

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Racketeer Newspapers—Police and the Unemployed—
Hoover Regime Drifts—The Insurgent Miners—
The Unemployment Tragedy—The Menace
of Armaments

LOST IN THE PROVINCES

KANSAS CITY.

THIS rushing around the country has its pleasures and its uses but it makes it almost impossible to keep up with the news of the day well enough to write this column properly. The trouble is, first, with the rushing process, and second with the papers. I think in some ways the latter are improving, for instance in the space given to foreign news, but most of them are still dreadful and one's chance of really knowing something about what is going on in France or Russia or England or most of America largely depends upon getting a New York paper. And this isn't New York provincialism either!

The influence of papers like the *Chicago Tribune* and *Herald-Examiner* which between them monopolize the morning field in Chicago and nearly monopolize a great stretch of surrounding country is viciously bad. The *Tribune* fights its potential rivals with a contract with newsmen forbidding them to handle any newcomer. Both papers are said to use gangsters in their circulation departments. Thus the famous racketeer Dion O'Brien got his start. A paper which considered entering the Chicago morning field desisted because, it is said, it estimated that it would cost at least twenty lives to establish itself. Is there a logical connection between such tactics and the Tribune's type of militaristic jingoism and capitalism? Anyway, here's a reason for building up the Milwaukee Leader!

LONGING FOR THE FIGHT

TO go back to the news and this poor commentator: I know that the New York police, like the police elsewhere, inexorably break up a demonstration of the unemployed under Communist auspices at the City Hall; that New York Socialists are making a good fight for some better bill than the tragically inadequate Old Age Assistance bill, and I hope for an unemployment insurance bill; that the minority of the Commission on the Public Service Commission law embodied some of our Socialist proposals in its report; and that Walker is handling the transit unification bill and neglecting the bus bill in the legislature like a man more anxious for an alibi for himself and an issue against the Republicans than like a man anxious for honest and efficient municipal ownership and operation. How often I wish I were home to help in these fights!

WASHINGTON STILL DRIFTS

AT Washington I know or think I know that Congress, including the so-called progressives, drifts without a policy but will soon finish with a rare old hash of a tariff bill; that Secretary Wilbur is trying to defeat the intent of the law by letting private companies get a large share of Boulder Dam power which should go to California's efficient municipal systems; that the Federal Power Commission and its secretary are thoroughly discredited but that they are likely to sign away to the trust the Flathead power in Montana instead of holding it for public development or at least giving it to a rival bidder whose terms in some respects, especially what he would give to the Indian owners of the site, seem to be better. But bary a peep from Montana's progressives, Walsh and Wheeler.

HOPE FOR THE MINERS

SOME news this running around the country helps one get. Thus, what I have seen and heard makes me more and more emphatically wish for the success of the Miners' Convention in Springfield, Ill., on March 10, in opposition to the Lewis machine's hand picked one on the same date. The Illinois insurgents may not be perfect but all the hope I see is with them.

ROOVER AND UNEMPLOYMENT

ANOTHER thing: after seeing lots of Republicans from Pittsburgh to Denver I think a little more of President Hoover and what he has accomplished this first year. True enough, he hasn't the philosophy or the leadership we need. But he works. And he clearly wants, as I said in the campaign of 1928, "milk from contented cows." Most of his fellow Republicans, merchants, manufacturers, open shoppers, just want the milk and don't even care whether the cows are contented.

Where the President has fallen down worst and with him the two old parties, at this time, seems to be (1) in dealing with unemployment; and (2) in handling the naval disarmament situation.

Unemployment has reached tragic proportions. The President and Big Business between them may avoid a panic; they have not greatly averted or mitigated the anguish of the days of vain search for work. More than ever it is clear that it was a social crime to reduce the income tax; it and inheritance taxes should have been increased to make the program of public works more effective and to begin unemployment insurance and immediate assistance to the unemployed.

It is a bitter commentary on our intelligence as well as our heart that in New York City—to give one example—30 or 40 percent of the building trades workers are jobless when the replacement of slums by decent dwellings cries out to high heaven to be done. It should be done now. But only Socialists advocated municipal housing to help the workers both as producers and users of the houses which we so sorely need even if office space is over built.

CHINA AND THE FARMERS SLAVE

A WHOLE province starving in China, perhaps 2,000,000 dead, glut of wheat in America and Canada and uncertain prices for hard-pressed farmers and their cooperatives. What a chance to bring hunger and surplus together even if it should mean a government appropriation for Chinese relief. It is very late. It may not even be too late. What is social organization good for except to meet such needs?

FIVE IMPATIENT NATIONS

FIVE nations, avowedly friendly, all having signed a pact outlawing war, cannot reduce or even limit naval armaments then there is an impotence and an insincerity about their statesmanship and the quality of public opinion which forebodes disaster. So far I should go with Senator Borah's recent speech.

But I should go further. America is specifically to blame because in the face of the President's specific statement that other nations cannot go too low for us our delegation blocked greater progress toward the abolition of battleships. America also is to blame for not understanding the reasonableness of French and British nervousness about the possibility of our supplying a nation which breaks the Kellogg pact with loans and arms through the strength of our navy. It won't do for us to say that we think moral force is enough when by keeping our navy we show that we fear something more may be necessary. Why not at least agree in advance to go into conference with other nations as to what to do with an aggressor nation which despite the Kellogg pact goes to war in contempt of resort to all means of peaceful settlement? Someone—I forget who first—has said that Hoover without the necessity of a formal treaty might declare such an intention and so establish the Hoover doctrine which might help save the London Conference. It's an idea worth thinking about.

What I have written is not to acquit French politicians of making too high demands and at a critical time fighting for cabinet offices and not for principle for all the world like Republicans and Democrats. But let's begin to save the London Conference by getting American action in the right line.

The declaration of the Minsk rabbi about the Russian religious situation sounds to me more genuine and less forced in the denials of real religious persecution than the earlier statement of the Orthodox priests. There is sound sense in their warning as there was in Ramsay MacDonald's warning in England against too vehement foreign protests.

Of my trip I shall not write in detail. But the interest in towns and colleges is very encouraging and the hospitality everywhere of friends and comrades a delight. I hope and believe the members of the N. E. C. in their speaking tours to and from the meeting in Los Angeles will find ever increasing signs which I now see as reawakening interest in Socialism.

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Unemployment Crisis Spreads; N. Y. Unions and Socialists Act

N. E. C. Western Tour Speeds Party Work Throughout Country

Full Schedules for Hillquit, Hoan, Maurer and
Others — State Organizing Conferences Scheduled — Literature Selling Out — New Party
Paper in Los Angeles — City to Hold 25
Meetings for N. E. C.

By Clarence Senior
(National Secretary, Socialist
Party)

CHICAGO.—The trip of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to the Pacific Coast for its March 28-29 meeting in Los Angeles is awakening activity in places where the party has done nothing for years. Requests for speaking engagements are still coming in as the news of the trip gets around to former Socialists who want to get back into harness.

Two state membership conferences are already planned and others are being considered. Colorado Socialists will meet in Denver Sunday, April 6, with James O'Neal as the principal speaker. Plans will be made for the state campaign and for the Congressional elections.

The Socialists of Washington will meet in Seattle on the same day with Mayor Daniel W. Hoan as the principal speaker. The conference will discuss the reorganization of the state which dropped

out of the organized column when Emil Herman died.

Speakers Scheduled

The schedules thus far arranged include the following dates:

Morris Hillquit, national chairman, will speak in Detroit, party banquet, Hotel Wolverine, 6 p. m., March 16; Ann Arbor, student's Round Table Club, 4:15 p. m., March 17; Chicago, on the 18th and 19th; Kansas City, Unitarian Church, March 21; Salt Lake City, informal conference, March 23; San Francisco and Los Angeles until first week in April; University of Redlands, Economic Dept., April 3 or 4; San Diego Open Forum, April 6; Redlands, April 7 and 8; St. Louis, April 10.

Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, will speak in the following places: Chicago, April 15, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Sioux City, Workmen's Circle, April 16; Des Moines, April 17; Kansas City, probably, April 19 and 20; Denver, City Club, April 21; Sacramento, April 23; San Francisco, April 24.

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Emergency Conference Is Set Up

Over 200,000 Workers
In N. Y. Petition Mayor
for Action—Large
Conference on March
19th

OVER 200,000 workers affiliated with trade unions and political and fraternal labor organizations in New York City banded together this week to put up a permanent fight for unemployment relief. Officials of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Socialist Party, the N. Y. Painters Union, the United Hebrew Trades and the Workmen's Circle have set up the Emergency Conference on Unemployment.

Two important first steps were taken:

1—A call for a large delegate conference of trade unions, Socialist and Workmen's Circle branches was authorized. The conference will be held in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, on Wednesday evening, March 19th.

2—A petition signed by the organizers of the conference was filed with Mayor Walker calling for immediate action in three directions,—in the speeding up of public works, in the setting up of a relief system, and in the creation of free employment agencies.

Want Slums Cleared

In its petition to the Mayor, the Emergency Conference pointed out that less contracts for the construction of subways were awarded last December and January than in December of 1928 and January of 1929. The plans are ready, the funds are available for such construction and contracts should be awarded with maximum speed, it was urged. Also under public works, the petition urged that the city embark immediately on a program of slum-clearance and construction of municipal houses.

The conference, under the head of relief action, denounced the necessity of workers appealing to private charity and asked that the entire city be zoned into relief districts and that each district have a central relief station where food and clothing should be dispensed to the needy.

"It would be a lasting disgrace if in the richest city in the world a single man, woman or child were to go hungry," the petition declares.

The conference plans to set up permanent headquarters for the duration of the employment crisis where the interests of the unemployed will be watched and appropriate action taken as the occasions arise. Abraham I. Shipiloff, head of the Pocketbook Workers Union, was elected temporary chairman of the conference, and Edward Levinson of the Socialist Party temporary secretary.

Others who took part in the organizing conference and whose names were attached to the petition to the Mayor included Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, N. Chant, Louis Schaeffer of the Socialist Party, Abraham Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, William Bloom and Isadore Nagler of the I. L. G. W. U., Morris Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades, Philip Zauner, secretary, District Council No. 9, of the Painters; Leonard C. Kaye of the pressmen's union, Joseph Bas-

While making an effort to secure wider support from the non-Socialist groups of the electorate, a special effort is being made by the members of the Yorkville branch, who are in charge of the campaign, to get out the enrolled Socialist voters and those who enrolled

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Unions Are Urged To Lead In Fight To Aid Jobless

THE TRADE UNION movement and the Socialist Party are called upon to take the lead in organizing movements for redress of the grievances of the unemployed, in a statement by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and James O'Neal, national committeeman of the party in New York. The statement declares organized labor has thus far neglected its duties in this respect. Hillquit and O'Neal, disassociating the Socialist party from any part in the Communist activity now going on, proceed to denounce the brutality of the local police in many cities toward the demonstrations led by the Communists.

Common action between the Socialist locals and the trade unions is urgent, the Socialist leaders declare. Their statement follows:

"The general stagnation of industry with consequent unemployment of millions of workers is dispelling many illusions regarding our much advertised 'prosperity.' At the same time it is evident that no intelligent preparations have been made, either by the employing classes or by city, state and federal authorities to meet the grave situation growing out of unemployment. The collapse of 'prosperity' illusions has been accompanied by inaction and hopeful assurances that the industrial stagnation is only temporary.

"Meantime the trade unions, which face a solemn duty in this matter, have done much in giving publicity to labor displacement by machines and to a further displacement by the industrial stagnation, but have failed to work out a program of relief and to give it that publicity which alone can bring effective action.

"More than a year ago, in anticipation of the present emergency, the Socialist Party through its National Executive Committee warned of the unemployment situation that is now before us. It advised the formation of delegate bodies uniting all organizations of labor in all cities to deal with the issue of unemployment and to urge the adoption of measures of relief by city, state, and federal authorities.

"In New York City the Socialist Party is cooperating in an effort to get labor organizations to associate together in a conference to formulate a program of relief, to arouse the public conscience, to place reliable data before the people, and to secure effective action.

"We are confident that the emergency has now become so acute that this common action will be taken in New York and other cities and that some intelligent steps will be taken in this important problem.

"The Socialist Party disclaims any connection with the futile policy of baiting the public authorities that is carried on in a

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(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Police brutality in dealing with unemployment demonstrations is "fanning into revolutionary heat the now dormant but extensive dissatisfaction with the present industrial system," Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party declared in a statement made public in Washington Wednesday.

The Socialist secretary predicted "exceptional brutality would be the order of the day Thursday unless those who believe in free speech bring pressure to bear on the local police. Socialists all over the country were urged to bring civil action against police who use brutal means or interfere with the right of free speech. At the same time Mr. Senior called upon President Hoover to enunciate immediately a program of unemployment relief.

Mr. Senior has issued a call to all Socialist Party locals to immediately organize mass meetings to deal with the problem of unemployment. Extensive circulation of Socialist literature dealing with unemployment is urged.

Mr. Senior's statement follows: "All signs seem to indicate a nation-wide drive against any expression of economic discontent in order to uphold the sinking balloon of Hoover prosperity. Back of the raids all over the country by local police departments on headquarters and meetings of minority

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Hoover Optimism Dispelled

Demonstrations, Police
Violence and Senate
Debates Force Em-
ployment Issue to the
Fore

TARDILY the country is being awakened to the grave unemployment crisis, hitherto disregarded through a conspiracy of silence and false optimism on the part of the business press and the failure of the trade unions and the unemployed to make their plight known.

Vicious police brutality perpetrated against demonstrators, an attempt by the Department of Justice and others to create a "red" scare, coupled with a fiery outburst of resentment against President Hoover's complacency on the part of some United States Senators have broken through the silence of the press.

Following on the heels of appeals by Morris Hillquit, national chairman; Clarence Senior, secretary, and James O'Neal, national committeeman of the Socialist Party, Socialist locals throughout the nation are making plans to crystallize the demands of the unemployed into immediate practical demands for relief and creation of jobs. These programs will be vigorously pushed.

Conference Called in N. Y. In New York City, the Socialist Party this week formed an alliance with representatives of over 200,000 progressive trade unionists. A program of relief and employment was drawn up and presented to the Mayor of the City of the State Legislature. A permanent organization will be created to fight for this program. A larger conference has already been called.

The American Federation of Labor, while holding to the belief that the depression has been checked and "prosperity" will soon return, made public figures during the week showing unemployment to be increasing. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., divided his public statements between a denunciation of the Communist international for attempting to foment a revolution here and an investigation of the few American Communists.

The Communists, for their part, have mobilized their dwindled forces and in a number of cities groups of them have stormed city halls, fought the police, etc. They have been met with severe brutality on the part of the police, who thus played into their hands giving them the publicity they desired. In Philadelphia, however, the reactionary Mayor happened to have a sense of humor. He invited the Communists into the City Hall to listen to their demands. They refused to come in, and the demonstration flickered out.

