both of Kings County.

The Chatter Box

An Open Letter to J. P. Morgan

DEAR Junior:
It was with real delight that I read your announcement in the press how your pool has succeeded in selling out all the stocks and bonds you gathered up during the late Autumn Wall Street crash. Lives there a man with soul so dead who cannot remember with pride your heroic deed in saving the Stock Exchange for future generations of suckers?

Yes, all during those dizzy days, we could see you and John D. standing like twin Atlases and shouldering the hemi-spheres of finance. It was just amazing to learn what muscles golf and silver dime giving can develop in you old fellows. Well anyway, you managed to buy U. S. Steel at little above 150 and sell out at somewhere around 180. Which is more than twenty million of us yokels could do. We managed to buy at 250 and sell out to you at 152, or thereabouts.

But as my ten year old Gene says, "I know how to get rich, pop. . . you buy cheap and sell for a whole lot more than you pay . . ." I mention this in case you run out of efficient assistants some day, and Eugene needs a job.

Yes sir, I'll say you pulled a slick one. All I'm wondering about is, where did the new crop of softies come from . . . ? Most of us are flat and clean picked as barrel rollers . . . The rest have jumped out of Park Avenue hotel apartments and helped delay traffic.

Junior, I just can't fall for your press notice. All I can do out of this whole mess is as pretty a tale of woe sales between you big boys as ever took place in Christendom. How it was done, is too much for my little dome. And so far as one can conjecture, the stocks, most of them are right in the hands of those who should own them . . . you and your bunch of big money boys. And for the love of Pete, keep them in. Stop that game of letting us hold them for a minute . . . shooting us full of "easy money dope" . . . making us imagine we're in the big dough . . . and then grabbing it all back. That's cruelty, Junior . . . and it's not fair.

Or are you fellows so bored with ordinary living, so fed up with normal experiences, that you just give us this "now you're rich, now you're poor" treatment to see us twitch and wriggle when the big smash up happens . . . ? I've heard of such abnormal delights. Gosh, you must have had a real picnic watching twenty million of us squirm like fishworms under pressure. Well, anyway you had a good time . . . and in all generosity you're trying to hand the busted boozes a swell time with pep-up press stuff.

Some brokers say that your announcement is favorable news. It means that the dear old public is back again. That's cheap hokum. So far as anybody except Secretary of Labor Davis can see, the public is piling up in front of the employment agencies, and scouring the help wanted ads. I've never seen so many ex-football stars and Phi Beta Kappa lads worrying about next month's rent in a turtle's age. "The market on Riverside Drive love-nests is heavy. Sweeties go begging . . . sugar daddies to do any sort of bidding are just nonexistent. Just look what you've gone and done. Before you know it, the boys will all be back with their families, and there won't be a triangle or divorce scandal left for the lawyers and the smut sheets. Two more businesses that will go to the dogs."

What you've done to the night clubs and the bootleggers is also cruel. And now that the doctors and dentists have gone back to practice, they find themselves up against a public that just can't pay its bills . . . and that's all.

The real estate gals go back to their tax-wearied lots and find no money for buildings that nobody would rent anyway, if they were built. So the huffy building trades with the overtime high priced craftsmen are living off the money they saved up in your banks for Christmas Club gifts and Ford Cars. One could go on until the whole wriggly mess is exposed.

Maybe you'd just laugh and think me crazy when I tell you that you've brought Socialism nearer in this country than it is anywhere else. For this much thanks. I'm hoping to live long enough to see all of you big shots working in Uncle Sam's banks as tellers and bookkeepers. Maybe not that either. Perhaps you'd make good special policemen . . . on the principle that it takes one to catch one . . . and I don't mean policemen.

Did you notice how suddenly somebody woke up in the New York State Assembly to introduce an old age pension bill? That's a Socialist measure I was supposed to introduce in 1929. The same bunch who kicked me out before I even had a chance to say boo will pass that bill now. Of course the beggarly amounts they expect to pay to the used up slaves of industry are insulting. But the principle is there anyway. The amounts are graded from 5 to 25 dollars a month. I suppose the lawmaker has in mind what superannuated captains of finance and industry are worth to society after their highly useless lives are done. Coming to think of it an amendment allowing the payment of a plugged nickel in some cases would be decent and fair.

All that I have said above, old dear, is in the nature of gentle admonition. I'm not a Communist. So I can't call you short and ugly names. I'm just trying to acquaint you with the weary old fact that there are a few of us left who just can't be fooled. We just don't believe a word you say about what you have done recently. We believe you own every blessed share stock and bond in the land. Those who hold a little in some sort of imagined fee are kidding themselves, just as twenty million of us found out to our grief last autumn. You have no right to keep joshing these deluded ones any longer. Play fair and come out with the truth. You own and run this country to suit yourselves. Up to now by the consent of the majority. But Socialism is on its way, Junior . . . and then . . .

Your stocks and bonds and my poems will be of equal value in the market . . . and every pool will really be liquidated, and the Stock Exchange will be a museum as even the Coliseum at Rome is pointed out to tourists . . . where men fought like beasts in an age when bestiality was the fashion.

S. A. de Witt.

Those robbers in New York who obtained only \$7,300 in three payroll raids are cheap pickers who ought to be ashamed of themselves. There are big industrial corporations robbing payrolls that are making a much better record.

A member of the Federal Farm Board has radi-ated a warning to cotton growers against growing too much cotton as that would be a calamity. A surplus of cotton is a calamity because we haven't a surplus of brains that would make plenty a blessing.

"The Last Mile":—The Joy of The Death House

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

DEATH SWIFT, AND LINGERING

"THE LAST MILE" By John Wesley. Sam H. Harris Theatre. It is not a good drama, any more than "Subway Express" is a good mystery. Both of these, however, by virtue of other elements in their growth and presentation (in which the direction of Chester Briskin plays no small part) are stirring theatre. "The Last Mile" combines sentiment and clap-trap in table-spoon doses—yet it grips the audience to such an extent that it closed to more curtain-calls than I have recently seen in the Broadway theatre, from which most audiences seem ready to rush.

Life in the death-house is likely to be stark, to be pared to elements. Here is a group of murderers, waiting the chair; and the first act is a study of one's going, of the way he, and the others, take the call. The next act starts in the same mood, with another man (apparently equally accidental victim of events following out of passion, surely young and with a child about to be born to his—widow) waiting for the summons to that moment hardest for man to face. A chance comes that every man in the death house dreams of—save that one whom thoughts have driven insane: a guard is seized and out of the cells they pour. Escape! No; they have no real hope of that. Swift death is what they seek; not the long expectation, the torture of the infinite preparations, that luxury of the last meal, for which they may order anything they please—and which most are too sick to eat; not these, but the release of a sudden bullet, the swift release and the endless sleep of death. For religion, hope of another world, has little to do with the thoughts and feelings of these men, who tolerate the friendly priest but scorn his childlike faith—though the dramatist is heedful of public opinion enough to spare him. These men are too close to death, with long days and longer nights for thought to drive, to be consoled with Santa Claus masquerading as the Saviour. They need a sterner code: yet have not reached the consolations of philosophy. No Socrates, they are average humanity, they are you and I—facing death. "The Last Mile" may not be a good play (as a son of the scrub-woman's delight—which means Harvard—near me refrained from sneering); but it contains some excellent acting, it harrowed many in the audience, and it stirs thoughts of human conduct when men are brought, as we used to say, to face their Maker, and deeper thoughts of the civilization—as we still say—that thus herds and thus delivers them.

In New Play



Mr. Chas. Coburn returns to Broadway in the "Autocrat" now at the Vanderbilt Theatre

ment, shows that the Shuberts are moving in the direction of greater intelligence in the drama. Their latest venture of the sort is Norman Macowan's "The Infinite Shoeblack." From the plot of this drama one would judge that the author (who plays the role of actor in the play) either is new to the theatre, or else has learned its lesson well, for the incidents are of the oldest theatrical material. The heroine comes into the play by fainting in the snow at the hero's doorsteps, to be brought in and sheltered by the young man, who falls at once in love with the unconscious body on the pavement. The hero himself is so sure that, involved in study of the higher mathematics, he has lived for three months in the attic of a brothel without knowing what was constantly going on beneath him. And the heroine—poor dear!—burnt out physically, while morally the idea of selling herself was most repulsive, spiritually was a joy-seeker, an Aspasia-type, she calls it, who finds great delight in giving herself. The Scotch Presbyterian hero finds this evil, and begins the fight for her soul. The battle of flesh and spirit, carried along by a drooping Helen Menken, who must combine a moral victory with a physical death, and by a stern Leslie Banks—whose excellent work has also contributed to the settings and the direction—is made intellectual by the application (shall one say?) of somewhat less than infinite shoeblack, the shine contributed by Zeno, Carlyle, and other

philosophers more or less freely quoted. Stoic and Epicurean, pagan and puritan, spirit and flesh; the contest is limited to no single age; it is linked, indeed, with the eternal dualism of the sexes, man bent on present pleasure, woman bent on future growth, and need (though in this play the roles are quite reversed); and the gloss of literary allusion covers the eternal theme for "The Infinite Shoeblack."

WEARILY THE WOMEN—

"IT'S A GRAND LIFE." By Hatcher Hughes and Alan Williams. Cort Theatre.

It is a patient, self-effacing road women plot, if that which Mrs. Fiske makes real be taken as typical. For her hours—the few we see being a glass where through the rest loom large—are spent in understanding, and making allowance for, and not interfering with, her husband and her children. While modern psychologists and students of human behavior generally concur in the notion that each personality should be left as free as possible to work out its own needs and the balance between its controls and appetites, the putting of this notion into practice works hardship, especially on one who sees those she loves still overweighted with sex.

In "It's a Grand Life" the notion works to an ingenious comedy, with more surprises than even the average mystery affords, and with—of course—the children achieving their balance; though the calm of mother's sleep, in excellent closing, should have been matched by father's further inspection of that nurse. The tabloid and the Times reporters make amusing caricatures in contrast; and the entire cast engagingly surrounds with bright activity the quiet radiance of Mrs. Fiske, who is always herself yet always convincing, and who draws out all the irony of the thought that "it's a grand life" we somehow go on living.

STRINGING THEM

"APRON STRINGS." By Dorrance Davis. Bijou Theatre.

The laughs that work their way out of Jefferson De Angelis' performance and the semi-liquid and quite calescent situations of "Apron Strings," through the audience, make it clear that the play will be a hit, if it lasts long enough to let those laughs begin to circulate, good coin of Broadway. For mother pinned more than a rose on her young Daniel, who looks upon the world of young women as worse than lion's den—until Barbara decides to marry him. In truth, he is not cursed even then, for all the Advice to the Lovelorn his mother used to write, and left as a legacy to guide every step of her son's love-life, cannot tell him what to do with a girl who wants action and buoyancy, who has a simply astounding "fund of biological information" and wants to make use of it with her startled man, who him-

WALTER HAMPDEN
in **RICHIEU**
Mr. Hampden gives a splendid picture of famous cardinal.
—Eve. Journal.
"Mr. Hampden has made the shrewd old cardinal a real figure. Those who love the theatre will enjoy this play."
—Eve. World.
"Forecast many weeks' run for it."
—Telegram.
HAMPDEN'S THEA. B'way at 62nd St. Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30

"THE LAST MILE"
is the most exciting production in the New York Theatre today.
—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.
Sam H. Harris Thea.
42nd St. West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

National Theatre
Houston Street & 2nd Ave.
Tel. ORchard 2512
BERTHA KALICH in
"The Soul of a Woman"
A New Sensational Drama
by Harry Kalmanowitz
Fri. eve. Sat. & Sun. Mat. and Eve.
with JACOB JACOBS, WILLIAM SCHWARTZ and an ALL-STAR Cast

THE BEST BUY IN TOWN!!!!
Laugh! Laugh! Laugh!
JOE SMITH - CHAS. DALE
and **ALEXANDER CARR**
in
"Mendel, Inc."
"First laugh hit of season."
—Sun
By David Freedman—Adapted from his book "Mendel Marantz"
RITZ THEATRE
48th STREET, West of Broadway
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30—Eves. 8:30
The most popular theatre party show for labor organizations.

THE THEATRE GUILD Presents
The Apple Cart
Bernard Shaw's Political Extravaganza
Martin Beck THEA. 45th St. W. of 6th Ave. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30

THEATRE GUILD Production
METEOR
By S. N. BEHRMAN
GUILD THEATRE
32nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

Maxine Elliott's Thea.
39th East of Broadway. Eves. 8:30
Matinees WED. & SAT. 2:30
LEE SHUBERT presents
The Infinite Shoe Black
with
Helen Menken
Leslie Banks
Duplicating its London Success Here!

BEGINNING TUESDAY, MARCH 4th
Jolson's Thea. Musical Comedy Co.
IN
VICTOR HERBERT'S
The Serenade
WITH ROY CROPPER
FORREST RUFF
OLGA STUCK
LAURA DOONE JACKSON
Eves. & Sat. Mat. 8:15 to 8:30
Thurs. Mat. 8:15 to 8:30
Thea. 59 St. & 7 Ave.
Jolson's Eves. 8:30; Mats. 2:30.
Mon. Mar. 3
Victor Herbert's
THE SERENADE



At the Hammerstein Theatre, the current hit is "Sweet Adeline." The singing star, featured in the leading role, is Helen Morgan, who has gained fame as a "blues singer." Miss Morgan has appeared recently in two talking films, which have brought her much well earned praise.

self has a good deal to learn. However, even the son of a love-lorn-column-conductor can be taught the rudiments of love, and the girl is drawn back from her home-trot to give the mother-complex-victim his chance to break free. On the journey to freedom lies much of the audience's fun.

Defying the Jinx

Those who are in the habit of defying the hoodoo will find Louis Safian's new play, "The Phantoms," an absorbing study of the number 13. "Phantoms" is a unique mystery burlesque, which celebrated its fiftieth performance last Tuesday night. This play opened at the Wallack Theatre, which employs 13 ushers, on the night of January 13, with 13 members in its cast. Incidentally, Mr. Safian's full name contains 13 letters, so he had seen to it that the ghost in this weird play makes exactly 13 appearances. Inasmuch as "Phantoms" is still playing to fairly large houses, Mr. Safian believes it can be said with utter impunity that the 13 jinx has been licked for all time. And now, Mr. Safian, we'll tell one.

"BIGGEST LAUGH IN YEARS."
—Darrington, Eve. World.

SAM H. HARRIS presents
JUNE MOON
By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
Broadhurst WEST 44TH ST. W. of 6th Ave. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

ARTHUR HOPKINS Presents
REBOUND
A New Comedy
by DONALD OGDEN STEWART
with
HOPE WILLIAMS
PLYMOUTH Thea., 45th St. W. of 6th Ave. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

RUTH DRAPER
in her
ORIGINAL CHARACTER SKETCHES
Evening: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, 8:30
FRI. EVE. "The Open Door" (Eve) and "The Living Corpse" (Sun)
WED. EVE. "The Open Door" (Eve) and "The Living Corpse" (Sun)
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. Very good seats \$1
Evenings 8:30; Matinees 2:30

CIVIC REPERTORY
14th St., 6th Ave. Eves. 8:30
50c, \$1, \$1.50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director
Mon. Eve. "THE LIVING CORPSE."
Tues. Eve. "A Sunny Marriage" (Quintero)
Wed. Eve. "The Open Door" (Quintero)
Thurs. Mat. "The Open Door" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero)
Fri. Eve. "The Open Door" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero)
Sat. Mat. "Peter Pan" (Barrie)
Sat. Eve. "The Would Be Gentleman" (Molero)
Seats 4 wks. adv. Box Off. & Town Hall, 113 W. 34th Street

The One and Only

Two-A-Day Speed Makes "Mendel, Inc." Laugh Sensation of the Season

George M. Cohan would probably disclaim any credit for the success of "Mendel, Inc., which recently celebrated its one hundredth performance at the Ritz Theatre, but to Mr. Cohan goes the credit just the same. Being a fast and noisy comedy, bordering on farce, crammed with homely epigrams and humorous situations, it nightly whizzes over the footlights at a speed that leaves Broadway limp and laughing.