The agitation produced by this has shown results in many channels:

1. City councils have in many instances appropriated emergency sums for relief; little, however, has been done in speeding up public works urged as the main line of defense against unemployment.
2. Almost overnight unemployment insurance is becoming a practical issue where before it was only an academic demand in Socialist literature. Politicians are talking up the question as a vote getter and bills have been introduced in many state legislatures.
3. The war on job shakery has been intensified in many cities because of outrageous exactions made on the unemployed for the few jobs obtainable.
4. Wrath of economists and students has been concentrated on the federal labor department for its failure to collect national employment figures, as well as for bungling efforts to deceive the country by fake prosperity figures.

New York, least affected of all big cities by the industrial depression, records lowest job levels in years. Against a job for every applicant in January, 1929, at non-profit making agencies in New York, there were two and

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Lewis Demands Green Fight Ill. Miners

Illinois Group Gets More
Support — Two Con-
ventions Are Set for
This Monday

INDIANAPOLIS.—(F P)—Pres. William Green of the A. F. of L. will have to decide in the near future whether he will stick to Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, or give aid and comfort to Lewis' enemies who have called a rival U. M. W. convention in Springfield, Ill., March 10. The issue is put up to Green in the form of a demand from Lewis' international executive board that he either compel Pres. Walker of the Illinois Federation of Labor to resign or revoke the Illinois Federation's charter because Walker signed the call to the Springfield convention.

The rival conventions of Lewis' organization and the new U. M. W. are less than a week away. Walker is said to have weighed carefully the possible effects of his signing the Springfield call. It is not considered likely that he will resign, even if Green asks him to. Revocation Talked Of

Revocation of the Illinois Federation's charter would be an action unprecedented in A. F. of L. history, the more so as that body conforms in principle and practice to A. F. of L. standards. Various city central body charters have been revoked, and even the Chicago Federation of Labor has come under official A. F. of L. displeasure in the past for its stand in behalf of the labor party, and recognition of Soviet Russia.

Pres. Walker, himself a former mine worker, whose federation receives substantial part of its financial support from the per capita of Illinois miners' locals is expected to stand pat. Whether Green himself will take the action demanded by his former superior, Lewis, is known only to Green and his intimate advisers. No little concern has been felt in high A. F. of L. circles concerning the rapid disintegration of the United Mine Workers under the Lewis regime. It is because of this that the Illinois district officials, aided by Walker, Brophy, Howat and others, issued a call to all miners to send delegates to Springfield, March 10, to establish the United Mine Workers on a legal and functioning basis. They claim that the old U. M. W. charter has expired and that the Lewis organization is dead both actually and theoretically.

Kansas Rally Too
Lewis will also have to take

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Claessens Up For Congress Next Tuesday

Special Election to Be
Held in 18th Congress-
sional District of New
York City

ENCOURAGED by the showing they made in the special election several months ago to elect an Assemblyman in the 16th A. D. Manhattan, Socialists of that and adjoining districts, comprising the 18th Congressional district, are conducting an energetic campaign for August Claessens, Socialist nominee for the vacancy created by the appointment of Congressman James F. Carey to the Supreme Court bench. The election will be held next Tuesday, March 11.

Between now and next Tuesday 10,000 voters residing in the 14th, 15th, 16th and 18th Assembly districts, which comprise the 18th Congressional district, will receive copies of a leaflet written by August Claessens, setting forth the position the Socialists take on pending national problems, and appealing to the voters to join the worldwide movement for labor control of governments. Accompanying the leaflet is a letter signed by the campaign committee, informing the voters that the polls will be open from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening, and that all qualified voters who voted in the last general election are entitled to vote at the same polling places.

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To Party Members In Greater New York

COMRADES:

In December you voted to reduce membership dues from 50 cents a month to \$1.00 a year. You did not do this to save yourselves \$5.00 a year. Your purpose was to make it easier to get unaffiliated Socialists into the party. You commissioned Marx Lewis to conduct a membership drive. He and the whole office staff are working like beavers. They are getting results. But they cannot make the drive as big and effective as it should be, for the lack of money to pay for printing, stationery, postage stamps, and clerical help.

If we can get in even one-tenth of those who voted the straight Socialist ticket last Fall, we shall have a powerful organization and there will always be something doing—and when things are doing, money comes in with which to do them. But we must get started.

The response to the \$1.00 appeal for circular-

izing the registered voters has been gratifying. It indicates a live interest by the party membership in the projected program authorized by the last city convention.

But to make a drive worthy of the name we need the equivalent of \$1.00 from each person who is now a party member. We are waiting to hear from those who have not yet sent in their \$1.00, or more if they can afford it.

Bring your dollars or mail them to Drive Manager, Socialist Party, 7 East 15th Street, New York. Contributions in response to this appeal will be used exclusively for the Membership Drive.

For the City Executive Committee,
JACOB PANKEN,
Chairman, Finance Committee.
JULIUS GERBER,
Chairman, Budget Committee.

Senior Urges Meetings On Job Crisis

Socialist National Sec-
retary Denounces Police
Violence — Calls on
Hoover to Give Pro-
gram

CHICAGO.—Police brutality in dealing with unemployment demonstrations is "fanning into revolutionary heat the now dormant but extensive dissatisfaction with the present industrial system," Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party declared in a statement made public in Washington Wednesday.

The Socialist secretary predicted "exceptional brutality would be the order of the day Thursday unless those who believe in free speech bring pressure to bear on the local police. Socialists all over the country were urged to bring civil action against police who use brutal means or interfere with the right of free speech. At the same time Mr. Senior called upon President Hoover to enunciate immediately a program of unemployment relief.

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Mr. Senior's statement follows: "All signs seem to indicate a nation-wide drive against any expression of economic discontent in order to uphold the sinking balloon of Hoover prosperity. Back of the raids all over the country by local police departments on headquarters and meetings of minority

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Senators Flay Woll 'Red' Scare

LaFollette, Wheeler and Borah See Unemployment Obscured - Justice Dept. Denies Fund Story

WASHINGTON (F. P.)—Matthew Woll's charge that Moscow had sent \$1,250,000 to this country to be used by Communists in stirring up riots and other demonstrations by the unemployed—thereby diverting public attention from the serious problem of unemployment to the thrill of a "red scare," was flayed by Sen. Wheeler of Montana and Sen. LaFollette of Wisconsin, during the Senate debate on unemployment March 3. Wheeler suggested that Woll should be summoned before the Senate committee to present his facts as to the huge sum which he claimed had been entrusted by the Soviets to W. Z. Foster to start an uprising on March 6.

If Woll can prove his charges, said Wheeler, then it is up to Hoover's Department of Justice to act on the information. But the Montana farmer-leader made it clear that he considered that Woll was dragging a red herring across the trail of the unemployment crisis, and he suggested that possibly Woll and his assistant, Michael J. Flynn, were working for the Republican national committee. Woll is chairman and Flynn secretary of a high-tariff lobby known as America's Wage Earners' Protective League, with which the Grundy tariff lobby was shown to be in correspondence.

D. J. Denies Story
LaFollette, following a talk by Wagner of New York in favor of legislation to secure reliable statistics on unemployment, started the debate on the Woll "red scare." He said that Woll, as acting president of the National Civic Federation and as one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, had issued a statement endorsing the charges made Feb. 27 by Chicago agents of the Department of Justice, although meanwhile the Department itself had denied these stories of a Communist fund of \$1,250,000 to promote riots in the name of the unemployed.

"It is a grave injustice," said LaFollette, "to the millions of men and women who are out of work and are honestly seeking employment, to drag across the tail of this serious situation the red herring of an anti-Communist campaign. It reminds us of the tactics of Attorney General Palmer and Daugherty. Under their regimes, whenever there occurred a dispute between capital and labor, the effort was made by the Department to make the public believe that we were about to be overwhelmed by the Reds."

"Now the demands of the men and women pleading for work are met by this cry of Communist plots and the clubs of the police."

I notice that in Chicago, especially, the police continue to raid the Communist headquarters, and the purpose seems to be to brand as Communists all the unemployed who dare appeal for work.

"We have been fed up on this talk of prosperity so long that it is now thought that the police may treat as a crime the admission of any person that he is unemployed. It is time to stop these hush-hush tactics. Every intelligent person knows that the Communists are a negligible factor, in numbers and in influence, in this country. Organized labor has stood as a solid phalanx against Communist propaganda. But the surest way to break down this resistance to Communist arguments is for the unemployed to be painted as reds whenever they hold mass meetings and other demonstrations in order to remind the authorities of their need."

LaFollette called attention to the violations of the White House pledge of no reduction in wages, and to the wholesale dismissals of workers since the stock market crash last October. Johnson of California ironically reminded him that the White House had assured everyone who lost a fortune in the stock market crash that they were mistaken—they were not really hurt at all, and prosperity was still here.

Couzens of Michigan, whose committee made a report on unemployment last year, demanded action on the Brookhart bill giving unemployment relief to world war veterans. Couzens said hundreds of thousands of these veterans are now "unemployed and suffering." When Smoot tried to stop the discussion, Couzens retorted that the administration and Smoot had responded to the stock market collapse by giving a tax-reduction Christmas present of \$160,000,000 to those who did not need it.

Sen. Borah, upon reading a Chicago dispatch of Feb. 28, quoting agents of the Department of Justice as predicting a Moscow-inspired revolt on March 6, issued a warning that this alarm against Communists is a "red herring used to conceal the truth of widespread unemployment." Virtually all of the progressive group in the Senate agreed with him in the suspicion that the administration is now trying to conceal the actual fact of nation-wide unemployment by tales of radical plots.

Unions Urged to Fight For the Unemployed

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few cities by irresponsible groups of extremists. It believes that these elements will be consigned to obscurity in proportion as responsible labor organizations take the leadership in the important task of coping with the critical situation.

"At the same time the Socialist Party condemns the policy of brutal police repression of these unemployed demonstrators. Such action is lawless and inhuman, it strikes at civil liberties, and establishes a dangerous precedent. It diverts public attention from the dire plight of millions of jobless to inglorious battle scenes between an armed police force and a handful of misguided but harmless boys and girls.

"Neither noisy and planless demonstrations nor indiscriminate police clubbing offer a solution for the real distress caused by wide-spread and growing unemployment. Such a solution can only be attained by well planned and large-scale efforts elaborated by organized labor and supported by the government in all its branches."

Socialist Western Tour To Open Next Week As Party Shows Great Activity

(Continued from Page One)
Francisco and Los Angeles; Fresno, probably, April 1; Eugene, Oregon, April 2; Salem, April 3; Portland, three engagements, 4th; Seattle, Washington, State membership conference and Labor College, April 6; Spokane, April 8; Butte, Montana, April 9, probably; Twin Cities, April 11 and 12, four engagements.

Maurer and Ouel Dates
James H. Maurer, veteran labor leader, will travel through: Pittsburgh, March 12 or 13; Chicago, 14; Twin Cities, 15 and 16, three engagements; Duluth, 17; Butte, Mont., 19; Missoula, 20; Seattle Labor College, 23; Portland, three engagements, 24th; San Francisco and Los Angeles; Kansas City, Missouri; Central Labor Union, April 5; Gillespie, Ill., April 9.

James Ouel, editor of The New Leader, Socialist official organ, will speak: on March 16, Cincinnati; on the 17th in Richmond and Indianapolis; 18th, Terre Haute; 19th, Fort Scott, Kansas; 20th, Pittsburgh; 21st Arkansas City; 23rd, Dallas, Texas; 24th, either Fort Worth, El Paso, or Yuma; Los Angeles; April 3, Ogden, Utah; 4th, Salt Lake City; 6th, Denver; 7th, Goodland, Kansas, and 8th, Norton.

Jasper McLevy, Cheyenne, Wyo., March 23. Returning by way of San Antonio, Houston and Atlanta, speaking at two meetings.
Clarence Senor, executive secretary, will speak under the auspices of the intercollegiate department of the League for Industrial Democracy on a schedule which at present shows twenty-five stops. Many of them will be for the party also.

There are still some open dates on the schedules of the members shown and the other members of the committee are still open for engagements. Locals wanting dates are asked to write the national office immediately.

Arrangements are being made to have wide distribution of literature before and after the meetings in each city, and at the meetings new literature and party papers will be on sale. Each city having a speaker will launch its membership drive to aid the party in gaining its 30,000 new members.

Party Activities Increase

Every State is represented in the greatly increased activity of the party in distributing literature, holding meetings, and issuing public statements on various questions. This increase, while heartening, is not widespread enough to satisfy the demands of the present conditions of the work. This week a recent letter was sent to all localities of the party demanding that immediate steps be taken to organize meetings on unemployment and old age pensions. Attention was called to the bitter situation in which hundreds of thousands of workers now find themselves as indicated by the cries for more support from the charity agencies, the statements of the public employment offices and the news of deaths from starvation, exposure and suicide.

House to house distribution of literature was urged, as well as the passing out of leaflets before factory gates. The national office has been swamped by orders for literature and by requests for information about the Socialist program. It requests all correspondents to have patience if letters are not answered as quickly as they should be.

Vienna Leaflet Sold Out
According to The New York Times, unemployment a month ago "white collar" workers, including office employees, clerks, stenographers, and technical men is considerably greater than for many years. It prints a column of reports from New York City employment agencies showing that there is probably no hope for the situation to take a turn for the better before autumn. There are roughly six and one-half persons available for every job, the managers said. This offers an opportunity for the distribution of the pamphlet, "The Salaried Man," obtainable from the national office of the party for five cents.

The demand for copies of Vienna Under Socialism was so great that the national office was sold out immediately after the booklet was announced. A cable to the British Labor Party should bring a new shipment next week.

Jessie Stephen Tour
The party in Illinois has booked Comrade Stephen for a full week of activity among the miners. On Wednesday, March 5, she spoke in the miners' institute at Collinsville; 6th, miners' hall, Livingston; 7th, miners' hall, Carlinville; 8th, Wiltonville; on the 9th, at 3 p. m., at Gillespie; 10th, U. M. W. A. convention, Springfield; 11th, Canton.

From the 12th to the 19th of March she will be busy in Milwaukee and vicinity. The Young Circle League, Chicago, takes her on the 21st. From that date until the 23rd she is free for engagements in the district. Gary, Indiana, will hear her on the 23rd. From that date until the 28th she will be booked by David Rine of the Finnish Federation in Eastern Ohio. The 28th to the end of her visit she will work for the Pennsylvania party.

California's New Paper
The appearance of another good Socialist newspaper is another

Socialists of Spain Attack New Regime

Berenguer Called Symbol of Degeneration of Country - He Is Likened to de Rivera - Manifesto Suppressed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MADRID.—After the fall of Primo de Rivera the Spanish Socialist Labor Party and the General Union of Workers drew up a manifesto, the publication of which was forbidden by the censor of the new regime. This manifesto said:

"To Socialist Organizations, Labor Organizations and Public Opinion in General.

"We are once more faced with a Government born in the shadows, engendered by intrigue, arbitrarily nominated by powers which do not represent the will of the country.

"The Government presided over by General Berenguer does not differ essentially from that presided over by General Primo de Rivera, either in its origin, or in its significance, or in the possibilities upon which it is counting to realize its plans.