"Mendel, Inc." came from the pen of David Freedman who wrote "My Life Is in Your Hands" in collaboration with Eddie Cantor, who originally promised to stage the current play for him. It was not to Cantor the youthful playwright eventually turned, but to Lew, not Eddie, who had been watching the ambient Noel Coward, and as a good and loyal Friar determined to take a directorial leaf out of George M. Cohan's notebook.

Having staged an average of 35 vaudeville acts yearly in the good old days of variety, he decided that what "Mendel" needed was a touch of the two-a-day; and to this end promptly cast those two veteran vaudevillians, Joe Smith and Charles Dale, who were the backbone of the famous Avon Comedy Four, for the laugh provoking roles of "Shtudel and Shnapps."

Barrymore's "General Crack" at the Strand

John Barrymore in "General Crack," his first all-talking picture, is the attraction at Warner Bros. Strand Theatre. This is its first showing at popular prices. Barrymore is cast in the role of the romantic Prince Christian, soldier of fortune, who wins first a kingdom and then a bride. "General Crack" is a Warner Bros. and Vitaphone romantic drama, with scenes in Technicolor.

Publix "Chauve-Souris"

Baileff's "Chauve-Souris," a complete stage show of dancers and singers with the international comedian and master of ceremonies, Nikita Baileff in person, is now at the Publix theatre, the first time the show has been presented at popular prices. Clive Brook and Evelyn Brent again are teamed in "Slightly Scared," which provides the featured film fare. Eugene Pallette, Paul Lukas and Morgan Farley are in the cast.

Jack Buchmann
WAKE UP AND DREAM
ARCH SELWYN'S Presentation of CHAS. B. COCHRAN'S REVUE
"Tuneful and jolly show, sure to delight the town."
—Darrington, Eve. World
with
JESSIE MATHEWS, LOUISE MELLER, TILLY LOSTON, TINA SELWYN
Thea., 42 St. W. of Broadway
Evenings at 8:30
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
Good Bal. Seats, \$1-\$1.50-\$2 (No Tax)

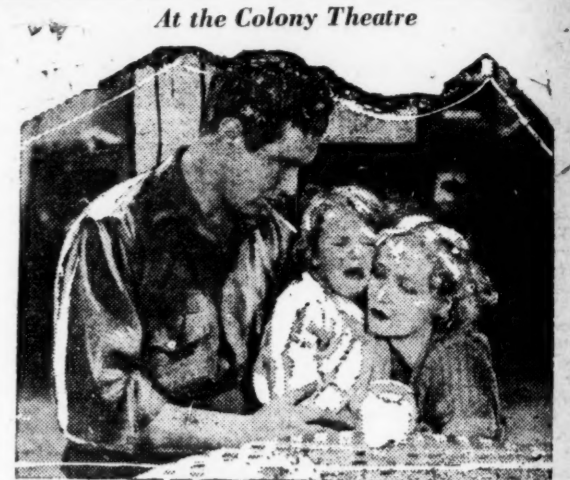
LEE SHUBERT presents **PHILIP MERIVALE**
in **DEATH TAKES A HOLIDAY**
A COMEDY ABOUT LIFE
ETHEL BARRYMORE
THEATRE, 47th St. W. of BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30
The Most Comfortable Balcony in New York! Prices \$1 to \$3 (Bal.)

The Season's Outstanding Triumph
Katharine Cornell
in **DISHONORED LADY**
"I've waited all this year for a stretch of acting as immediately glamorous and subtly colored and alive."
—Gilbert W. Gabriel, New York American
EMPIRE THEATRE, 47th St. W. of Broadway
EVENINGS AT 8:40
MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

GILBERT MILLER by arrangement with **MAURICE BROWN** presents
Journey's End
By R. C. SHERRIFF
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE
124 West 43rd Street
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

GILBERT MILLER'S and **LESLIE HOWARD'S** production of
Berkeley Square
By JOHN L. BALDERSTON
LESLIE HOWARD and **MARGALO GILLMORE**
LYCEUM
THEATRE, West 45th Street
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

THE ONLY REAL MYSTERY THRILLER
SUBWAY EXPRESS
"Should Run as Long as the Subway Itself."
—Eve. Post.
REPUBLIC THEATRE 42nd STREET & BROADWAY
MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY
EVENINGS AT 8:50 P.M.
LONGACRE THEATRE, W. 48th St., Eves. 8:30
Mats. WED. and SAT. 2:30
Ernest Truex
"RITZY" By VIVA TATTERSALL and SIDNEY TOLER
in A NEW COMEDY
with **MIRIAM HOPKINS**



Audiences at the Colony Theatre will remember beautiful Mary Nolan for her fine work in the "Shanghai Lady." This week she comes to the Colony in her newest picture, "Undertow."

"Blaze O' Glory" at Beacon

Starring Eddie Dowling, "Blaze O' Glory," which recently had a \$2 run at the George M. Cohan Theatre, will begin a popular price engagement Friday at Warner Bros. new Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th street. Betty Compton is cast in the feminine lead. Others who share featured honors are Ferdinand Schumann-Heink, Frankie Darro and Henry B. Walthall.

"Blaze O' Glory" opens on the stage of a New York theatre during the action of a musical comedy, passes backstage, on into the trenches during the war, back to a New York home, and a climax that is one of the most thrilling of courtroom episodes. There is a war background, but the picture is not a war story. It shows the effect the war had on some of the principal characters.

Mary Nolan in "Undertow" at Colony

Universal presents Mary Nolan in her second starring picture, "Undertow," at the Colony Theatre. "Undertow," a dramatic story of the American seacoast, written by Wilbur Daniel Steele and adapted for the screen by Winifred Reeve, tells of a girl who married for love and who spent five years of her life at a lonely lighthouse with her husband. But she found that she loved pleasure and gaiety too, and left her husband when he needed her most, eloping with a former sweetheart.



JOHN BARRYMORE
in
"GENERAL CRACK"
A Warner Bros. & Vitaphone All-Talking Picture
First Time at Popular Prices
WARNER BROTHERS STRAND
First and Still the BEST in Sound
NEW YORK all seats to 1 p.m. 55c
Broadway and 47th St.

ROXY
World's Largest & Finest Picture Palace
Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mr. Dir. MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30
Vilma Banky
In Her First ALL-TALKING Motion Picture Role
"A LADY TO LOVE"
with EDWARD G. ROBINSON and ROBERT AMES
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
DAVE SCHULER, Master of Ceremonies, on stage Arthur Knorr's Revue "COLOR RHYTHM" featuring ART FRANK, Chester Hale Girls, Capitolians.
YASHA HENCHUK conducting the CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA

55TH STREET PLAYHOUSE
Just East of 7th Ave.
Popular Prices—Perf. 1:30—Midnight
COMMENCING SAT. MARCH 1st
First Time at Popular Prices
THE FIRST 100% GERMAN TALKING PICTURE
"DICH HAB ICH GELIEBT"
("Because I Loved You")
"One of the best films that has come from Berlin since 'Variety.' You do not have to understand German to follow clearly every scene of the action," says the "F.M. DAILY."
Laurel & Hardy "Oberammergau" Talking Comedy German Short Film

The Greatest Laugh-Hit in Town—Even the Critics roared at **TIFFANY'S**
TROOPERS 3
"A barrage of laughter."
—American.
"Thrilling scenes of daredevil riding... a certain success."
—Eve. World.
GAIETY THEA. B'way & 45 St. 3 times Sun. and Holidays
Midnight Show every Saturday

Beauty Enchained in a Lonely Lighthouse
MARY NOLAN
in
"UNDERTOW"
A Universal Picture presented by Carl Laemmle
B. S. MOSS
COLONY
3rd St. and Broadway
Cont. Noon to Midnight
Midnight Show Sat. 11:45

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

Philharmonic Symphony
TOSCANINI, Conductor
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
Sunday Afternoon, March 2, at 3:00
MOZART-PIZZETTI-WAGNER-BORODIN