"It is true that the Government of General Berenguer was preceded by vague announcements of the re-establishment of constitutional normality and the restoration of the public liberties suspended by the dictatorship. Notwithstanding this, experience has made us justly distrustful, not only with respect to the vague offers, but also with respect to the most solemn promises of the liberalization of the political regime.

Senior Urges Meetings On Unemployment

(Continued from Page One)
groups calling attention to the existing widespread unemployment may be seen the hand of the Federal Department of Justice. Mass protests are forbidden or ruthlessly suppressed by methods that rival those used by the Czars and the Cheka of Russia. The right of petition is being denied. Spies and agents-provocateurs are being used to ferret out those responsible for holding meetings to discuss the subject of the greatest interest to all Americans—how to set five million men back to work.

"Tomorrow, when demonstrations have been arranged all over the United States, it is to be feared that exceptional brutality will be the order of the day unless all those who believe in freedom of speech, press and assembly bring public opinion to bear on their local police. The Socialist Party points to a succession of fallen nations based on force of arms instead of freedom of discussion and warns the Department of Justice and the police that they are fanning into revolutionary heat the now dormant but extensive dissatisfaction with the present industrial system.

"There is today no revolutionary organization in the United States worth a moment's consideration as long as the American heritage of freedom is adhered to, but the lesson of all history is that a small organization of fanatics driven underground and forced to pursue extralegal tactics is an extremely dangerous factor in civic life. It should also be apparent that men so hungry they will parade and demonstrate demanding work are not going to have their minds changed by the application of the police club or the blackjack.

While it is true that the tactics of many of those who have elected themselves spokesmen for the unemployed approximate police-baiting in the hope of achieving the publicity of martyrdom, it is unwise and lawless for the police to feed this desire. The only way out is to feed the unemployed and let those who would voice their grievances talk. What is needed immediately is a comprehensive program of unemployment relief. President Hoover should lose no time in formulating and executing such a program.

"The Socialist Party all over the country is called upon to defend the civil liberties of unemployed demonstrators in every possible way and to aid in bringing civil suits against the police who use brutal methods, making arrests where the law clearly has been violated."

Special Congressional Election on Tuesday

(Continued from Page One)
blank. If they are successful in this effort they will duplicate their accomplishment in the special election for the Assembly, when the Socialist party got out 100 per cent of its enrolled strength, while the two old parties dropped way below their enrolled strength.

A large banner has been strung across the Socialist headquarters at 241 East 84th Street, and every night members of the branch gather there to address the envelopes for the mailing. No mass meetings have been held, the Socialists having decided to concentrate their energies on a literature campaign. The organization is functioning at high speed, with many veterans of the movement cooperating with recent recruits to restore that branch to the position it once occupied as the leading branch in the country.

Unemployment Insurance Urged at Socialists Institute; N.Y. Pension Bill Debated

Laidler Says U. S. Lags Behind Others in Relief to Jobless - Waldman and Epstein Clash

A DEMAND upon the New York Legislature and Congress to pass laws providing for insurance against unemployment as one of the primary means of relieving the present widespread distress throughout the country was made by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy at the Institute on Social Insurance held at the Rand School by the school and the Socialist Party last week.

The recent development of technological unemployment in America, Dr. Laidler declared, had rendered the need for unemployment insurance even more pressing at the present time than that of old age pensions, important as that need was. As in the case of pensions, the United States was one of the few great nations of the world without systems of insurance for its unemployed willing and able to work. Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway, among other countries—all provided for state aid to its jobless workers.

Henry J. Rosner and Leo Waldman spoke at the first session of the Institute. Mr. Rosner, director of the Municipal Research Bureau of the Socialist Party, spoke on employment agencies. His talk followed the brief written by him and issued by Norman Thomas as chairman of the Socialist Committee on Public Affairs several weeks ago. He outlined the superiority of state and city free employment agencies over private fee-taking agencies. The latter more than frequently abuse the licenses under which they act and exact tribute from jobless men and women who can least afford financial losses. Mr. Rosner felt that removal of jurisdiction over the private agencies from the city to the state would not change the problem. He urged abolition of private agencies and favored setting up of a comprehensive public system with an efficient personnel and sufficient funds with which to operate.

The second session of the institute, held on Sunday under the chairmanship of Algernon Lee, brought a sharp debate between Louis Waldman, of the Socialist Party, and Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, on the value of the Mastick old age "pension" bill now pending in the New York state legislature.

Mr. Waldman was severe in his criticism of the bill, terming it a "fraud." He said its provisions are less liberal than the existing poor or welfare law. He doubted the constitutionality of a bill which would provide real pensions and urged that advocates of a real bill face the problem squarely of seeking a constitutional amendment, such as was obtained before the workmen's compensation was made an effective instrument. In particular, Waldman criticized the placing of the age limit at 70, urging it be lowered to 60; he denounced the provision for indefinite allowances saying that this elasticity would make possible political jobbing. Mr. Waldman urged that for the word "relief" in the bill, the word "allowance" be substituted so that the bill might to some extent be lifted out of the realm of pauper legislation.

Mr. Epstein devoted much of his time to an attack on the Socialists for, as he termed it, "shrieking for heaven." He admitted that the bill has serious defects but insisted it was still worth enacting for the gain it would afford in the direction of a new statement of principle, that is, the principle that the state is responsible for the care of its aged needy.

Prof. Evaline Burns of Columbia closed the Institute with an outline of some of the problems to be met in setting up a system of sickness and maternity insurance. The financing of such a scheme, the attitude of those who needed its aid, the frame of mind of co-operating doctors and pharmacists and the attitude of private societies which now provide relief to their members were all serious problems to

Pitt. Taxi Men Reject Surrender

Hackmen Refuse Settlement on Non-Union Basis—Company Seeking Aid

PITTSBURGH (F. P.)—Another effort to break the taxi drivers' new union, strike-born and tested in conflict with the Parmelee Transportation Co., was defeated by the strikers themselves when they rejected a proposed settlement, 1,153 to 1.

Cramming the roof garden of the Moose Temple to the doors, the taxi men in the largest meeting held since the beginning of the strike rejected almost unanimously the proposal that they abandon their union and receive in return certain wage concessions. The taxi monopoly agreed to a 37½ per cent commission, abolition of fines, damage costs and special charges but opposed recognition of the union.

Sensing before the meeting that the unionists would not tolerate a non-union agreement, Parmelee once more started recruiting of scabs. Mayor Kline's order banning Parmelee scab cabs from the streets still holds, but the company is expected to win a court order with the aid of the state public service commission to permit their reappearance.

This commission, headed by a former Mellon Standard Steel Co. lawyer, has consistently refused to permit smaller taxi companies to operate, although they have been able to guarantee service through recognizing the union.

A big benefit entertainment was held at a Pittsburgh theatre through the solidarity of unionized theatrical workers who contributed 22 acts of vaudeville and all the stage, electrical and musical labor involved. The entire city is alive to the challenge to Mellon control of the great open shop iron and steel center. From nearly every variety of organization—even religious—contributions are coming to the strike chest.

The union is maintaining an emergency taxi service for hospitals and similar agencies. "Union Car" signs are seen on the streets constantly as emergency vehicles go about their work with union sanction. The union is thus maintaining a successful taxi service for the city's minimum needs.

SOVIETISM vs. RELIGION!

IS RUSSIA JUSTIFIED?

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Mills Cut Shift Down To 55 Hours

Result of Southern Drive Seen—Green On Tour—Trouble Due in Danville, Elizabethton—Marion Boy Killed

RALEIGH, N. C.—(FP)—Women working nights in the mills, children under 16 on 12-hour shifts, men, women and children slaving 60 hours a week—these are some of the acute issues in North Carolina, leading industrial state of the south which lags behind even South Carolina in legislation on the working week.

Pres. William Green of the American Federation of Labor, swinging through the south for the second time in two months, is helping to crystallize the issue in forceful addresses given front page publicity in Old North State newspapers. In his first tour he touched only the tip of Carolina at Asheville, but this time he is speaking in Greensboro, a big cotton mill center and Durham, stronghold with Winston-Salem of the cigarette industry.

Strikes Are Expected
Southern mill interests are worried by the prospects of a resurgence of strikes among their "hands" as spring approaches. Gastonia, Marion and Elizabethton, scenes of strikes marked by employers' and police violence which focussed national attention on the 60-hour week, \$12 wages and night work of women and children in the south, may be reproduced with different names in 1930, to the damage of cotton mill owners' profits and reputations. Only in that light can the agreement be interpreted of leading mill owners of the south to cut the 60-hour shift to 55 hours on the day shift and 50 hours nights. This concession marks the first fruits of the campaign started last spring among southern mill workers.

Pres. Green has been stressing the need, in his speeches before southern legislatures, business men's clubs and labor audiences, for employers organizing as well as workers. Organization for the employers will end cutthroat competition, stabilize costs and make for profits, he urges, and as a result they will be able to reduce hours and boost wages. Strikes he deprecates as costly to the industry but inevitable if employers will not grant a living wage and a working period providing a human minimum of leisure for mill operatives.

Green Sees Continuous Struggle
"There has ever been a struggle between those who exploit and those who are exploited," Green told an audience which packed the courthouse at Greensboro. "The American Federation of Labor has grown out of this struggle. It is not perfect; it has made mistakes; but with all its faults it represents the heart and soul of labor in America."

"When the workers in the south sought organization, to whom could they appeal but to the forces of organized labor? We are in the south because the southern working man needs us. We are here because he asked us to come. There is no need," he continued, "for children to work, for women to work at night, in our civilization. The A. F. of L. condemns it. Society should forbid it."

Denounces Farm Conditions
"We believe industry can be so managed that those who furnish capital can prosper while at the same time those who furnish service can receive a wage commensurate with the principles of American citizenship. It is our belief that the south can prosper while women stay at home at nights and children stay in schools."

Pres. Green admitted that the low standards of farm tenants in the south have a direct bearing on textile conditions. It may be necessary, he said, for labor to work hand in hand with the farmers for a general raising of standards both on farms and in the mills.

Cotton Mill Rebellion Expected in Danville

DANVILLE, Va.—(FP)—This home of fake industrial democracy bids fair to provide the south's first big industrial battlefield of 1930, as the United Textile Workers continues its organizing campaign among the 5,500 workers in the Riverside and Dan River mills, largest in the south. Punic-stricken, bosses have appealed to workers smarting under wage cuts administered through the "industrial democracy" to have faith in their bosses and the company union, formed in 1921 to kill a previous U. T. W. movement.

Boss H. R. Fitzgerald, replying to a union election that he broke faith in the industrialists' pledge to Pres. Hoover when he cut wages 10% recently, denied the charge indignantly. He did not attend the president's conference and does not feel bound by it, he said, although his mills are among the most profitable in the entire south.

Three fourths of the mill's employees have been unionized, claims Vice Pres. Francis Gorman of the U. T. W. Departmental committees are functioning and mass meetings are held every Sunday. At the last meeting the union answered Fitzgerald's charges that discontent in the mill was caused

by "foreign agitators" with a declaration that the union had been invited in by the exploited workers themselves.

Boy Seventh Victim to Marion Mill Bloodlust

MARION, N. C.—(FP)—Dave Buckner, 14-year-old son of a staunch Marion unionist, lies at death's door in the Marion hospital, another victim of the bitter hatred of strikers engendered by the anti-union Marion Mfg. Co. Buckner received the full charge of a shot gun, said to have been fired by Mark Toney, strikebreaker.

Buckner was playing with two other boys in the hill behind Toney's house when suddenly a shot rang out. Dave's companions fled; several minutes later Dave's mother found the boy, unconscious in a pool of blood. The charge of the shot gun was embedded in the boy's face and eyes. The boy is expected to die.

Surrounded by her weeping, grief-stricken family, Mrs. Buckner sobbed, "It looks like they are trying to kill us all. Oh, Lord, what will we do?" Buckner, himself a leading member of the United Textile Workers, called for Toney's arrest, but neither Sheriff Adkins, principal in the Marion massacre Oct. 2, when six strikers were shot and killed, nor Prosecutor J. Will Pless would place the man under custody.

Neighbors insist that the shooting, five pistol shots and another from a shotgun, came from the Toney house. Immediately after the firing died away Mrs. Hemphill, a neighbor, heard a woman's voice shriek: "Go ahead, kill some more of those sons of bitches."

This mill town, scene of a massacre of unionists, of brutal assaults on pickets and evictions of blacklisted strikers' families, is stirred by the burning of two scab houses in recent days. The house of Jack Owens, who shot up union headquarters last summer and later as a deputy sheriff among those who shot and killed six strikers in front of the Marion mill gates, was razed to the ground. Resentment is running high in the mill town as the date for ending relief extended to strikers approaches. Desperate men denied work in the mills because of their union record, are taking isolated revenge. The county prosecutor has absolved the union of all blame.

Ohio Socialist Convention On March 15 and 16

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Cleveland.—The Socialist Party of Ohio will hold a state convention here on Saturday and Sunday, March 15 and 16, in the new Labor Institute, 10,511 Pasadena Avenue. The convention will be opened at 10 o'clock Saturday morning.

The reason for the early convention is the large number of signatures required to place the candidates of a minor party on the ballot. By legislation the capitalist parties have practically made themselves special organizations wedged into an extra-legal position in the state government. To nominate the state candidates this year, because of the large vote cast in the last election, no less than 30,000 signatures must be gathered for the nominating petitions.

The subjects on the convention agenda include nomination of candidates, revising the party constitution, framing a platform, electing party officers, and consideration of dues.

The Ohio Socialists are also planning to make a big fight for old age pensions and unemployment insurance which are especially urgent considering the widespread unemployment in the state. Locals, branches, and members at large are requested to be represented at the convention. The state office will defray part of the expenses.

Thomas Addresses Two Meetings in Cincinnati

Cincinnati.—Norman Thomas spoke to two gatherings while in Cincinnati. The first at the Reading Road Temple under the direction of the Fellowship for Reconciliation filled the dining room engaged for the occasion. It was decidedly clerical; in favor half of those in attendance being ministers. Thomas took advantage of the opportunity to disabuse the minds of his hearers of the obsession that the city manager plan was a cure for municipal ills.

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Lewis Appeals To A. F. of L. Against The Illinois Miners

(Continued from Page One)

drastic steps against Kansas, whose officials have pledged their support to the Springfield program. Illinois itself is outlawed by a Lewis order which has been held up by the courts.

The old U.M.W.A., according to its latest financial report, has only 98,000 dues paying members left in the tenuous fields. Of these 53,000 in Illinois have been outlaid and are no longer paying per capita to Indianapolis, the U.M.W.A. headquarters. This compares with 385,000 members which the miners union had in the soft coal fields when Lewis took over the presidency in 1920. His last remaining stronghold is in the anthracite, where Lewis has recently been busy building his political fences and negotiating a new anthracite contract without consultation with the hard coal diggers. Even the terms of the new contract which he has announced as practically signed, have not been revealed, although it is believed they comprise merely a renewal of a contract made in 1923, without increase in wages or decrease in hours.

More Support Comes To Illinois Miners

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Adopting the slogan "All Power to the Men With the Picks" the sponsor, of the special convention of miners which meets here March 10 are confident of getting a big majority of the coal diggers of the country. Indiana has been regarded as an uncertain district but with the Terre Haute local leading in support of the convention it is claimed that other Indiana locals are coming into the fold.

But Indiana is not the only district claimed by the insurgents. A full delegation is claimed from Ohio, Kansas, Missouri and the southwestern states. Even Iowa is reported to be sending a few delegates and the Springfield leaders expect the Iowa defection to spread. It is now expected that more than a thousand delegates will be in attendance at the convention which will be held in the large auditorium of the Knights of Columbus building.

Lewis Convention Ignored

The calling of another convention of miners by President John L. Lewis to meet in Indianapolis also on March 10 does not disturb the Springfield leaders. They point out that the local union of which Lewis is a member at Panama, Ill., has voted to send dele-

Coleman and Phone Co. Official to Speak at L.L.D. Lunch Saturday

"The Telephone—Servant of the People" will be the subject of the season's eighth Saturday luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy. Speakers, W. J. O'Connor, Assistant Vice-President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Edward D. Bieretz, 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; McAllister Coleman, Writer. At the Hotel Woodstock, March 8th, 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.

Rand School to Debate With Albright College

The Rand School and Albright College are to debate in the Labor Lyceum in Reading, Pa., Friday evening, March 7. The subject for debate is Resolved: That the capitalist economic system is for the best interest of society. This is the first of two debates between the Rand School and Albright. The second is scheduled for March 21, in the Rand School.

William T. Hade, a teacher in Friend's Seminary and a recent member of the Socialist Party is coach of the Rand School team. The team is composed of Dora Horn, Julius Umanaky, J. Epstein, and Meyer Cohen as alternate. Comrades Stein, Alexander Walker, Etta Meyer and Eli Cohen have done very valuable work in helping the team.

Saturday morning the visitors from the Rand School will be the guests of the Socialist Party of Reading, in making a tour of the city.

Radio Costume Ball To Aid Station WEVD Friday, March 28th

What promises to be the most colorful ball this year will take place on Friday Evening March 28th at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th street. The Ball is being sponsored by the Debs Radio Station (WEVD), and will be a costume affair.

A series of attractive features are now being arranged, among them being an array of radio stars and entertainers popular to all radio audiences. An unusually fine Negro jazz band, Deacon Johnson's Radio Syncopators will supply the dance music from 10 in the evening to 3 in the morning. Tickets which are now available, are \$1.50 in advance, and \$2.50 at the door. Get your tickets early and save the difference. Tickets can be obtained at The Civic Club, 18 East 10th Street, The Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th St. All Greenwich Village shops, or directly at the WEVD office, 45 W. 45th Street. Mail or telephone orders will be filled by calling Bryant 6199.

Mooney Has No Hope Of Pardon from Young

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—The 13th anniversary of Tom Mooney's sentence to death, commuted by former Gov. Stephens to life imprisonment, was marked in California by protest meetings throughout the state, sponsored by the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee.

Mooney, in San Quentin, stated that he had nothing to say except to reiterate his determination not to accept anything less than a full pardon. He has apparently given up hope of any action by the side-stepping Gov. Young, and is, as he told the Federated Press several months ago, merely marking time until the next governor is elected in November. No word has come as yet from the prison pardon board, which is supposed to be "re-studying" the Mooney and Billings cases.

C. P. L. A. Holds Conference On March 16

WHAT happens at the miners' convention to be held in Illinois on March 10, and its significance to labor; how the southern campaign is progressing; what is the attitude of the steel workers towards organization and what is happening to the Labor Movement in the extreme Northwest are some of the questions to be considered at the Regional Conference called by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action for Sunday, March 16, to be held at the Labor Temple, 14th St., and Second Ave. There will be sessions at 10 a.m. and at 2:30 p.m. All are invited to attend.

William Ross, who experienced the most trying period of the Southern textile drive; William E. Chalmers, who is at present engaged in a survey of the steel industry from the standpoint of organization; Louis F. Budenz, who is now organizing for the hosiery knitters in Pennsylvania; Tom Tippet, A. J. Muste and Louis Stanley, coming directly from the miners' convention at Springfield, Ill., and J. C. Kennedy, many years associated with the labor movement in the extreme Northwest, will relate their observations fresh from these fields. In addition the program includes reports of delegates from the various branches of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Seldom is it possible to arrange for a combination of such informative sources as will gather at this conference.

The program in full follows: First Session—The Problems and Personalities in the Southern Campaign, William Ross; What I Found in the Steel Industry, William E. Chalmers, Delegates' Reports, Discussion.

Second Session: The Labor Movement in the Northwest, J. C. Kennedy; The New Miners' Union, Tom Tippet; The Miners' Convention, Louis Stanley; The Possible Developments in the Labor Movement as a result of the Miners' Convention, A. J. Muste, Discussion. About five hundred delegates and friends are expected to attend the sessions. They will be open to the public.

Old Law Tenements Can't Be Made Habitable, Socialists Contend

Declaring that future attempts to make the old law tenements habitable will prove as unsuccessful as they have in the past, and tinkering with the Multiple Dwellings Act will not work any appreciable improvement, Socialists appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the N. Y. Assembly to advocate municipal housing in addition to the amendments proposed by the United Neighborhood Houses and other social agency groups. Vital changes in the old law tenements are required, Herbert Merrill, State secretary of the Socialist Party told the Committee, and they cannot be accomplished by the improvements that would result from adopting the amendments now before the Committee.

Unemployment Spreads Throughout Nation

(Continued from Page One)
one-half applicants for each job in January of this year. Number of applicants in the 12-month period has mounted 45 per cent. For the first time since 1915 it has been necessary to provide for an overflow outside the municipal lodging house.

Nevertheless, no one knows how many are jobless in the country. Conservative figures place it at 4,000,000; other estimates run as high as 7,000,000. The American Association for Labor Legislation couples its demands for adequate federal figures with a devastating criticism of Hoover's recent efforts to manipulate the bureau of labor statistics to show a shadowy increase in employment.

The League for Industrial Democracy has taken the lead in demanding of Congress and state legislatures the enactment of unemployment insurance laws. At an institute on social insurance held at the Rand School in New York this issue was uppermost. The American Association for Labor Legislation has centered public attention on employment agencies by publishing the sworn testimony on job shark evils at New York state hearings.

Phila. Party To Discuss Labor Party

Calling of Conference For Independent Political Action to Come Up This Sunday

By Joseph Schwartz

(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)
PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialists of Philadelphia plan a general membership meeting for Sunday, March 9th, at 810 Locust street. One session is planned beginning at 11 a. m. Considerable interest in independent political action has been shown by the labor movement. The driving force has been Anti-Grundyism with the textile unions acting as a steering committee. Progressives interested in new political alignments have been watching developments in the city with considerable interest.

A mass meeting in the textile district of Philadelphia, under the auspices of the textile unions aroused considerable enthusiasm. A theatre seating five thousand people was packed with an overflow of two thousand, but the spellbinders failed to capture the enthusiasm of the audience. The talks vaguely suggested the balance of power that labor could wield if it showed wisdom. The old parties were accused—and rightly so—of serving the interests of unscrupulous employers. All speakers wound up with the A. F. of L. position of voting for friends, etc.

The campaign of the trade-unions is based on one idea, "Defeat Grundy." This has resulted in considerable confusion of ideas and purposes. Certain elements were under the impression that this movement was the beginning of a labor party. Others—a great portion of the union leaders—are included in this group—felt that the opportunity was ripe to capture the Republican Party.

No one had a clear idea as to just how Grundy was to be defeated. It reminded one of a bull fenced in by a stone wall. In his desire to get out the bull bucks the stone wall only to break his head.

The textile group was pretty much in that position. The attempt to defeat Grundy, the strongest politician in Pennsylvania, without the labor elements offering a program and candidates was rather childish. This is particularly so when one considers that there is no way of casting a negative vote.

The air is beginning to clear. Progressives have urged the formation of a third party and adoption of a program. Temporarily at least the attempt to capture the Republican Party has been tabled and a committee has been selected to adopt a program.

What the position of the Socialists of Philadelphia will be is hard to forecast. A few of the active Socialists are anxious to call a conference of the trade unions and discuss the whole problem. There are others that feel that the party should go on its own.

The general membership meeting of the Socialists will probably prove to be the most interesting meeting that was ever held in Philadelphia. The third party elements and the straight Socialist Party people are determined to fight to a finish.

A. F. of L. Reports More Out of Work

(Continued from Page One)
17 percent are still out of work. "Other groups show little change. On the railroads, unemployment of clerks, shopmen, maintenance and other groups remains at 5 percent; in service industries, including hotel and restaurant workers, clerks, barbers, telegraphers, cleaners and dyers, there has been a slight increase from 10 percent in January to 11 percent in February. These figures are for identical unions for the two months given.

"Reports from cities show especially high unemployment in New York, where 26 percent are unemployed; and in Chicago and St. Louis building tradesmen are suffering especially with 51 percent and 49 percent respectively out of work. Seven cities have a general average of more than 25 percent unemployed; six have over 45 percent out of work in building trades. This report covers 670,000 trade union members."

Printing Trade Workers To Discuss Problems

A conference of progressive printing trades workers will be held under the auspices of the New York Branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at the People's House, 7 E. 15th St., Room 502, Saturday, March 8 at 2:30 p. m. Prominent persons in the progressive ranks of the printing trades unions will be present. The purpose of this conference is to rally the progressives in the printing trades to further the spread of progressive labor ideas and stimulate progressive labor action in their unions. All compositors, pressmen, lithographers, photoengravers, electro-typers, stereo-typers, bookbinders and other workers in the printing trades who are interested in the object of the conference are urged to be present.

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Sunday evening, March 16th
DR. SCOTT BUCHANAN
"Ethics and Social Science" Dewey: Experience and Nature
Tuesday evening, March 18th
DR. HENRY J. FRY
"Natural Science" Theories of Evolution

At Muhlenberg Library
209 W. 23rd Street at 8:30 o'clock
Saturday evening, March 8th
DR. V. J. MCGILL
"Phenomenology" Plato and Husserl
Monday evening, March 10th
MR. NATHANIEL PFEFFER
"China: A Civilization in Disintegration" Tendencies Toward Tomorrow: East and West in New Relations
Wednesday evening, March 12th
DR. JOHN BARLET BRENNER
"Literature as Social History" Boredom
Thursday evening, March 14th
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
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Wednesday, 8:30 p. m., March 12
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WHY BELITTLE THE A. F. OF L.?

Is the Federation a Phantom Organization, As Woll Claimed?
The A. F. of L. Leadership in Three Fields Traced

By Louis Stanley

It was the strategy of Matthew Woll in his address at the Socialist Party's Labor Institute held at the Rand School on February 30 to picture the American Federation of Labor as a phantom organization behind whose shadowy form the corporal affiliated bodies might perpetrate whatever good or evil they pleased. He reminded one of Adam Coaldigger's remark that when the labor movement loses its soul, it becomes a spook. Is the American Federation of Labor the haunting ghost that Matthew Woll would have us believe it is?

It is true that the American Federation of Labor is not a voluntary association of international or national unions, that it has but little power of compulsion and that it can only be affected ultimately by changes of sentiment in the rank and file within the local unions affiliated with the international. Nevertheless, it is wrong to say that the American Federation of Labor as such is entirely inconsequential. To a large number of unsophisticated unorganized workers the A. F. of L. does mean something. To the press, governmental officials and even wage-earners affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the organization has some significance. Which can do more harm to the prestige of the A. F. of L. the criticisms of labor progressives which Matthew Woll urges be stopped or the belittling of the

A. F. of L. by himself and other apologists?

To the extent that Matthew Woll brought home again the point that the A. F. of L. is a decentralized organization we owe him our thanks. The present writer for one has been urging for a long time that less attention be paid to the leaders of the A. F. of L. and more to the rank and file and the situations in the local unions and the internationals. On the other hand, the American Federation of Labor does perform some real functions. Partly it is a reflection of the internationals and partly they are a reflection of it. The A. F. of L. will take such steps as the affiliated internationals may desire but also it will take such steps on its own initiative that the internationals will not oppose. It is the latter activity which is most common. The action of the annual convention is a process of endorsing the recommendations of the Executive Council or the committees controlled by the A. F. of L. officials. The action of the Executive Council and the officers between conventions is practically unhampered.

The A. F. of L. Leadership

That the American Federation of Labor as a central body has pretty much of a free hand is due to the fact that the A. F. of L. has come to be a kind of public

affairs, research and publicity committee on general questions for organized labor. The international officers by and large are too busy with the thousand details of trade questions which confront them in their daily work to concern themselves much with general policies and programs. They take their cues from the A. F. of L. officials, unless these cues are decidedly obnoxious. The whole tendency, however, is to accept what is offered either because the policies set down do supply the generalizations wanted by busy trade union officials or because these policies do not make much difference one way or another.

How does all this work out in practice? Let us take some illustrations from the three classes of activity into which the work of the labor movement may be divided: economic, political and auxiliary. We shall at this time take up only the broad issues involved in Mr. Woll's talk.

The Economic Policies

On the economic field the A. F. of L. is practically at a standstill. Matthew Woll in his address at the Labor Institute pointed out that the American Federation of Labor arose as a revolt against the centralization of the Knights of Labor. He might have also stated that the A. F. of L. grew out of the rebellion of the skilled worker

against the unskilled and semi-skilled who dominated the K. of L. The A. F. of L. met the need of the skilled workers for a federation of the craft unions into which they had organized themselves as a protection against the unskilled and semi-skilled in the Knights of Labor assemblies. That was in 1831 or 1836, when the A. F. of L. as at present constituted, was formed. A half century has elapsed. American industrial life has been revolutionized. Mergers and consolidations have become characteristic of our economic structure. Has American labor responded by forming mergers and consolidations too? Has the A. F. of L. encouraged the process? Not at all. The organization of the steel workers founded on the rock of jurisdictional disputes. The organization of the auto workers was an impossibility along present craft lines. Yet the A. F. of L. as a central body took a leading part in agitating for the organization of the steel and auto workers. Perhaps it was the sense of futility of proceeding to organize the basic industries on the basis of craft unionism that led the A. F. of L. Executive Council never to levy the assessment authorized by the Detroit convention to fight company unionism. Yet A. F. of L. officials have constantly declared their allegiance to

craft unionism confusing the issue by raising the spectre of One Big Union. If they know better, as President Green with his experience with the industrial United Mine Workers (see American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918, pages 98-99 for his "Case for the Industrial Form of Labor Organization"), surely does, should they not take occasion as leaders to lead organized labor towards a sound industrial policy on organizational forms instead of helping to support the present obsolescent, if not obsolete, structure?