SPECIAL CONCERT
CARNEGIE HALL
Friday Evening, March 7, at 8:45
MR. TOSCANINI, Conductor
"ROSSINI-FRANCK-RAVEL-BEETHOVEN"
CARNEGIE HALL
Saturday Morning, March 8, at 11
4th Children's Concert, 2nd Series
ERNEST SCHELLING, Conductor
Program illustrating percussion instruments
Soloist: OSKAR SHUMSKY, Violinist
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL
MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 10
at 8:30
ETHYL HAYDEN
Soprano
Tickets at Box Office
Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL
SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 12
at 2:30
JOSEPH HOFMANN
Pianist
Tickets at Box Office
Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

Kennedy Freeman
Piano Forte Instruction
and Coaching
Recommended highly by Isidor Philipp, Professor at the Paris Conservatoire
169 WEST 73rd ST. TrAfalgAr 6190

AMONG THE HITS: "PUTTIN ON THE RITZ"

"Puttin' On The Ritz"

Latest Talkie Hit

"Puttin' On The Ritz," United Artists' first musical film, is definitely a hit at the Earl Carroll Theatre. At its world premiere Harry Richman, the film's star, was present as guest of honor and his Royal Canadian Mounted Police played the film's music by Irving Berlin from the stage. Clara Bow, Claudette Colbert, Beatrice Lillie, Fannie Hurst, Rudy Valle, Graham McNamee, Lee Shubert, Morris Gray, Agnes Ayres, Lita Gray, Chaplin, Fannie Brice and many others were present.

Several innovations marked the world premiere showing, aside from the orchestra on the stage, that greeted first nighters as they entered the theatre. For the first time Western Electric's Public Address System was employed at a New York film premiere, as it has been used at Hollywood openings; the music from the stage and Harry Richman's brief and simple words of greeting to the audience both were heard by the four thousand people who jammed the street outside, through loud-speakers. Guests were treated as such, not being asked to speak over any microphones, not being asked to stand up in their seats and face spotlights and introductions.

Do Your Friends Read The New Leader? We Will Send Them Sample Copies

"The Lost Zeppelin"

At the Hippodrome

This Saturday, March 1st, the RKO Hippodrome presents on its gigantic screen "The Lost Zeppelin," an all dialogue thriller which depicts a happening that might occur to an explorer in the Arctic or Antarctic regions. Conway Tearle, Virginia Valli and Ricardo Cortez portray the principal characters in this gripping drama of love and strange adventure.

Miss Patricia, always a Hip favorite, heads a well balanced and diversified vaudeville show which includes Al Bays and Harvey Speck, gloom chasers; Lester Lane, Ethel Osborne and Louie Chico, a blend of music and dance; Jim, wrestling bear; Danny Small, assisted by the Creole Belle, and Murand and Grlton, variety cyclists.

German Film at 55th St.

"Dich Hab Ich Geliebt" ("Because I Loved You"), the first 100% German talking picture, which had a four weeks run at the Mansfield Theatre at advanced prices, is having its popular price run at the 55th Street Playhouse. Its story concerns the experiences of a musical comedy star, who has indulged in a pre-nuptial love affair which is later discovered by the man she finally marries.

Mady Christians, seen here in a number of German pictures,

German Picture at the 55th St. Playhouse



The 55th St. Playhouse is one of last standbys to continue showing foreign pictures. The current attraction this week is the German film "Dich Hab Ich Geliebt," or "Because I Loved You."

amongst them the UFA production "Waltz Dream" is starred and sings two songs: "Dich Hab Ich Geliebt," the theme song from which the film derives its name, and Johannes Brahms' "Lullaby." On the same program is a German short-film "Oberammergau," presenting the various members of the famous "Passion Play" company in their private life and occupations. There are also, a Laurel and Hardy talking comedy and other sound and talking features.

William Schwartz to Produce "Jazz Singer" in Yiddish

Office 31 Seventh St. N. Y.

William Schwartz, Jewish stage favorite, new appearing with Bertha Kalich, in "The Soul of a Woman," a drama at the Downtown National Theatre, will produce and star in a Yiddish version of "The Jazz Singer." Schwartz, who owns the Jewish rights to the late Broadway hit in which he last season toured the United States, Europe and South America, is to be seen in the play on week nights only, while "The Soul of a Woman" will continue its run at that playhouse on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays.

Theatre Guild Revivals

"R. U. R.," which has had a capacity week at the Martin Beck, will be continued by the Theatre Guild for another week at the Liberty; and at the conclusion of the "R. U. R." engagement, both "Marco Millions" and "Volpone" will be presented, for one week only, by the same company.

Thus, "Marco Millions" will begin a week's engagement March 3, and "Volpone" will begin its engagement March 10. Both of these engagements will be for one week only.

The casts will be identical with that of "R. U. R." The settings and costumes for both "Marco" and "Volpone" will be identical with those used for the original productions in New York.

ACTORS' UNION

Office 31 Seventh St. N. Y.

Phone Orchard 1923
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

BONNAZ EMBROIDERS UNION

Local 65, I. L. G. W. U. 7 E. 15th St. Algonquin 3657-8. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the Office of the Union, 2 E. 15th St. President: Leon Haisel. Secretary: Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 a.m. Employment Bureau open every day at 8 p.m.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 12th St. Orchard 7766. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL SUSSMAN, J. BELSKY, ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents

CARPENTERS' UNION

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave. Phone Orchard 8860-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P.M. Sec'y-Treas. Opertors, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and Headquarters, 349 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 0788. Meetings 1st and 3rd Monday for B. Hertzberg, President; Joseph Karas, Vice-President; Samuel Mindel, Recording Secretary; Albert Hill, Financial Sec'y.

HEBREW TRADERS

175 East Broadway. Telephone Dry-100. Meetings 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P.M. Executive Board same day, 8:30 P.M. M. Tighe, Chairman; J. B. Hertzberg, Secretary; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions for the legal rights of the Unions and their members. S. John Beck, Attorney and Counsel, 225 E. 12th St. Room 200. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday of each month at 8:00 p.m.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION

Local 11018, A. C. W. U. 7 E. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 1082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Officers: J. M. Lipp, President; J. B. Hertzberg, Secretary-Treasurer; Louis Fuchs, Business Manager; Louis Feldheim, Business Agent.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION

Local 11018, A. C. W. U. 7 E. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 1082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Officers: J. M. Lipp, President; J. B. Hertzberg, Secretary-Treasurer; Louis Fuchs, Business Manager; Louis Feldheim, Business Agent.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. HYMAN BLUMBERG, SIDNEY SUSSMAN, Managers

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Associated with the American Federation of Labor. GENERAL OFFICE: 51 WEST 21ST STREET, N. Y. Phone Gramercy 1923. CHARLES KLEINMAN, CHARLES GOLDMAN, A. L. SHIPLOOFF, Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer, Manager

Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7:30. Uptown Office: 30 West 21st Street, Phone Wisconsin 1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. Officers: J. M. Lipp, President; J. B. Hertzberg, Secretary-Treasurer; Louis Fuchs, Business Manager; Louis Feldheim, Business Agent.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS

OF AMERICA, NEW YORK LOCAL NO. 1. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARRLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE. Officers: A. J. Kennedy, President; Frank J. Flynn, Sec'y. Frank Schel, Treas.

N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y. Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave.

N. Y. Joint Board Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union

Headquarters: 621 Broadway (Room 223). G. GOODE, Manager. Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday. Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday. Local 246-Executive Board meets every Thursday. Local 246-Executive Board meets every Wednesday. These meetings are held in the Office of the Union.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Wiloughby Ave. Phone Spring 4021. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y. FRANK P. LITTE, Treasurer. ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.

Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION OF U. S. & C. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m. CHARLES STETSKY, Manager

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

62 East 10th St. Telephone: LEHMAN 2148. Regular meetings every Tuesday at the Office. Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 14th Street. ISADORE SILVERMAN, NATHAN ZUCHOWITZ, Financial Secretary-Treasurer

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C.

Associated with the American Federation of Labor and the National Building Trades Council. MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING. 18 W. 31st Street. Phone 7932. Tel. Plaza - 4108-5418. Philip Zaenker, Secretary; Robert Sembrath, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.; Samuel Mandel, President.

PAINTERS' UNION

Local 489, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street. F. Wollensack, President; Alvin Boettler, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

PRESSERS' UNION

Local 3, A. C. W. U. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple, 11-27 Anton Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. Morris Goldin, Chairman; Jacob Engelman, Recording Secretary; W. Black, Financial Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

of Greater New York. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 W. 15th St. Orchard 1357. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All locals meet every Wednesday. Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman Novotz, Sec'y-Treas.

VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. M. Greenberg, Sec-Treas. Peter Monat, Manager. Office, 31 West 15th Street; Phone, Watkins 8091. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

LABOR LYCEUM

919 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGG 3842

Labor Temple

243-247 EAST 84th ST. Workmen's Educational Association. Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone RECENT 10039

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNIOY 488. MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th Street. OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone MELORE 5674. FRED E. JOHNSON, President. A. RAYMOND PRICE, Bus. Agent. HARRY P. EILEY, Fin. Sec'y. CHARLES M. BLEUM, Rec. Sec'y.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

11-15 UNION SQUARE, AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3RD FLOOR. Telephone: ALGONQUIN 6300-1-3-4-5. SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

FOR ALL information regarding Socialist literature, organization and lectures address the National Executive Secretary, Clarence O. Senior, 2353 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

NEW LITERATURE

"Out of Work," one of the best selling leaflets in the Socialist Party has ever published, has been revised and reprinted in a smaller size. The leaflet is now the standard, one-fold size, 6" x 9". It still shows the attractive picture of the statue "The Struggle for Work" on the first page. It originally sold for \$4.50 per thousand. The present price is \$2.50 per thousand or 30c per 100. Other leaflets: "The Old Days," 30c per 100; "Socialism," 25c per 100; "What Is Socialism," 25c per 100; "The Negro and Socialism," both 25c per 100 or \$2.50 per 1000.

ORATORICAL CONTEST

Several requests for Socialist material on the constitution of the United States have been received at the National Executive Secretary's office. The contest, which opened on February 1st, Socialists are urged to push. "Life and Death of Uncle Sam" by Oscar Ameringer, and the speech which Victor Berger made in the House of Representatives in 1924, "The Century Century Require 20th Century Constitution."

Pennsylvania

A DISTRICT CONFERENCE. A conference of western Pennsylvania Socialists was recently held at Pittsburgh. Representatives from Allegheny, Blair, Westmoreland, Cambria, Washington and Fayette counties were present. Encouraging reports were submitted by delegates. Plans were laid for a state-wide membership drive, a state conference at Reading on May 29-30 to which all party members in Pennsylvania are invited.

Nomination petitions are ready and will soon be in the hands of branch secretaries. All party members and sympathizers are urged to sign them. Seven thousand signatures are needed to place the state ticket on the ballot. A new branch was organized at Black Lick, Indiana County.

A Y.P.S.I. group was organized at Altoona and the young people group at Daltown, organized a short time ago, now has 60 members.

PHILADELPHIA

The City convention of the Socialist Party will meet Sunday, March 9. The first session of the convention will be at 10 a.m. and the afternoon session at 2 p.m.

Prominent Philadelphia Socialists will discuss Election Finance and "Law" and "The Public Service Commission." Other civic issues will be considered and a discussion will follow each address.

Oregon

Charles Kolb, State Secretary, writes that street meetings are considered the best ever held in Portland. Comrades Streiff and Buickwood are doing good work at these meetings.

Jim Maurer will speak in Portland at a banquet March 24. Maurer will also speak at the City Club at noon on April 4 and at night in the labor Temple.

Michigan

Thomas Thomas will speak over radio station WJR Detroit, Sunday, March 3, at 5:30 p.m. He will answer Chas. Bonchin, a Catholic priest, who has been attacking the Socialist Party in several times from the same station. He has also attacked Comrade Thomas personally and also mentioned Comrade Hillquit.

GENERAL PARTY MEETING

A joint session for all branches in Wayne County will be held Monday, March 3rd at 527 Holbrook Ave., 8:30 o'clock. Organization work will be discussed.

Do not forget the meetings by Norman Thomas at 3:30 p.m. at the Y.M.C.A. and 7:30 p.m. at the Bethel Church Forum, 2270 West Grand Blvd.

HILLQUIT BANQUET

The Hillquit banquet will be a great event if all co-operate. Write or phone Axel Lodal, 12068 Whitworth Ave., Lincoln 5308M, for reservations and tickets. The banquet will be held at Hotel Wolverine, Sunday evening, 6 p.m., March 16. Tickets are 1.50 per plate.

Efforts will also be made in the afternoon at the St. Antoinette Section of the Y.M.C.A.

Indiana

STATE COMMITTEE. The party has completed election of state officers. 24 ballots were required. The new officers are as follows: State Chairman, Forrest Wallace; Vice-Chairman, E. M. D. Schuler; Secretary, Elmer M. Schuler; Indianapolis; Organizer,

Emma Henry, Indianapolis; State Committee, Jas. H. Arnold, Columbus; Mrs. Hazel M. Wooten, Hobart; Clarence E. Bonchin, and Phil K. Reinbold, Terre Haute.

The State Executive Committee will meet early to map out plans for the State Convention and other party activity. The State Organizer is preparing a letter to send to several hundred Socialists and sympathizers, urging co-operation and activity along party lines, and soliciting their membership.

ONAL IN INDIANAPOLIS

Local Indianapolis is arranging a meeting for March 17. James Onal of New York, will be the speaker. The meeting will be held in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Hall on Pratt Street, at Capitol Ave. Readers of The New Leader note the date and be at the meeting to hear a good lecture by a former Hoosier Socialist.

Socialists interested in organizing a local will be assisted if they will communicate with Emma Henry, State Organizer, 933 Broadway, Apt. 16.

Connecticut

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The committee met in New Haven last Sunday. Walter E. Davis as chairman. Former State Secretary Plunkett reported a conference on old age pensions last Saturday in New Haven with delegates present from trade unions, welfare organizations and the party as well as a few individuals. This conference was preliminary to one to meet the second Saturday in April at the Hotel of the Mechanics, Dave Holzer of the Polishers, Mrs. Fleming, James Berkey of the Divinity School, Rev. Oscar Maurer, and Martin F. Plunkett are a committee on arrangements. There is much enthusiasm for an old age pension law.

"Our local took in twenty (20) new members during the month of January. We have already procured several this month and have fond hopes of beating our January record. Local Bridgeport will do its full share towards the goal set by the national organization."

BRONX

The Bronx County Ball, which takes place on Saturday evening, March 15, in Hunts Point Palace, is in full swing. This affair is estimated as a \$500 proposition provided the members get busy immediately and get advertisements for the ball. The ball will be held at the home of Mrs. Fleming James, 4 Mansfield street, Wednesday evening, April 5.

BRIDGEPORT

Local Bridgeport reported that Frank Crossworth of New York will speak in that city Sunday, March 9, at 8 p.m. in the Polish Hall. Fred Schwarzkopf, organizer of local Bridgeport, reports:

"Our local took in twenty (20) new members during the month of January. We have already procured several this month and have fond hopes of beating our January record. Local Bridgeport will do its full share towards the goal set by the national organization."

New York State

ASSESSMENT STAMPS. The 1930 State Convention assessment stamp has been distributed to all locals. State Secretary Merrill declares that a successful State Convention cannot be held unless every Party member purchases one of these stamps. A convention in Syracuse would cost approximately twice as much as the Albany convention of 1928, and a convention at New Rochelle would be prohibitive unless all members buy assessment stamps. The state party constitution provides that branch and local secretaries shall collect such assessments before receiving the dues of members. This is the same plan as the one in vogue in trade unions. The money raised by this assessment stamp at 50 cents each is designed to pay railway fare of delegates to and from the convention.

SCHENECTADY

Dr. Harry W. Lipp will speak on "Industrial Democracy" at the Schenectady Labor Forum on the evening of March 15. Prof. A. J. Muste is to be the speaker this Saturday night.

Director Howard Williams of the League for Independent Political Action to address the Albany People's Forum on Sunday afternoon.

SOCIALIST STUDY GROUP

At the call of Fred Gendral, the Socialists and some of the sympathizers of the party recently met in Land's End, Katonah.

The group decided to form a class to study the Social tactics. C. Kennedy will be the discussion leader. He will bring to this discussion a wealth of experience accumulated in the palm days of the party. Clint Goldstein will also take part. Everyone is invited to attend.