If the A. F. of L. leaders have not led the way in modernizing our unions, they have taken the initiative in formulating and acting upon a policy of pacifying the employers. They have taken pains to enunciate a social philosophy based upon the theory that the interests of labor and capital are identical and that a good heart-to-heart talk around a table will make for peace, understanding, contentment, and efficiency. It began with the co-operation with the National Civic Federation years ago, until today a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor can actually be Acting President of the National Civic Federation and countenance—at least until recently—an alliance between organized labor and the company unions. It ends with such a spec-

tacle as President Green opening up the Southern campaign with appeals to the employers to take unto their hearts the A. F. of L. as a bulwark against the Bolsheviks and A. F. of L. leaders committing the trade union movement to no wage increase campaigns as a public duty.

The Political Paralysis

On the political field we find the A. F. of L. paralyzed. Matthew Woll claims that the American Federation of Labor cannot come out for a Labor Party because individual members are entitled to their own political beliefs and the A. F. of L. is an economic movement. It is not so long ago that Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation, reorganized the central bodies in New York City in order to kill the Labor Party movement, and every A. F. of L. leader in his lobbying activities proclaims to the world that the economic and political aspects of labor are inseparable. If the A. F. of L. leaders were to speak frankly, they would not philosophize about non-partisan political action but admit frankly that this policy is followed not because it is productive of results but because the labor officials in different parts of the country are tied up with their local political machines and a general political policy would not suit their immediate political requirements. The logical position for the A. F. of L. to take politically from its own point of view is to keep hands off instead of making a virtue of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor." Perhaps after the collapse of the non-partisan policy in the 1928 presidential campaign "hands-off" will become the new political policy. Then, the "non-partisan" propaganda from A. F. of L. headquarters will cease and the way left less obstructed for Labor Party agitation.

The opposition of the A. F. of L. to social legislation is one of its chief features in the political field. By failing to throw its influence behind the old age pension movement in the last few years, it caused trade unions and city and state labor bodies to hesitate to endorse old age pension legislation. Now in the case of unemployment and other forms of social insurance its leaders voice their opposition. They could smooth the progress of social legislation by a kindly word but instead they warn of "paternalism," or dodge the issue.

The Auxiliary Field

Finally, on the auxiliary field, the American Federation of Labor leaders have led in the wrong direction with respect to the most promising auxiliary activity that the organized labor movement has yet developed. We are referring, of course, to workers' education. The A. F. of L. officials were practically free to do as they pleased, because most trade union officials were indifferent to workers' education. What did the A. F. of L. do? It created the Workers' Education Bureau to steer the educational movement into safe conservative channels. The upshot was the ostracism of Brookwood Labor College and the discouragement of local labor colleges of progressive tendencies. The A. F. of L. went out of its way to lead. It did not have to. Even progressive trade unionists like John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor had to sever his connections with Brookwood not because the constitution of the A. F. of L. required him to but because trade union considerations impelled him to do so.

What Matthew Woll has accomplished by his description of the American Federation of Labor is to challenge Socialists and progressive trade unionists to convert the rank and file to their point of view. He has pointed out that the work of reformation must begin at the bottom. We accept his challenge. The local unions, internationals, city centrals and state bodies must be permeated with the progressive point of view. Automatically we shall find at the head of the American Federation of Labor progressive labor leaders.

Truth-Telling About The New York Public Schools

By Spectator

TRUTH-TELLING about the New York City school system, the vast machinery which has the task of educating more than one million children, has explosive effects. Every fundamental fact about the administration and instruction of the vast school population, when uttered publicly and with just the right shade of emphasis, sends the officials scurrying for other "facts" which will befog the issues and help to prolong political control of the schools.

So it was when Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor, exposed conditions in the schools, by calling New York's attention to a revolutionary report on the system made by an experts' committee invited to the task by the Board of Education itself in 1924. The report was published a few days after the Socialist revelations were made, after a delay of five years.

It was easy enough during the Mayoralty campaign to cry that it was all "politics," that no attention need be paid to the accusations of a candidate who was the

Politics, Autocracy And Modern Publicity Technique Defeat Efforts
To Discuss Urgently Needed Educational Reforms

rival of the Tammany machine which rules the schools. The school problem was dropped gently from the public mind, leaving idealists and reformers wondering whether it would ever be possible to get the people aroused over the real conditions in the system.

Several weeks ago, a real opportunity came to inform public opinion on the educational situation. Dr. John L. Tildesley, district superintendent in charge of high schools, speaking at a luncheon at the Civic Club, disclosed startling figures of the inefficiency of the elementary schools. He pointed out that less than thirty percent of the primary school graduates entering commercial high schools had been able to pass simple Regents tests in arithmetic, English and geography given all over the state to elementary school students in the last two grades.

Dr. Tildesley also cited statistics showing that there was a tremendous amount of retardation in the primary grades. Dr. Tildesley's re-

velations threw a flood of light on the achievement record of the public schools and created a sensation, all the more so since the system was found utterly unprepared to "refute" the charges.

Indeed, the charges were so serious and the figures so unchallengeable that the school officials could not even exploit the "political" motives which might be imputed to the district superintendent, who, after having served for six years as an associate superintendent, was demoted to his present post because he had fallen out with the political powers that be.

The bomb was thrown from within the citadel itself, by an official of high standing. The administration, dazed by the unexpected blow, cut a foolish figure in its effort to refute everything by maintaining complete silence. The standard method followed in such cases of popular protest is to hush it all up through an effort—usually successful—to take the story out of the newspapers. If the ad-

ministration can keep quiet long enough "sensations" have a way of dying down. But not if they are first-class revelations.

Yet that dishonest, hypocritical and reactionary method was again tried. President Ryan of the Board kept his peace and ordered Superintendent O'Shea, a most obedient underling, to say nothing.

Dr. Tildesley had written a letter to his chief denying a story in one of the newspapers that he had called O'Shea a drill sergeant. He had merely said that under the present régime and prevailing political promotion practice nobody could be anything but a drill master by the time he managed to get to the top.

The official hoped to use this letter, which denied none of the important charges, as a basis of a statement refuting them. Howard Shiebler, the smart new publicity hound of the board, was trying to devise some way of persuading the press and the public into believing that the letter represented a general denial of the charges. Nothing

shows the fear and consternation as well as the inherent incompetence and intellectual dishonesty of the officialdom than this catching at so useless a straw.

But Dr. O'Shea inadvertently spoiled the game. So little did he comprehend the meaning of the scandal, that he considered that Dr. Tildesley's denial that he had called certain people by name settled everything. He made the letter public but the press recognized that it had little value in the controversy. The superintendent questioned Dr. Tildesley only to find that a report in which his findings were embodied had been lying on the desk of an associate superintendent for three months and that nothing had been done.

Dr. O'Shea said he would look into the matter, investigate, read this and that, appoint a committee, etc. However, nothing was done. The Board of Superintendent denied the district superintendent "on the carpet" at a special session and reported "findings" to

Pres. Ryan who—good politician that he is!—buried them and sank into his characteristic and convenient taciturnity. Exasperated by adverse comment in the press, the Superintendent ordered Dr. Tildesley none too politely to shut up about the whole matter. But Howard was not asleep. A reply must be made. The high schools were making their reports on results of the last state-wide examinations. The city (high) schools had high passing averages as usual. He promptly sent out statements signed by Ryan, pointing with pride to the "achievements" of the schools. The figures were good for three publicity releases and Howard almost succeeded in drowning public candor in a paean of praise to the system, "second to none in the world." It was a paean based on figures of high school State Marks, although it was the elementary schools which were under fire! The examinations were taken by a carefully sifted group of students representing a small percentage of graduates from ele-

mentary schools. Anyway, for city standards the tests were easy and so the marks proved nothing. Howard kept repeating in his newspaper releases that, after all, "high school students are the products of elementary schools" hoping (Howard was a newspaperman once!) that in the public mind little distinction would be made between one type of school and another and that in the confusion caused by the Regents results the indictment, the primary schools would be forgotten.

The question still remained, of course: what kind of education are the primary schools giving to the majority of the children who never get far enough to take Regents examinations? But the question was asked by but few of the newspapers and the storm seemed to be abating somewhat, at this writing, with Howard (and Ryan) very jubilant.

Yet the fight is by no means over. The Teachers' Union published an analysis of Regents ex-

aminations, pointing out that they represented an appalling waste of childhood in the standardization, cramming and concentrated preparation they imposed. But few other organizations had the courage to unmask the Board's deliberate misrepresentation of the meaning of secondary school examinations.

In the meantime, the Superintendent, up for re-election soon, published a "home-made" report on five-years "progress" of the public schools. The report is of course a political document which credits the administration with every step which would have been taken by the worst school officialdom and passes over in convenient silence all the shortcomings of the system. In Dr. O'Shea's view the system, under his terribly inefficient administration which has witnessed the worst building scandal in the history of the schools, has just about reached the pinnacle of perfection.

Such is the short-sightedness and incompetence of an officialdom which, far from being able to solve problems, does not even recognize them. Politics and autocratic administration stand in the way of a reform in the direction of modernized and progressive schooling.

Changing Fortunes of Labor In Nicaragua Threatens Great Force for Progress

Workers Federation Repeatedly Betrayed by Politicians—Sandino's Position Made Ambiguous

(This is the concluding article of a series of four dealing with conditions in Nicaragua today.)

IN 1924 the Nicaraguan Government, presided over by Bartolome Martinez, and backed by Nicaraguan Labor, was able to effect the transfer to Nicaragua of the full total of stock of the Pacific Railways of Nicaragua and of the National Bank of Nicaragua, the key organizations in the economic and financial life of the country. Until that year and since 1912 these organizations had been under the control of New York bankers, chiefly Brown Bros. and Co. and J. & W. Seligman and Co.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which includes the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, gave the Nicaraguan labor movement its fullest moral support in this effort. Mr. Toribio Tijerino acting for the Nicaraguan Government and Salomon de la Selva representing the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor worked together establishing an interesting precedent, namely, that a Labor-backed Government in Nicaragua could afford to be rid of the support of New York bankers.

The success in this undertaking made the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor a political force. However, as Nicaraguan workers were divided in their individual political affiliations, the elections held that year in Nicaragua looked as a danger for the progress of the Labor movement threatening to disrupt it. Both the Liberal and Conservative parties were divided, each in two factions, there being four political groups contesting the presidency. After many conferences among labor leaders, in which personal representatives of Pres-

ident Samuel Gompers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor participated, it was decided to draw up a Labor program to be submitted to the consideration of the several candidates, Labor support to go to the candidate whose platform most nearly corresponded to Labor's demands.

Labor's Program Accepted

A Conservative and a Liberal faction united during the campaign on the basis of sharing the ticket. Carlos Solozano, a Conservative Republican (as his wing of the Conservative party was called) was put up for President and Juan Bautista Sacasa, leader of the majority wing of the Liberal party, was put up for vice-president. Both these men agreed in writing to adopt as their Labor platform. They won the election.

There were no marines either conducting or observing the elections. There were no disturbances anywhere in the country. The Labor candidates carried the field by an overwhelming majority and on January 1st, 1925, were inducted into office and recognized by the United States. The Nicaraguan Labor movement looked to these men to fulfill their campaign pledges. Chief among these was the complete economic independence of the Government from Wall Street domination.

For although the Railways and the Bank had, by purchase, been acquired from Brown Brothers and the Seligmans, it had been deemed expedient, in 1924, to maintain the newly re-acquired corporations incorporated under American laws and to keep representatives of the bankers named in the boards of directors of both organizations. In 1925 Congress was to enact modern banking laws in Nicaragua and to pass legislation making it safe to transfer to Nicaragua the incorporation of the Railway and the Bank organizations. In order to palliate the chagrin over these measures that the United States State Department showed, Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks, an economist

closely associated with the Department, and who had been for years a highly paid representative of the Department in the boards of directors of the Railway and of the Bank companies of Nicaragua, was hired at a cost of about \$21,000 to assist the Nicaraguan Government in preparing the proposed legislation.

Jenks for Sale of Bank

Dr. Jenks spent a few weeks in Nicaragua at the end of which he submitted recommendations to the effect that Nicaragua should sell again to the bankers in New York the controlling interest in the Bank and Railway. That was a heavy disappointment. Having learned of these recommendations the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor informed President Solozano that the hour had come for him to prove whether Nicaragua was to be a free or a subject country. For months President Solozano wavered between the fulfillment of his duty as a representative of the Nicaraguan people and the fear of losing his job through State Department and bankers' maneuvers. State Department pressure was heavy on him. By the end of July, 1925, he had decided to forget his campaign pledges. The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor immediately withdrew its support from him.

Unfortunately the politicians were glad to have Labor break with the President and flocked to the President with denunciations against Labor. The months of August, September and October were difficult. Several scheming Labor leaders sided with the politicians, whose tools they were, and sought to disrupt the Federation. Strange as it may sound, some Mexican laborites, one of them a Labor member of the Municipal Government of Mexico City, who happened to be visiting Nicaragua, gave aid and support to the disruptive element. Meanwhile President Solozano had sent Dr. Pedro Gonzalez to the United States as Financial Agent of Nicaragua with instructions to follow Dr. Jenks' recommendations.

Mr. Tijerino, whose contacts with the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor were close, undertook to inform Dr. Gonzalez in New York of how matters stood with the bankers and was able to convince him so that, instead of carrying out his instructions, the new Financial Agent counseled the President of Nicaragua against such measures.

Solozano Overthrown

The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor appealed to President Solozano to back Dr. Gonzalez. A new era of cooperation between Labor and the President opened. Dr. Gonzalez was given orders not to sell either the Bank or the Railway. A sum of money of about half a million dollars which Dr. Jenks and others had claimed Nicaragua would need as a loan to see its coming coffee harvest through, Mr. Tijerino was able to arrange for, with the Royal Bank of Canada, at low cost and without the provisions of sale of the Bank and Railway which the American bankers insisted on.

Solozano's new attitude doomed him. Should a proper investigation be made of the conduct of the American Legation in Nicaragua at that time it would be found that the American minister instigated the Chamorro-Diaz coup d'état that overthrew Solozano and sent Vice-president Sacasa fleeing for his life out of the country. The Conservative-Liberal coalition was driven out of power and the ultra Conservative element headed by Chamorro and Diaz took the reins of government. In order to keep a semblance of decency, the State Department refused to recognize the Chamorro regime. It insisted on a "Constitutional" solution to the problem, and accepted as such the very unconstitutional choice by a rump Congress of Diaz as President. The Diaz Government was immediately recognized.

But Sacasa and his group became desperate and accepted Mexican aid, offered by the Mexican militarists who were eager to see the Mexico-American difficulties of this period come to a crisis. Nicaragua was thrown into a bloody revolution which in reality was a Mexico-American war fought on both sides by Nicaraguans. The militarists in Mexico who aided Sacasa and the Mexican laborites were at sharp odds. For this reason Sacasa definitely rejected the counsel of the Nicaraguan laborites. The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor saw in the revolution a tragedy in which Labor was not immediately concerned. It was a fight between Conservative politicians (Chamorro and Diaz) backed by the State Department in the interest of American bankers, and Liberal politicians (Sacasa and Moncada) backed by Mexican militarists in the interest of the anti-Labor group of Mexican politicians.