New York City

ELECTIONS TUESDAY, MARCH 12. Special elections will be held to fill vacancies in the 1st, 4th, New York County and in the 18th Congressional District. The Socialist Party has nominated Emanuel Switkes for As-

semblyman and August Claessens for Congressman. Polls will be open from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. All citizens who registered last October will be entitled to vote.

Isidore Phillips. An offer is hereby made to all branches desirous of the services of a speaker. Isidore Phillips, one of the veterans of the Socialist Party, a man who has given the greater part of his life to our movement, is offering to speak before branches, their forums or business meetings. His topic is out of the ordinary. He wishes to speak on the "Tragic and Humorous Happenings in the History of the Socialist Party." Comrade Phillips is an excellent speaker with a fine sense of humor. His talk is replete with historical information. Dates can be obtained by writing to the City Office, August Claessens, Organizer.

MANHATTAN

6-8-12th A.D. A well-attended meeting was held Monday evening and a very interesting talk on over-production was given by Donald J. Henderson, member of the Morris Heights Branch and instructor in Economics at Columbia University. The Sunday evening forum had a capacity audience last night. August Claessens spoke on "Religion and Soviet Russia," and Samuel A. DeWitt participated in the literary period and gave a fine reading of Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol" and some of his own poems. During March, Claessens will continue to speak on current events, and among the readers will be Eleanor Levinson and Elizabeth Stuyvesant.

Upper West Side

Another successful meeting was held last Tuesday evening to which enrolled Socialist voters of the 9th A.D. were invited. A good audience was present. Edward F. Cassidy acted as chairman and introduced Eugene Panken who gave a very inspiring address. Organizer Claessens made the appeal for membership. Quite a number of people responded. Thanks to efficient work its membership is growing rapidly. The next meeting will be held Tuesday, March 11. Enrolled voters of the 11th A.D. will be invited.

Kirkville

NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neal
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit,
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M. Feigenbaum, John
M. Work, McAllister
Coleman, Joseph T.
Shipley, Louis Stan-
ley.



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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program of the organized working class. It is a newspaper of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1930

Unions, Go Slow

LABOR organizations and other groups inter-
ested in old age pension legislation will do
well to proceed slowly in endorsing the Mastick
bill now before the State Legislature.

They are accustomed to getting so little from
the powers that be that there are times when
even the crumbs that fall from the tables of the
wealthy are eagerly sought. But if popular pres-
sure compelled our State to begin to consider a
question which every other industrial nation has
already met and solved—the same pressure might
be as well exerted to secure more than the crumbs
they are ready to offer.

The Mastick bill contains several objectionable
features. If the bill is to receive the support of
labor organizations those features should first be
eliminated. There will still be much to be worked
for in the future, but the beginning should be
such as will remove from the old age pension
measure any aspect that may give a charity char-
acter. Justice, not charity, is what advocates of
old age pensions are after.

Theory vs. Facts

A PECULIAR theory cherished by the sup-
porters of capitalism in this country has
justified opposition to any legislation that inter-
feres with industrial relations. We are portrayed
as a nation of freemen who will never bow our
necks to "state paternalism." That may do for
the heathen of "Yurup" but they know no better.
And what is the result? We the masses have
not used the government as an agency to serve us
and have permitted the great capitalist and finan-
cial combinations to use it to serve them. We
pretend to ward off state paternalism and then
bow our necks to a corporation paternalism which
rules us direct and also through control of gov-
ernment.

But in addition to this feudal direction of our
lives a third form of such control has appeared.
The super-power magnates without even working
through government agencies have established a
large measure of direct guidance and control of
education. Capitalist vulgarities without any
knowledge of education set themselves up as edu-
cators. They do this without any mandate from
the voters.

The transcript of the testimony of Preston S.
Arkwright of the power crowd before the Fed-
eral Trade Commission tells the story. Its agents
have examined and revised text books in the
schools. In the South this paternal guardian ad-
vised revision of history texts recording the
events of the Civil War. "It is proper," said
Arkwright, "that we examine the text-books that
have reference to the industry." The Harvard
Business School is given \$30,000 each year for
four years to insure that the power interests will
be "properly" presented. This huge capitalist
power has polluted journalism and other phases
of American life.

Here is a pleasant theory confronting unpleas-
ant facts. We have state and capitalist paternal-
ism and only the democracy of Socialism applied
to government and industry will avert this new
feudalism.

MacDonald's Resignation

THE announcement of the resignation of J.
Ramsay MacDonald from the Independent
Labor Party has caused some confusion. A few
letters have been received by *The New Leader*.
Our attention has also been called to an article in
last Sunday's *New York Times* which attempts to
explain. The author of the article simply demon-
strated his lack of knowledge of the labor political
movement and has simply added to the confusion.
His assertion that "The I. L. P. draws its strength
from the trade unions and is supported by them"
consigns him to the class of the hopelessly con-
fused.

The Independent Labor Party is a Socialist or-
ganization. So is the Social Democratic Federa-
tion but neither organization is supported by the
trade unions. They are Socialist educational or-
ganizations and both are affiliated with the British
Labor Party. It is this Labor Party that is sup-
ported and financed by trade unions and cooper-
ative societies. The I. L. P. and the S. D. F.

also pay affiliation fees to the Labor Party. Their
members are eligible for nomination as candi-
dates of the Labor Party and they never nomi-
nate independent candidates of their own.

MacDonald was one of the founders of the
I. L. P. in 1894 and has been identified with it
ever since, but because of its affiliation with the
Labor Party he has also held responsible posi-
tions in the latter organization. In recent months
about twenty I. L. P. men in Parliament have
adopted a severely critical attitude against some
parts of the Labor Party program. Because of
this opposition MacDonald has resigned from the
I. L. P.

This does not take him out of the Labor Party.
It means that he will transfer his membership
from one affiliated organization to another. Our
surmise is that he will join a local Labor Party
branch as such branches are also directly affil-
iated with the Labor Party. This is all there is to
the resignation of the Labor Premier.

Our "National Interests"

STANLEY K. HORNBECK of the Depart-
ment of State explains in an article in *The
United States Daily* that the department's big job
is that of upholding national interests. It is diffi-
cult, he writes, to convey to the people an under-
standing of this and much misunderstanding re-
sults.

We also find it difficult to understand. Our dif-
ficulty lies in trying to understand why the National
City Bank becomes a "national interest" when
marines are sent into a weak Latin-American
country. We are unable to understand how the
interests of American oil investors in Mexico be-
come a "national interest" that has used the State
Department to the extent of denying Mexico the
sort of constitution she wants.

On the other hand the mass of workers are
never transformed into a "national interest" dur-
ing times of unemployment and general suffering.
Millions are spent for the support of corporation
investments abroad but there is no federal pro-
gram to relieve the unemployed. If jobless work-
ers were suddenly transmuted into a huge capi-
talist investment across our frontiers they would
immediately be transformed into a "national
interest."

How this doctrine works is illustrated again in
the third article in this issue on Nicaragua. An
American capitalist firm takes over many of the
municipal enterprises in that country and our
marines deport certain labor men who are in the
way. The son of one of these men is caged for
months in a dirty cell and then "tried" by Ameri-
can marines. His sole crime was to induce some
companions to swear allegiance to their own coun-
try. Whose "national interest" is promoted by
this insolent and illegal conduct is certainly
obvious.

When the politicians of slave owners at Wash-
ington talked of "southern interests" they always
meant the small oligarchy owning great estates
and troops of slaves. When apologists of our
modern capitalist oligarchy talk of "national in-
terests" they mean our corporation and financial
magnates who are creating a new slavery in the
Latin American nations.

Federation Autonomy

ONE feature of Mr. Woll's address in the
Labor Institute of the Rand School, which
we report on another page, was his stressing of
the extreme autonomy of the international unions
and the central bodies. The American Federa-
tion of Labor, he declared, has no power to en-
force decisions or to coerce the affiliated organi-
zations.