The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor made its point of view clear to all concerned. In December 1926 a memorandum containing this attitude was given by the Nicaraguan Labor representative in Washington to the press bureaus. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was likewise informed officially. The American press did not regard this as news. It is even more strange that these communications do not appear in the published Report of the Pan-American Federation of Labor covering that period.

The Marines Arrive

The explanation lies in the fact that the Sacasa-Moncada revolution was regarded in the United States as a real Liberal movement, which it was not.

A new situation was created when marines were landed in Nicaragua, openly to aid the Chamorro-Diaz clique. Other issues were belittled and the paramount issue became the intervention of the United States. On this issue the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor declared itself against intervention in any form. Nicaraguan laborites flocked to the Sacasa ranks. Moncada, general in chief of the revolutionary forces, disliked the red-and-black cockade that the Laborite volunteers wore. Red-and-black are the colors of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor. In the course of the warfare a red-and-black army under General Sandino, was formed which fought against the marine-supported Conservative forces but which did not regard itself committed to full obedience to or under the discipline of the Moncada armies.

When Colonel Stimson, now Secretary of State of the United States and in May, 1927, President Coolidge's personal representative in Nicaragua, entered into agreements with Diaz and Moncada which led to full marine control of Nicaragua under the titular presidency of Moncada, the Sandino contingents did not lay down their arms but declared themselves for liberty or death.

Up to that moment Communism had figured in the Nicaraguan situation only as a lame excuse, and one of many excuses at that, all discarded one after the other, offered by the State Department for its intervention in Nicaragua. In July 1927 the first encounter between the Sandino forces and American marines took place, in Ocotal, Sandino, menaced with

destruction by the marines in a colorful ultimatum sent him by a marine Captain Hatfield, replied by attacking the advance guard of the marines at Ocotal. The marines were saved by the prompt use of airplanes. It was the first battle in which airplanes have been used in this continent. American aviators bombed the town and routed the Sandinistas, but in so doing killed scores of women and children besides about a hundred male combatants. It so happened that on the day following this massacre the Pan-American Labor Congress opened its sessions in the A. F. of L. Building, in Washington. The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor took occasion to declare that the fighting begun in Nicaragua would be without end until either all marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua or all Nicaraguans had been killed.

Communists Annex Sandino

A resolution was introduced in that Congress denouncing the use of U. S. marines. The resolution was popular with the Latin American delegates. The American Federation of Labor delegation, however, could not go all the way with the Nicaraguans. After much delay in discussing the final wording of the resolution, instead of denouncing the use of marines and the killing of Nicaraguans, the Congress, the American view having prevailed, merely "regretted" and "lamented."

The absurd charge made by Secretary of State Kellogg against the Nicaraguan Sacasa-Moncada group of being Communist agents, and the diffidence of the American Federation of Labor delegates in the 1927 Pan-American Federation of Labor Congress, gave the Communists an opportunity which they were not slow to take. As the Sandino movement developed into an epic gesture commanding much attention the world over, the Communists decided, in that cheerful and irresponsible way of theirs, to annex Sandino. They collected money in Sandino's name or behalf, they held protest meetings against Sandino's enemies, they finally so linked themselves with the Sandino movement in people's minds that to this day few are aware that the Communists had no more to do with the Sandino movement than the man in the moon. And so, what the marines could not do, the Communists accomplished for them: they defeated Sandino.

For in Nicaragua even, many who are willing to die for Nicaragua are unwilling to scratch a finger for Communism. If, as the Communists have claimed, Sandino was fighting for them, then the fight did not interest Nicaraguans. It was this position that Froylan Turcios took when he resigned from the high post of Sandino's general representative outside of Nicaragua. Sandino was angered that his motives have been doubted. But there was reason to doubt them. He had received Communist agents in his camp and, being candid and enthusiastic, he had fraternized with them and too much warmth, giving them an opportunity, which was what they wanted, to make him appear subservient to Moscow. Among his real supporters a demand that he state clearly his aims gave him much dissatisfaction. It was presumably to settle this mess for which he abandoned the field temporarily and went to Mexico.

Sandino Indecisive

The fighting has continued and will continue in Nicaragua. It is a desperate struggle in which people easily go blind. If the Communists succeed in isolating Sandino; if, because of their attitude the American Federation of Labor, for instance, maintains itself in this issue coldly unconcerned; if the Socialists keep their aloofness; if such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, once very sympathetic towards Sandino, obstinately refuses to deal with his problem, which is Nicaragua's immediate problem, there is danger that in his desperation the Communists will get Sandino and, of course, wreck him and his cause.

Meanwhile marines rule Nicaragua. Dr. Soley Guell, special Nicaraguan envoy, sent to deal with the State Department and the New York bankers with regard to economic and financial matters of Nicaragua, has resigned after declaring that Nicaragua does not need the loan which the State Department wishes to have it take from the bankers. President Moncada, obligated by his agreements with Stimson (a charge that has been made in the Nicaraguan press and which has not been denied), insists on the loan which his former agent, Soley Guell, finds is not needed. If the Communists succeed in shattering the Sandino movement, if the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor perishes by persecution from the marines, both of which things are not hypotheses but actual happenings, Moncada, controlled as he is by the marines under the command of General Douglas Williams and Douglas McDougal, will presently and unopposed deliver Nicaragua bound hand and foot to the New York bankers, and the good work which the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor initiated in 1924 with the aid of the American Federation of Labor will have come miserably to nothing but despair.

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

MARCH 10!

The Miners' convention on the above date at Springfield, Ill., may foreshadow a new alignment of labor forces.

A. J. MUSTE in "The Crisis in the Miners' Union" appearing in the March issue of Labor Age, a brilliant analysis that is extraordinary in its clarity, discusses such questions as the following:

Will the F. of L. back John L. Lewis or recognize the Illinois group and its backers? Will the Miners' convention be the start of an independent union? Will its success be the signal for the gathering of independent unions into another federation?

Everyone interested in Labor will find this informative and interpretative article essential in order to follow intelligently the developments in the present complex situation.

"DISARMAMENT," by Harry Elmer Barnes, also in the same issue, tells what hopes to lay on the London Naval Conference.

Single copies 25 cents. Yearly subscription, \$2.50. Trial subscription, \$1 for 6 months. 104 FIFTH AVENUE LABOR AGE NEW YORK CITY

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Satirists, Poets, Women And Cats

THERE is justice in the complaint that we have in America few first-class satirists of American business. I do not think that Sinclair Lewis with all the "ignorance of his head-headling assault upon the Babbitts," is extremely a satirist. A satirist kicks his subject without showing the foot, whereas Brother Lewis comes right up and puts a most obvious boot in his victim's nose.

Had W. E. Woodward not found the field of biography so fascinating and given us a few more "Lotters," there would have been the man. Connelly and Kaufman and one or two other dramatists have rapped the stuffed shirts pretty hard. Stuart Chase, were he so minded, could do a beautiful job with the guff about "private initiative" and we suspect that H. S. Raushenbush has something up his satirical sleeve along this line that will make folks grin when next they hear a ballyhoo man for "rugged individualism" doing his stuff. The best of them all was, of course, Thorstein Veblen, whose books are a perpetual source of delight to us, but he, perforce, in view of the fearful times in which he wrote, had to indulge in an obscurantism that makes his writings esoteric.

Now comes William Floyd, the able editor of "The Arbitrator," a devastating little monthly sheet, far more deadly to the present system than its mild name implies. He has done a satire on Wall Street and its respectable racketeers called, "The People vs. Wall Street" and published by the Vanguard Press, New York.

I wrote to Mr. Floyd that his book was "damningly fascinating" and that it kept me up until well into the dawn. And this is the very truth—it did. For here is a genuine satire on the folly of working for a living, not so very subtle perhaps, but as full of bite as a hungry bull-dog.

Its teeth are in its hard, cold—and God, how cold they are for most of us—facts. Out of the mouths, not of babes and sucklings, but of shrewd and mighty acquisitive gentlemen, Mr. Floyd has taken their own defenses of their own practices and has shown the absurdities of their pretensions.

The scheme of the book is a mock trial. Wall Street is brought to the bar to determine whether Wall Street is sane or should be placed under restraint for the benefit of the people.

One by one, the apologists for Wall Street appear. They repeat the remarks of men like Henry Ford, Charles Schwab, Cal Coolidge, et al., and then the counsel for the people show just how insane these alibis are in the light of the real facts.

It is grim, breath-taking at the times, always convincing. Even though the joke is on us, we can laugh at some of the choice hits that Mr. Floyd makes. Laugh and then weep to think that the sort of con game which is being played by practically every large corporation in the country can go right on with so little real opposition.

Last week I wrote about Spring and as always happens, folks were running for ear-muffs the day my column appeared. I still maintain, however, that Spring will soon arrive. I have a letter from Theodore Debs, out in Terre Haute saying, "Even now there is a cardinal that awakens in me the morning with his song of gladness and I feel sure that when the green gets back on the trees, life will be more beautiful than it now appears."

Theodore, as usual is right. Even city folks harking to hand-organs down the end of dusky streets in Spring twilights know that something sweet and fine is abroad.

Last night there was a silver sliver of a March moon riding the heavens high above a lighted building to the west of us. And what though the building happened to be John Wanamaker's department store, there was the returning Diana with her promise of good hunting in the green months to come.

In the dim, distant days of my youth I once started a verse:

"I wonder if the March moon knows as yet,
The tremors that now shake her stately mass,
Or how she'll dance the next time she appears..."

Sometimes I think that wasn't so bad as verses go these days. If I had kept at it, I might have been a fair-haired lad among the minors and I certainly couldn't have been much more strapped than I am at present.

I always have a sneaking envy for poets until I get to play around with them. And then I find that they are by no means the happy-go-lucky lot we groundlings conceive them to be. Not by a damned sight. With a great many honorable exceptions they are a singularly mean-spirited breed, who are bitterly envious of the success of their fellow-poets. And when it comes to insufferable conceit, next to a woman who has got along in business, give us a poet who has had his verses in print.

Or maybe it isn't conceit, either in the case of the business woman or the poet. Maybe it's just the old inferiority complex at work, bolstering them up, because they feel that somehow the "run of mine" people look down on them.

Anyway we are coming more and more to the conclusion that we know more about cats than we do about poets or women.

Cats have few complexes, thank Heavens.

When they do something good, they don't expect the whole neighborhood to burst into cheers. They are satisfied with the accomplishment in itself.

Jacob, for example, has just succeeded in jumping from the floor to the top of a very high bookcase, a stunt he has been essaying for several days. And now, instead of looking to me for approval, he is washing his hind-legs as though to say, "Oh, that was nothing at all."

So we are contemplating writing a sort of book about cats, that will not be for the "kiddies" (loathsome word) but for all the boys and girls who wonder how to lead the good life.

For in our opinion, cats, that is to say, employed cats who are not on the bread-line, come about as near to leading it as any creatures we know.

Excuse us, while we make some notes for our magazine, Oh, Puss!

McAlister Coleman.

The "New" Schools

Education—The Future's Hope

By William Lea

GENERATIONS of men have said that the golden age lies in the future. Unable to see more than a hazy myth in the theory of a golden past, and certainly heholding injustice sprung of fear and consequent greed rampant in the present, they turn to the years still to come, and find measure of release from the burden of unhappiness in the thought that their children's children will walk through better days. How are these days to be brought about? How is this evolution—or revolution—to be effected? By education.

Yet the great revolutions of the past, however they have been supported by philosophy, have been brought on by suffering, by no school teachings, but burdens too great to be born. And most of them have led to little genuine change in the position of the mass of the people—precisely because there has been no thorough impartial education of the people, to enable them to take advantage of the new conditions, or even to understand them.

Are we to stay out of the water until we have learned to swim; or jump in and learn how by drowning if we can't? There was put up on this country, some hundred and fifty years ago, a framework that might fit a democracy; then we were to be taught to use it properly. Unfortunately we never learned how. Yet it might not have

mattered if we had; for what many historians overlook is that the center of gravity in government has shifted; there is no longer the old opposition of democracy and monarchy—even the few monarchies remaining are "democratic" in structure; there is a different, a more distressing cleavage, that between oligarchy and Socialism, between—let us put it in the usual terms—Capital and Labor. Those who toll not, neither do they spin; yet enjoy the wealth and the power; and those who bear the burden without reaping the reward. Still, cry the hopeful, the turn of these will come. And again we hear the word Education.

The schools of rebellion, the institutions where the assumptions of jingo-patriotism and social submission are questioned, are everywhere few, and always discredited save among the sear groups who eagerly crowd them; the great body of education, of course, comes from the official schools of the state. These, naturally, are bent upon presenting such courses as the controllers of the state desire; such courses as will perpetuate a state of mind subservient to, protective of, their interests. "Loyalty and obedience as the highest ideals of the country"—so ran a pledge teachers were asked to sign a decade ago. Obedience—to the powers that be; "instinctive respect for the president as such"—regardless of such scandals as Grant's administration, and Harding's, revealed, of such incompetence as Coolidge's, such betrayal

of hopes and pledges as Wilson's. How much of this becomes history, in the school texts? What hope is there in education, so long as the schools are in the grip of those whose money and power depend upon their keeping the public from growing into a recognition of actual conditions, and a knowledge of how to amend them, how to achieve a true democracy? For democracy means "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; and all schemes for ruling, insofar as they are fair and valid, are democratic. But here we are taught to take the letter for the spirit, the word for the deed, the flag for the fairness: "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Why, even the Carnegie Foundation issued a thick book analyzing the causes for "The Existing Denial of Justice to the Poor." That book was limited to a consideration of how the poor have little chance in the courtroom, which should be the chief defense of the individual against his banded oppressors; but the many thefts that should take him to court, yet which he can never have there; the countless ways in which the laborer's just share of things is denied him, with the outward smile of "equal opportunity" in opportunity; in America, the land of gold bricks; these things no single book can tell but every thoughtful man can see around him and has felt himself. As Upton Sinclair has fully demonstrated, it is bound by its allegiances and financial needs to perpetuate the very

conditions true education would teach us soon to overturn.

This state of affairs in the United States leads us to turn with special interest to two new volumes, "The New Education in the Soviet Republic," and "The New Education in the German Republic" (each \$4, John Day), to learn what is being done where capital has in some measure had to capitulate, or at least pretend for a while to yield, to labor. The Russian volume is by Albert P. Pinkevitch, president of the Second State University of Moscow; the German by Thomas Alexander, Professor of Education at Teachers College and long affiliated with German education, and Beryl Parker, who has made a recent intensive study of German schools. They may be accepted, therefore, as attempts to portray the "new education" which at least will not be hostile, not determined in advance to see no good in the new Nazareth.

What is there of good in these educational systems? The two books are equally thorough and well organized in their analyses, and reveal much of good, in the fields of general teaching—of non-controversial subjects. Natural history, the arts and crafts, are handled in ways toward which our experimental schools are moving, and from which our educators might learn a good deal. But, in Germany without any direct admission (any more than it would be admitted here) and in the Soviets avowedly, the education consists in a general display of the infallible

correctness of the existing order, of the nearness of the new form to the perfect, of the notion that whatever is, is right.