We have in mind those instances when local
bodies have been given an ultimatum to abandon
independent party action. In New York City
some years ago the Brooklyn and Manhattan bod-
ies were compelled to form one organization in
order to force the Manhattan organization to
abandon its support of independent political ac-
tion. The Indiana miners were vigorously de-
nounced for repudiating the "non-partisan polit-
ical policy." The Chicago and Minneapolis cen-
tral bodies were subjected to similar discipline.
On the other hand when the central body in New
York City in 1924 repudiated the national sup-
port given to the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket its re-
pudiation went unchallenged.

These actions show that while the Federation is
an alliance of organizations that have extreme
autonomy this autonomy is struck down at times
when the autonomous action does not appeal to
the chiefs. Mr. Woll stressed theory and ignored
practice, one being in fundamental contradiction
to the other.

IN A NUTSHELL

The Right Reverend Monsignor Belford, pastor of
the Church of the Nativity of Brooklyn, at a lec-
ture in Toronto recently declared that a pope should
be used to silence Socialists. Perhaps the Right,
Very Right, and Reverend, Very Reverend, cleric
would like to qualify for the job of Holy Hangman,
just to show how tolerant the noble man can be.

We suggest that the humble Monsignor have
medals struck with Christ shown at a gallows
springing the trap as fast as the black cap can
be adjusted to victims. Nothing would better im-
press his folk with the saintly Father's idea of re-
ligion.

Except for the year 1925 the Goodyear rubber
dynasty in 1929 realized the largest "earnings" in
its history while the General Cigar reports a mil-
lion more "earnings" than the year before besides
breaking a strike of girl workers in New Jersey.
Will Mr. Hoover please transfer these items to his
"prosperity" folder?

My experience in universities and educational
work leads me to fear that the average man finds
thought painful.—Thomas C. Desmond.

If that body that is studying Chicago's finances
will also include an inspection of Chicago's politics
it will find the one as rotten as the other.

Princeton University has founded a statesmen's
school, probably on the theory that there is room
for a few even under our civilization.

Public Service
Law Failed to
Protect Public

The complete breakdown of pub-
lic utility regulation in New York
State and the growing demand for
public ownership of gas, electric,
water and communication sys-
tems never was more clearly il-
lustrated than in the dual reports
issued by members of Governor
Roosevelt's Commission on Revi-
sion of the Public Service Law.

Both reports, one issued by Col-
onel William J. Donovan, counsel
for the commission, and the other
by Frank P. Walsh and Professor
James C. Bonbright, of Columbia
University, scathingly attack the
present administration of the law,
although they cast no personal re-
flections on members of the Pub-
lic Service Commission, who by
their actions and decisions have
proved themselves willing tools of
the utilities.

But, difficult as it is for him, Col-
onel Donovan foresees public
ownership as the only possible so-
lution of the problem unless the
companies agree to be good boys
and trim down their rates by an
amicable conference with the
state. The Walsh-Bonbright re-
port, while it does not believe the
time is yet ripe for public own-
ership, indicates it as the only fair
means of utility operation.

It is Colonel Donovan's opinion,
however, that utility regulation is
still an "experiment," perhaps just
such a "noble experiment" as that
of the great American failure, Mr.
Walsh and Bonbright are more
concrete in their conclusions re-
garding what should be done to
remedy the present deplorable situ-
ation.

Incidentally, the publication of
the reports show how well the
utilities are served even on such
an impartial commission as Gov-
ernor Roosevelt professed to ap-
point. The chairman of the com-
mission, Senator John Knight, pub-
lic defender of the power grabbers,
published the Donovan report with
the intention of slipping it over on
the public as the mature conclu-
sion of the entire commission.

To dissipate any such idea,
Walsh and Bonbright were forced
to publish their minority report, a
report which was to have been
kept secret until presentation to
the Legislature. And the minor-
ity members made no secret of
their opinion of Senator Knight's
"trickery."

Briefly, Donovan would appoint
a public defender and authorize the
revamped Public Service Com-
mission to negotiate with the utility
companies in establishing a fair
base for rates. Then, in an intro-
spective and highly philosophically
tone he concludes:

"But a proper relationship (be-
tween the utilities and the state)
can only come from an established
basis of mutual confidence. Lead-
ers of the utilities must look upon
themselves as economic servants
of the public as the State officials
are political servants of the public.
If this is only a utopian idea, then
in my judgment regulation is im-
possible."

"The alternative is not coercion
because that can only bring resort
to the courts with resultant re-
sentment and bitterness. The only
feasible alternative is public
ownership with whatever its at-
tendant evils may be."

The Walsh-Bonbright reports
give definite recommendations for
the regulation of the utilities. The
salient points are:

- 1—Establishment of the prud-
ent investment principle as the ba-
sis for rate making.
- 2—Establishment of a uniform
accounting system which would do
away with the present obscure
bookkeeping of the utilities and
show where the money came from
and went.
- 3—Appointment of a public de-
fender.
- 4—Provision for monthly ac-
countings.
- 5—Control of construction by
the commission to eliminate pad-
ded construction costs on which in-
flated rates might be based.
- 6—Authorization for municipa-
lities to build and operate electric
plants without certificates of neces-
sity or authorization from the
legislature.
- 7—Provisions for larger salaries
for commissioners and employees
of the commissions.

600 Chicagoans
Honor Thomas
At A Dinner

Chicago.—The dinner to Nor-
man Thomas organized by the
Chicago League for Industrial De-
mocracy was one of the most
striking tributes paid a Socialist
leader in many years of Chicago
history. Over 600 from various
sections of the community at-
tended. The Amalgamated Clothing
Workers, the International Ladies
Garment Workers and the Millin-
ery Workers were heavily rep-
resented. There were scores of social
workers and a great many from
university circles, both students
and professors. The Chicago press
played its usual shabby role and
practically ignored the gathering.
Thomas spoke on "Catching Up
With Ourselves," urging a realistic
Socialist approach to the economic
and political problems of the day.

Hunting A Job

A Morning in A New York Private
Employment Agency

By Jessie Lloyd

"HOW about a nice \$4 job?
"Or would you like this little
\$2.80 job in Brooklyn, paying \$7
a week?"

The speaker is a private employ-
ment agent, one of the Sixth avenue
leeches who play their wits
and ability to afford an office and
telephone against the desperation
of the unemployed, who exact
from the jobless, in return for an
address, 10% of their first month's
salary.

"Four dollars may look big
money to you now, but remember
it pays you \$10 a week," he adds,
with a grin that is meant to be
encouraging.

The girl stares as if hypnotized
by the shine of his sleek hair and
ostentatiously false diamond stick-
pin. Then her thin hands open
the worn purse and she fingers a
few bills. \$10 or \$7? \$4 or \$2.80?
She wants to be a waitress—well,
anything you want in this coun-
try, it costs money. You can't ex-
pect to get a swell \$10 a week job
hefting dishes 10 hours a day for
nothing. Four dollars, then—But
you have to wait seven days for
pay. She gives up her ambition.
"\$2.80 is all I can afford now,"
she says apologetically. "The on-
ly trouble is," she adds with a wan
smile, "you can't live on \$7."

He hastens to turn on a new
line of sales talk.

"Why, \$7 is just the beginning
of what you'll get in this place.
This ain't no Coffee Pot, no coun-
ter job. You'll be waiting on table,
girl. And it's a corner, the busi-
est corner in Brooklyn. With a
little friendliness and good cheer,
you'll be making all of \$13 a week.
I'm telling you! It's the same in
all service jobs—the lower the
wages, the better the job. Why,
what do you think they pay the
bell-hops in the Plaza. The bell-
hops have to pay the hotel \$20 a
week to be allowed to work there!"

After she has paid her \$2.80 and
gone out with the address, he turns
to the reporter, who was intro-
duced by an acquaintance as want-
ing to learn the business.

"Yeah, you can make a good
living in this business, but you got
to know how. I'm a good deal of
a philosopher, myself, and as I
figure it out its 100% bluff. You
got to size people up and make
'em feel you know all about it."

The Labor Government And
Unemployment in England

By Jessie Stephen

IT WAS a pretty safe bet when
Labor took office in Britain
that the other parties would
choose the acute unemployment
situation which exists at present
as their safest line of attack upon
MacDonald's Cabinet. Conserva-
tives would forget, very conveni-
ently, their own bad record; how,
with a tremendous majority be-
hind them, with pledges given to
the electors in return for their
support, that this problem would
be tackled in fine style and reme-
died, the figures steadily mounted
during the whole five years of their
term.