"In a society organized into social classes the representatives of the proletariat recognize no system of morality applicable to all humanity. On the contrary they recognize the obvious fact that questions of morality are answered differently by different classes, that moral norms are highly arbitrary, and that one and the same action may at one time be moral and at another immoral. . . . And the proletariat knows that its own class morality, since in substance it is directed toward the destruction of a social order which from the point of view of mankind as a whole is unjust, is even now much more suitable for all men everywhere than the morality of the bourgeoisie."

The logic of this passage from the Russian book is as faulty as its presentation is inevitable; for speciously each type of government justifies with pretence of logic its rather natural prejudice in favor of itself, as the sole improver of the ills of earlier forms. It has been said that every people will get the government it deserves; another way of putting this truth is to say that no form of government, however perfect, will result in good government unless the people are good. How are they to become good? Through education! And where are they to get the good education? That's where you've got me.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

I. L. P. Again Moves for Unity of Communist And Socialist Parties

LONDON.—The National Council of the Independent Labor Party has adopted a resolution "to take the initiative in preparing and urging definite proposals for achieving L. S. I., in the confident belief that these proposals will meet with international unity upon the ready response in many sections of the World working-class movement."

The National Council has appointed a sub-committee consisting of James Maxton, M. P., P. J. Dolan, Dorothy Jewson, A. Fenner Brockway, M. P., and John Paton, to formulate proposals to give effect to the resolution and these will be considered at the next meeting of the Council.

Argentine Socialist Party Elects New Executive

Following the recent Congress of the Argentine Socialist Party a general vote of the Party has been held for the election of the chief Party organs for 1930-31. The following were elected to the Executive Committee: Nicolas Repetto, Jacinto Oddone, Angel M. Gimenez, Mario Bravo, Silvio L. Ruggieri, Adolfo Dickmann, Alejandro Castelnas, Manuel Palacin, Alicia Moreau de Justo, Francisco Perez Leiros, Enrique Dickmann. The new members of the Committee are Enrique Dickmann and Alicia Moreau de Justo, who is the only woman member.

A meeting of the Committee was held on the 19th December, 1929, when the functions of the Committee were allocated among the various members as follows: General Secretary, Dr. Silvio L. Ruggieri; Secretary for Records, Manuel Palacin; Treasurer, Dr. Angel M. Gimenez; International Relations, Dr. Enrique Dickmann; Propaganda in the Interior, Dr. Nicolas Repetto; Rules Committee, Dr. Mario Bravo and F. Perez Leiros.

In the old Committee the General Secretary was Jacinto Oddone, while Ruggieri was a member of the Rules Committee. Leiros was in charge of propaganda in

Communist Trade Unionism Collapses in Czechoslovakia

The first disruption of the Czechoslovak trade union movement took place soon after the War, when a Communist national centre, the so-called "International All-Union Federation," was founded with no means unfavorable prospects of development, there being at that time a wave of Communism which submerged almost the whole of the country. But as the general situation of the country improved, things went worse instead of better with the Communists. Last year, there was a disruption among the disruptionists themselves. The "I.A.F." freed itself from the guardianship of the Communist Party and the latter, disgruntled, proceeded to form another Communist trade union centre, calling its new unions "Defiance Unions." But a decline had begun to be apparent even before the elections of last autumn, which aggravated it. The "I.A.F." has now only about 15,000 members, and very little is to be heard of the "Defiance Unions." (In the meantime, the membership of the "free" national centre rose in 1928 to about 17,000 and now numbers about 558,608).

Death Takes Socialist Leader in Holland

The Social-Democratic member of the Dutch Second Chamber, Goswijn Willem Sannes, suddenly passed away at the Hague on the 2nd of January. The assiduity which was characteristic of his work showed itself once again just before his death: three days before he attended a big meeting in his constituency, Friesland, and made a speech in spite of the fact that his weak heart had been troubling him for a long time.

Sannes was born in 1875, and studied law at the University of Amsterdam. After having finished his studies he joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1903. Ten years later he was elected member of the Second Chamber and was from then onwards a member of

Parliament without interruption. The subjects in which he was mainly interested were disarmament and social insurance. Immediately after the war he made the demand for the independent disarmament of Holland, in favor of which the Social-Democrats are carrying on such an impressive campaign. He furthermore prepared a plan for the combination of the compulsory old age insurance with free old age pensions (in Holland called State Pensions), which plan seems to have been accepted in its broad lines by the present Minister of the Interior. Sannes was an excellent speaker and a brilliant political writer, for many years contributing the political leading articles to the "Vorwärts" of Rotterdam. For a number of years he belonged to the National Council of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party. His death was a heavy loss to the whole party.

The seat of Sannes in the Second Chamber will be occupied by Conrad Harn de Boer, member of the Town Council of Leeuwarden.

The British T. U. C. and The Employers' Organization

The British T. U. C. General Council recently held a meeting of the British employers' associations, the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations, to which was presented a report issued by the Joint Committee appointed at the first meeting (April, 1929). This report lays down that the following types of subjects may be raised for discussion: unemployment, industry and finance, taxation of industry, social service, international trade (tariff truce proposals etc.), trade facilities, insurance of export credits, general international labor questions, industrial and commercial statistics, etc.

Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British T. U. C., writes as follows in the "Industrial Review": "Proceedings at the full joint conference of the General Council, the Federation of British Industries, and the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations, were carried a stage further by the unanimous adoption of

proposals to set up machinery for the discussion of problems of common interest to British industry. This is a very important decision, the full implications of which are not quite apparent, I think, to some of our critics. In the first place it crowns the generations old struggle of the Unions for recognition of their claim to be regarded as responsible parties in industry with a considerable measure of success. In the second place, it indicates a change of attitude on the part of the employers which augurs hopefully, I think, for the future conduct of industry. Our critics appear to me to miss the constructive aspect of the conferences in their zeal to pick holes; they profess to be stunned by the discovery that we have not yet achieved the industrial millennium, while continuing to proclaim that we could not do it in any case. A good deal of this criticism appears to rest on the curious assumption that the workers should not be interested in industrial reconstruction; in other words, that

they are not concerned with the business aspects of the situation, a notion which does not consort easily with the other idea of them (popular with the same set of critics) as complete controllers of industry. Actually, of course, the problems of reconstruction are equally vital to everybody, whether inside or outside the conference, and whatever their views may be on industrial relations. Our job at the conferences, of course, is to see that in the carrying out of inevitable processes the trade union point of view is not lost sight of. We are doing our best, and are not without our meed of success: will critics kindly note that if they must throw bricks we should prefer a type of brick which can actually be used in the work of construction."

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

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N. Y. Women Socialists Theatre Party Apr. 17; "Topaze" to Be Shown

Members of the Women's Section of the New York City Socialist organization have just concluded arrangements for a theatre party to be held on Thursday evening, April 17, at the Music Box Theatre. The performance will be "Topaze."

The proceeds of the affair will be devoted to building up the membership of the Women's Section, increasing the variety of its activities, and of making available to the Socialist movement of this city a strong party auxiliary on which to rely during the coming campaign.

Socialist organizations, and others in sympathy with the Socialist aims, are requested not to arrange any other affairs for the evening of April 17, so that the Women's Section can have clear sailing.

Hillquit to Speak March 12 in Bronx

Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, who is soon to leave for a transcontinental tour that will carry him as far as Los Angeles, where he will meet with the national executive committee, will make his final appearance in this city before he begins his tour at an enrolled Socialist voters meeting to be held in the Bronx next Wednesday evening, March 12, at 896 Prospect avenue.

The meeting will be held in what has been for years and still remains one of the most faithful Socialist communities in the city. It is covered by the 3rd and 5th Assembly Districts' branch of the Bronx, two districts that have elected Socialists to the State Legislature, and in spite of the fact of a strong Socialist organization in recent years, still gave the Socialist candidate for the Assembly last year second place.

About 1,000 enrolled Socialist voters in the two districts are being invited to the meeting. Admission will be by ticket, which can be obtained without cost at the Bronx party headquarters, 1167 Boston road, or at the hall on the night of the meeting.

Sunnyside Branch Raps Woll Lecture

The Sunnyside Branch of the New York City Socialist local passed a resolution at its last regular meeting protesting against the policy of inviting reactionary labor leaders like Matthew Woll to lecture under the auspices of the Socialist Party's Labor Institute and urging other branches to take similar action.

The resolution says in part: "Such leaders stand for policies in the labor movement that the Socialist Party is constantly fighting: kow-towing to the employers, non-partisan political action, opposition to social legislation. We know the position of these leaders; they know ours. We cannot wipe out deep-seated differences of opinion by listening to lectures by leaders who are utterly opposed to our policies. To say that this will clear up misunderstandings is befogging the issue. We already understand each other perfectly. The camouflage can only alienate progressive trade unionists from the Socialist Party."

The resolution closes with a request that if "reactionary" labor leaders have to be given the floor, that equal time be assigned to Socialist Party representative to present our views and that "to counteract the ill effects of the Institute at which Matthew Woll spoke . . . outstanding progressive labor leaders be invited to address the sessions of the Labor Institute in the very near future."

At the City Central Committee of the Socialist Party on March 5th, the Sunnyside resolution was referred to the Executive Committee of the Party.

N. Y. Unions and Socialists to Act

(Continued from Page One)
Kin, Joseph Weinberg and Philip Giebler of the Workmen's Circle. Alexander Kahn, Henry Rosner and Louis Stanley of the Socialist Party gave valuable assistance on the legal and factual phases of the possibilities of relief within the existing city charter. Others who attended the conference were Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the Party, and B. Weinstein of the Jewish Socialist Verband.

The Chatter Box

Conferences

Far from the whirl of the mill,
Far above the street,
In cozy offices . . . still
The great executives meet . . .
And all that ever comes
From everything they plan
Are funny ways and means
To rob the workman

Far from the whirl of the mill
Far from the weaver's woe
In hidden haunts, and still,
Captains of Business go.
And all the pretty tricks
Of all this well-fed clan
Result in prettier tricks
To play on the workman.

A Riddle In Economics

There are some to insist
That this is very crude . . .
But, "we starve," the farmers say,
"Having grown too much of food."

And this I fear will make
Some people very wroth . . .
"We're ragged," say the weavers,
"We've woven too much cloth."

And here's a business needing
A plaster cast and crutch . . .
"We're homeless," say the builders,
"Since we have built too much."

And there are other workers
To whimper for a dole . . .
"We're freezing," cry the miners,
"For digging too much coal."

Oh world too mad for reason,
Too crippled for a crutch . . .
Where men are starved, and out of work
For having made too much. . . .
FRIEDA FISHER.

Out of Post Allegheny, Pa., come these poems from the pencil of a farmer's wife . . . a farmer's wife in some miraculous manner blessed with a fine social conscience. If short, snappy, homespun stuff be the desire of many of our readers, here let them peruse with wonder the splendid simplicity that is so difficult to attain in Socialist propaganda. It would be a joy indeed to keep publishing this column every week with just such manner of poetry and prose, if only there were talent loose souls in the land, and above all articulate social souls to produce this sort of work.

It was Upton Sinclair who discovered the lady and sent her work on to us. It is our happiness to welcome her as a contrib., and our pleasure to thank the famous novelist for his gift.

Once I came across a book by Arthur Machen, the English Grubstreet genius, called "The Hill of Dreams." The effect of intellectual delirium I experienced through the eight hours of reading it through still lingers. I am afraid to read it again. There is a terrible beauty shot right through that tale of a madman. Sometimes, when I am alone at night and a nostalgia of that experience encounters my thought, it is hard to battle down the awesomeness of the story . . . or to look full faced into its unearthly glory.

Something had flashed blindingly out of the dark. The extraordinary brilliance frightened one into a phobia. Arthur Machen and all his other writings are meaningless. I shall always tremble before "The Hill of Dreams." And now there has come, so many years later, another such incident . . . only this comes without shock . . . without neurotic disturbances. But all the amazingly beautiful excitement is there. It is in my last night's reading of "Jews Without Money," by Michael Gold. And there will be no dread of re-reading its pages. His vignettes of life in the East Side ghetto during the first years of this century lose all their intrinsic horror through the strange magic that has come to his manner of story-telling.

Perhaps, for the once, the spirit of his unlettered father, yet withal, as the author tells us, a rare raconteur, guided the scratchy pen of the pamphleteer into the smooth and perfect chirography of a classic. Only here and there, one perceives a lapse or so into the angularity of an editorial against poverty . . . against the slums.

No one shall ever do this picture of a childhood in the New York City slums again; so completely, so intelligently, so tenderly . . . and without the least semblance of strain. The book I have written a thousand times about my childhood on Grand and Ludlow streets will never see the limelight. And so with the others who came out of that unbelievable abyss of existence with the power to make articulate what had been dreamed and suffered through an adolescence of horror.

If Michael Gold's "Jews Without Money" does not blast the slums of New York into bits within the decade then I'm for his sort of revolution . . . if only to accomplish that end.

All this praise commences "so sound too fulsome and premeditated. And yet not so long ago I quarrelled with Upton Sinclair for having included Gold in his "Money Writers," as one who promised genius. Unless Sinclair had had access to this book before its publication, and based his predictions thereon, my contrary contention would hold on stubbornly. I had read a great deal of Mr. Gold's work in the old Liberator and in the New Masses. Yes, in the New York Call column, called the "Gull-lotline," his occasional contrib raised nary a creak. Most of it thudded along . . . too heavy even for an echo.

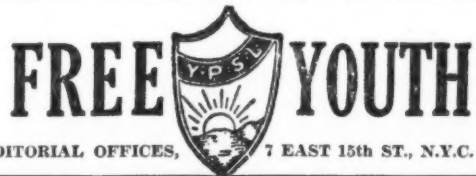
But this is the blinding flash out of the dark. What else he will be able to do in creative beauty is difficult to conjecture. For the sake of literature, let us hope that "Jews Without Money" marks the beginning of a career in remarkable creation. I should hate to think of Gold's book as another "Hill of Dreams" . . . something solitary and just accidental in its beauty.

S. A. de Witt.

* Jews Without Money, by Michael Gold. Published by Horace Liveright.

We are all of us more or less pleased with what is mediocre, for it leaves us at peace—giving us a sort of comfortable feeling we experience in the society of kindred spirits.—Goethe.

Organization Education Solidarity



Published Every Week by The New Leader for the Young People's Socialist League

NEC in Philadelphia
The Eastern Representatives of the Y.P.S.L. on the National Executive Committee had an excellent meeting in Philadelphia last week-end. A Youth Conference, national in scope, is being contemplated, to be held in Reading.

Circle One, Jr., Philadelphia
Joseph Gorelik has recently been appointed District Junior Organizer for the Philadelphia vicinity. Two new circles will be formed shortly. On March 16th there will be a City Conference of the Juniors. The most recent motto of the Juniors is: "Organize the Striking Youth of Kensington!"