We have not been disappointed.
The very papers which had made
all sorts of excuses for Premier
Baldwin's inability to cope with
the situation have now joined in
an attack upon MacDonald for
failing to bring the millennium, de-
spite his minority position in the
House of Commons. Over that we
need not complain, but there is
certainly some reason for the La-
bor Government to resent the
misrepresentations being so wide-
ly broadcast at the present time.

Beside me as I write I have the
party's appeal to the electors on
unemployment, and a statement of
policy. Nowhere do I find, as
claimed by the capitalist press,
that we deceived the electors by
stating we could solve the unem-
ployment situation immediately.
Indeed, it was pointed out, even
with a majority over both the
older parties, it would take some
time to deal effectively with the
situation.

In the first place, our first steps
would take the form of mitigating
the sufferings of the unemployed
while we set about finding more
permanent solutions. Big relief
works would be put in hand to
carry us over for a year or two un-
til more constructive schemes be-
gan to mature.

With reference to these prom-
ises it is worth while to note that
the previous government had dealt
very harshly with the unemployed.
Nearly a quarter of a million were
struck off the "live register."
This latter is the list of unem-
ployed who are entitled to draw
unemployed pay each week so long
as they remain workless. The ex-
cuse given for disbarring them
was the old stock argument of
"not genuinely seeking work."

No proper test was applied or could
be applied, but they got away
with it.

J. H. Thomas, the Lord Privy
Seal, who is in charge of the de-
partment specially set up to find
work, predicted some time ago
that the Government's efforts to
help these unfortunate by put-
ting them back on the "live reg-
ister" would result in inaccurate

He puffs complacently. "Then you
can't be sothearted. These people
will rob you if they get the chance."

"For instance there was a wo-
man just last week that said she
had three sick kids, so I let her
have the job on credit till pay day.
After she got the job she said she
wouldn't pay for it. Can you beat
it? Well, I hated to do it, with
the kids and all, but I had to get
the boss to fire her. It's the prin-
ciple of the thing. She came back
to me this morning crying and
begging to have me put her some-
where. But I told her I wouldn't
handle her any more. You can't
be weak-minded in this business."

Just then a capacious motherly
woman enters and asks for a fac-
tory job.

"How old are you,"

"How many children have you,"

"Six."

"I'm sorry, but we have no fac-
tory jobs just now."

"What's the matter," I ask af-
terwards. "I thought you had a
lot of factory jobs."

"Didn't you see? She's too
heavy."

"Does that matter—in a fac-
tory?"

"Why sure. She might be a very
comfortable woman, for the home,
but she'd never move fast enough
in a factory. Factories are keyed
right up nowadays. If I sent her
there, they would just send her back."

There is a stir in the men's sec-
tion of the job sharkery. "You
sent me all the way out to Brook-
lyn and when I got there, there
wasn't any job," cries a lank old
busboy. The glum line of waiting
jobless stare, glummer than ever.
"What's the matter with you,"
shouts the job shark. "Why didn't
you go right over there? The
trouble with you is, you had to
stop and get something to eat."

"I did go right over," insists the
man, indignant over his wasted
morning. The shark is annoyed at
having to disgorge the fee, so he
continues to lecture and curse, but
eventually he has to cough up.

The storm has blown over, and
the hero is engaged in a really
calm exhibition of how a night
club cigarette girl can increase her
sales to drunkards for the
benefit of a shy, pretty blonde.

"We always coach our people—
that's how we keep our job client-
ele—send people who can do the

trick. Now you can do it, girl—all
you need is confidence."

And he proceeds to set down an
imaginary tray on an imaginary
table, and with a graceful gesture
and fetching leer, presses an imagi-
nary cigarette into the mouth of
an imaginary rouse, saying coyly:
"I know this will taste better than
anything you ever tried before."

"I—I don't know whether I
could do it," says the girl.

"Now I tell you what—we'll
make you a little cloak-room girl.
You'd be a lovely cloak-room girl
but you haven't got quite the sang-
sengs for a cigarette girl. Would
you like that, dearie?"

But there is more trouble in the
men's room, and our vamp-trainer
is called out of Eden. This time
the complaining voice is shrill with
the weak intensity of hunger, out-
raged and thwarted.

"I want my money back. I paid
you \$8 for that job, last Monday,
and here they laid me off already.
Just a week of work, just \$12 for
my family, and here I got to go
jobhunting again. I paid for a
job, and I want my money back."

The shark tries to quiet him, for
such outbursts are bad for busi-
ness. But the man only shouts
louder, and seeing this, the shark
outshouts him, outgambles him, out-
curses him. With a final grand
gesture, he leads the man to the
wall, where a copy of the New
York state law on employment
agencies is conspicuously framed.

"You see? If a man is dis-
charged within a week, he is en-
titled to his money back. After
that the agent is not responsible.
Is it our fault, if you don't give
satisfaction? Now get out, or I'll
call the police on you for making
a public nuisance." His great lazy
slouch of an assistant, who has not
much intelligence but is perhaps
retained for just such occasions,
eases the betrayed one out. What
can he do? Law is law, and his
ways are mysterious. All he
knows is, \$8 is gone forever. And
where is he going to get a job
next?

Noticing that the law also con-
tains a prohibition of the practice
of splitting fees with employers,
I ask him whether he ever does it.
"Why, you have to with the big
employers—hotels and such. Com-
petition is so keen in this business,
that if you don't they just go to
some other fellow who will—and
one hotel means a lot of jobs."

"With the advantage of Mr.
Bell's absence I hope to get John
H. Bankhead to really find out
from the Alabama Power Com-
pany what they will, under pres-
sure, finally agree to. In other
words we will disclose through
the Bankhead connection every
possible phase of the case as far
as the power companies will show
their hands. More about this
when I see you.—J. W. W."

Bankhead the Go-Between

Bankhead, now a candidate for
senator from Alabama, was thus
the go-between for the Alabama
Power Company group, at the
head of which is Owen D. Young,
in seeking a deal with the chemi-
cal group—the American Cyanam-
id Company—as to joining forces
to prevent the passage by Con-
gress of the Norris bill for gov-
ernment operation of the power
plant at Muscle Shoals. Hoover
and Huston, behind the scenes,
were trying to bring the rival pri-
vate bidders for the Shoals plant
to drop their rivalry and defeat
the public operation of this huge
government investment. They
were working to prevent low-
priced electricity being marketed
by the nation.

In another confidential mem-
orandum to Huston, dated April 17,
1929—six weeks after Hoover be-
came President—Worthington
wrote that Hoover had delivered
an address at Seattle on power
development which was marked
by "wisdom" and should be cir-
culated with all letters from
Worthington's office.

Jessie Stephen
Speaks Sunday
At Rand School

"The flapper vote made the Five-
Power Naval Conference possible.
But for that vote of the women
of Great Britain, a Tory govern-
ment would still be in power,"
declared Jessie Stephen, scheduled
to speak on "Woman's Part in Social
Progress" at a mass meeting called
by the Woman's Section of the
Socialist Party to be held this Sun-
day afternoon, March 2nd, in the
Rand School Auditorium.

"There are 30,000 women en-
rolled in the Woman's Section of
the British Labor party, organized
in 1,500 locals," said Miss Stephen.
"They issue a paper of their own
'The Labor Movement.' The La-
bor Party frankly admits that
without the activity of this well
organized body of women and the
consequent large woman vote for
labor there would not be a labor
government today."

"There are now thirteen women
members of Parliament, nine of
them labor. American women are
much more backward politically
than British women which is an
important factor in the situation
here, for in my judgment it will
have to be the women who will
bring the idealism of socialism in-
to American politics."

What those schemes are I shall
describe in a further article, since
it seems to me there is a great
deal of misunderstanding on this
side of the Atlantic as to what
British Labor is about.

Under the circumstances, the
Labor Government thought it
wiser to make a grant of \$50,000,
000 to reduce this deficit and thus
be in a position to help those who
were receiving nothing. There is
also the fact that although there
was a substantial surplus on the
Budget when Labor left office,
Snowden finds on his return five
years later that there is now a
deficit of \$375,000,000, which can
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