Pittsburgh, Jr.
Circle One, Juniors (Vigilantes), may now be distinguished by blue and red jerseys, lettered with YP.S.L. in front. They have a membership of twenty members for the present. More are coming. They have two successful basketball teams, have socials, debates, dances, entertainments,

and monthly lantern-slide lectures by Dr. Van Essen. "Chuck" Coach is the Director. This circle was organized by Lester Shulman, and 90 per cent of the charter members are still active.

Kalamazoo, New York
The Brookwood Socialist Student Group elected Donald Thompson as Chairman. He and Lester Shulman, both of New Bedford renown, with five others are members of the S. P. They are directing the activities of this group at the Labor College.

M. V. Halushka, of the Chicago Y.P.S.L. is Director of the Young Circle League there. They are publishing the "Circle," which may be had for the asking by Yipsels by writing to 3200 Ogden avenue, Chicago.

The Bronx Borough Council will hold its annual declaration contest this Sunday, March 9th at 4 P. M. at 1167 Boston road. Musical numbers will also be rendered.

Dr. Land addressed a meeting of Circle 5, Juniors, Bronx, last night at 2012 24th avenue. His subject was "Race Prejudice." Sympathizers of the young Socialist movement and members of existing circles who would like to join a Y.P.S.L. group in the middle Tremont area are invited to attend the meetings being held at 4213 Third avenue (corner Tremont) on Thursdays at 8:15 P. M. The principles of Socialism are now being studied.

Circle Six, Jr., Kings
With a newly elected officers the Circle contemplates the early publication of a newspaper. Contributions from other Circles will be gratefully accepted, and these may be sent in immediately to the Editor-in-Chief, Helen Horowitz, 167 Tompkins avenue.

Circle Four, Kings
Morris Shapiro will address the Circle this Sunday at 7316 20th avenue, at 8:30 P. M. The subject will be, "Glee Debs." Open meeting.

Young People's Socialist League,
2633 Washington Boulevard,
Chicago, Ill.

McAlister Coleman.

SHAW ON THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

"THE APPLE CART" By Bernard Shaw. Martin Beck Theatre.

It used to be said, of a man whose frankness reveals more than others wish to have known, that he "spilled the beans". The idea Shaw has in mind are so much larger than he chooses, for his symbol, apples. The readers of the New Leader will find nothing new in these ideas save their present setting, for Shaw is still the man who has written "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism"; and all his words on Mussolini have not changed his deep beliefs. His keen vision is undimmed, unblurred by any haze of crowding years; only his technique is a bit more careless; one might wish that in this "political extravaganza" a better means of adding sex-interest (if Shaw felt that necessary) had been found than the Platonic nonsense of Orintha, whose most lusty act is to roll on the floor with her king. Wiser folk may hint what quirk in the playwright induced him to add this section; those less informed are likely to wonder how such a self-centered, stupid, ignorant, conceited woman could lengthily amuse—for the liaison is a long one—so clever a monarch as Magnus, or man as Shaw.

"The Apple Cart", taking for granted the concentrations of wealth and power we see around, speculates as to their consequences in the year 1970 or so. "Breakings, Ltd.", is the great firm that controls not only most of the power plants of the kingdom, but through buying and suppressing inventions, and through a monopoly on all repairs and construction, has bought its way into most of the proper public offices, and is (unofficially of course) represented on the Cabinet. The Cabinet is, with one or two impotent exceptions (one excellently played by Helen Westley) completely held by puppets of the big powers, who persuade the people that democracy means voting for them. Not the least arrogant of these figures is the newly elected idol of the workers, for the "Labor" government then in power is no less in the clutches of the big interests. By an odd turn of events the true protector of the people is the King. In this country the election of the President leaves us wholly without check on the stupidity of the voters, or on their powerlessness to free themselves of the grip of an elective system which puts into office only those really chosen by "bosses" before election, whichever of the two parties of power and prejudice may win. But in England the hereditary nature of the Kingship keeps the reigning monarch free from such whims and designs; and in the hands of a clever, conscientious and even wise king (for I suppose such a thing is possible) the veto power vested in him might be a strong weapon.

"The Apple Cart" centers upon the coming of such a monarch, and the efforts of the Cabinet to stifle him. The king defeats them by threatening to abdicate and run for Parliament himself. Of greater interest to us, naturally, is the visit of Mr. Vanhatten, a brisk busybody and jingoistic American Ambassador to the English court. For he comes to announce that the United States have canceled the Declaration of Independence, and are seeking readmission, (with home rule) under the general British Empire. In commenting on this action, several critics turned politicians have declared that of course Shaw, the jester, is daring to state what many see as inevitable, a great union of the white men of the world, the Universal Nordics, if you will, (in trans-oceanic Ku Klux Klannish union, apparently) to defend the west against the awakened east. The King of England refuses the offer, as he sees that it means no less than a shifting of the capital from London to Washington; yet again the political-dramatic critics assert that the real capital of the world is already in this land, in this city in fact—that section still frequented by animals (bills, and bears, and lambs for the fleeing), where the police

In 'International Revue'



The talented English artist, Gertrude Lawrence, is to be seen in Lew Leslie's "International Revue." Nat Dorfman is co-author of this important new addition to Broadway's shows.

take lessons in politeness on the heads of citizens, that street well named after an erected wall. The wall of wealth and power rears no less sternly because in "the land of opportunity" its existence is denied; against it those who see truly forever lay siege; and in the war Bernard Shaw in "The Apple Cart" once more pours out a pall of liquid fire. It is a smaller pall, perhaps, than he used to lift, but it holds the same fire.

Of the adequacy of the Theatre Guild production of the play, there is little need to speak; the name of the Guild is a synonym for consummate presentation. Details of costume and setting—even to the manner of the opening of the doors in the first act—neatly suggest the time and the shifting moods of the play; the acting of Tom Powers as King Magnus is persuasively suave, yet remarkable only as his chances are outstanding. Eva Leonard-Boyne in a smaller role makes her mark, and the entire offering puts the spoon of Shaw's castor-oil into a sweet glass of orange juice. Shaw's plays are never "merely works of art"; let us hope (in the face of frequent failure) the present dose proves medicinal.

IBSEN IN YIDDISH

"GHOSTS." By Henrik Ibsen. Yiddish Art Theatre.

The validity and versatility of its chief inspiration, Maurice Schwartz, are again demonstrated

CARNEGIE HALL
WEDNESDAY EVE. March 12, at 8:30
WILLIAM KROLL
Violinist
Tickets at Box Office
Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL
SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 15
at 2:30
JOSEPH HOFMANN
Pianist
Tickets at Box Office
Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

Philharmonic Symphony
TOSCANINI, Conductor
CARNegie HALL
Sunday Afternoon, March 16, at 3:00
BETHOVEN:
Symphony No. 7; Symphony No. 3

CARNEGIE HALL
Thursday Evening, March 13, at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, March 14, at 2:30
Sat. Eve. March 15, at 8:45 (Students)
WEDER - - - - - BETHOVEN
MOUSSORGSKY, RAVEL, RESPIGI
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Manhattan Symphony
HENRY HADLEY, Conductor
MECCA Auditorium, Sunday, March 9th
at 9 P. M.
EMILIO PUYANS, Solo Flute
Chaminade Concerto
EZRA RACHLIN, Solo Pianist
Britten's C Minor Concerto
HOWARD HANSON, Guest
Conductor Nordic Symphony
Capriccio Espagnole, Rimsky-Korsakoff
Phedre Overture, Massenet. [Popular]
Seats Now at Box Office. [Prices]

Kennedy Freeman
Piano Forte Instruction
and Coaching
Recommended highly by Jailer
Phillips, Professor at the Paris
Conservatoire
140 WEST 123rd St. Tel. 462-0700

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 Marant"
RITZ THEATRE 49th St. W.
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30—Eves. 8:30
Mues Longoria Theatre Monday
The most popular theatre party show
for labor organizations.

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in the production of Ibsen's "Ghosts". This one of the Norwegian's tragedies most nearly approaches the method and the movement of the Greeks; the strain and tension lie in the gradual growth of Oswald Alving's recognition of the ghastly heritage his father's sins have left him. The fact that the physiological development of the disease is contradicted by contemporary medical knowledge does not in the least disturb the emotions properly roused by a good performance; and Maurice Schwartz has directed, and acts, with a restraint that makes this one of the genuinely moving presentations of an always effective play.

CHEKOV ONCE MORE

"THE SEA GULL." By Anton Chekov. Bulgakov Theatre Associates at the Waldorf Theatre.

Alternating with Gorky's "At the Bottom", the group that has gathered under the directorship of Leo Bulgakov is presenting the equally stirring tragedy of Chekov, "The Sea Gull", revived from matinees last season. It was with these matinees, indeed, that the group first came together; the cordial reception accorded their sincere performances encouraged this season's continuance.

"The Sea Gull", as Eva Le Gallienne's company has also given us opportunity to see moves with more coherence in the acting than in the reading; it is one of the few dramas in which not merely accidents of external movement, (as the passing baby carriages in "Street Scene") but the very concerns and words of the characters, remind us that each individual follows his own course largely undisturbed by the desires of others around him; that conversation is on the whole a series of interrupted monologues; and that each man is the center of his universe.

The Bulgakov presentation of "The Sea Gull", with excellent work by too many individual players to mention, is in some respects the finest example—as the play itself is the most difficult—of actor coordination, of successful building together for a total effect. And while the play drifts for a time from its general effects into a more melodramatic centering, it recovers for the close, with a powerful and brooding sense of futility—in the play; the very potency of which denies its own lesson as applied to life, for there is something worth while in a world where one can share such intensity and clarity of vision.

Bertha Kalich Scores in Yiddish

Bertha Kalich, celebrated Jewish-American stage star, has scored a hit on her return debut to the Yiddish Theatre in "The Soul of a Woman," a new Jewish drama, at the Downtown National Theatre, and it was decided to continue her stay on the East Side in that piece indefinitely.

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

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GUILD THEATRE
2nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. - Sat. 2:30

Maxine Elliott's Thea.
39th East of Broadway. Eves. 8:30
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LEO SHUBERT presents
The Infinite Shoe Black
with
Helen Menken
Leslie Banks
"Their Scenes pulse with pent-up emotion."
J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.

Jolson's Thea. Musical Comedy Co.
IN
VICTOR HERBERT'S
The Serenade
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ROY COOPER
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Alice Brady will be assisted by a distinguished cast in the newest play to be presented by Al Woods this Monday night at the Eltinge Theatre. "Love, Honor and Betray" is the new play from the French of Andre Paul Antoine.

John McCormack In "Song O' My Heart"

John McCormack, world's most popular tenor, will make his debut in sound pictures in "Song O' My Heart," a Fox-Movietone production at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre, on Tuesday night, March 11th. Mr. McCormack will be present at the opening performance.

In his first audible picture he sings eleven songs, logically introduced in the action of the delightful lyrical romance. Through the medium of Fox-Movietone the voice that has always been proclaimed great is said to be greater while the play drifts for a time from its general effects into a more melodramatic centering, it recovers for the close, with a powerful and brooding sense of futility—in the play; the very potency of which denies its own lesson as applied to life, for there is something worth while in a world where one can share such intensity and clarity of vision.

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IN
VICTOR HERBERT'S
The Serenade
with
ROY COOPER
OLGA STECK
GREEK EVANS
FORREST HUFF
LAURA DOONE JACKSON
Eves. & Sat. Mats. 8:30 to 11
Thurs. Mats. 8:30 to 11
Jolson's Thea. 59 St. & 7 Ave.
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THEATRE GUILD Production
METEOR
By S. N. BEHRMAN
GUILD THEATRE
2nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. - Sat. 2:30

Maxine Elliott's Thea.
39th East of Broadway. Eves. 8:30
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Al Woods Presents



Alice Brady will be assisted by a distinguished cast in the newest play to be presented by Al Woods this Monday night at the Eltinge Theatre. "Love, Honor and Betray" is the new play from the French of Andre Paul Antoine.

George Jessel Produces "This Man's Town"

George Jessel will present Willard Robertson's new drama of city life, "This Man's Town," at the Ritz Theatre Monday, March 10. Jess Producing Company is the title of the new organization of which he is the head and which contemplates staging comedies, dramas and musical plays.

Willard Robertson is not a new figure in the theatre as an actor and author. He wrote "The Sea Woman," which was presented at the Longacre Theatre. His latest creation, "This Man's Town," deals with characters of such heterogeneous types as are to be found in large cities.

Adele T. Katz to Give Final Lecture on Wagner

The last of a series of five lectures on Richard Wagner and The Niebelungen Ring, will be given by Miss Adele T. Katz at Guild Hall, Steinway Building, 113 West 57th street, entitled "Gottterdammerung and the Eumenides," on Tuesday morning, March 11th, at 11 a. m. Assisting artist is Mr. Hyman Kurzweil, at the piano.

"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

Lee Shubert presents PHILIP MERIVALE in DEATH TAKES A HOLIDAY

A COMEDY ABOUT LIFE
ETHEL BARRYMORE
The Most Comfortable Balcony in New York! Prices \$1 to \$3 (Bal.)
THEATRE, 47th St. W. of Broadway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:

NEW LEADER

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

Editor James O'Neil
Assistant Editor Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Albert Einstein, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph P. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hargan, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley.



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

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1930

Intelligent Action Needed

LIKE a swift moving tornado the whole paper structure of "prosperity" has collapsed in this country. For weeks the Hoover administration has passed out misleading information regarding unemployment but even the well-fed statesmen are now compelled to admit the stark facts. Serious want faces millions of workers and the chief contribution of the Hoover administration to relief was to pass a heavy reduction in taxation to the fat millionaires and to induce the unions to agree to a truce with the employing class in the matter of wage increases, a truce that was immediately violated by that class.

As pointed out elsewhere in this issue, the Socialist Party issued a warning to prepare for this emergency more than a year ago. Now the situation has become so grave that there is evidence of hysteria in some quarters. Police clubs will not fill empty stomachs. The cry of a "Moscow plot" is a defense screen that deceives no intelligent person. Those who raise it think on the same level with those who think that police baiting can bring relief.

What is needed is intelligent action along the lines suggested in *The New Leader* a year ago. Socialist organizations, trade unions, and other sympathetic organizations should immediately organize central delegate bodies that will give special attention to the problem. Intelligent agitation and careful formulation of programs of relief should be undertaken in every city.

We urgently appeal to the trade unions and Socialist organizations all over the country to act without delay.

Our Jobless Hell

IT IS THE opinion of Dr. Haven Emerson of the Columbia University Medical School that "we are creating conditions as unbearable for human beings in peace as the conditions which existed in the front line trenches during the World War." The wreckage of mind and nerve because of unemployment, the "sudden realization" by workers "that there is no place for them in this vaulted modern civilization," leads to nervous disorders and insanity.

One who has passed through this experience knows that Dr. Emerson has not indulged in exaggeration. There is no greater tragedy than the workman with a family, walking the streets seeking employment, and being denied. The denial means that the women and children as well as himself must go on short rations. Debts pile up. Stark want soon faces the whole family. The man broods and the wife eagerly awaits each return of the breadwinner after a fruitless search for work.

Such a life is torture and the mental strain is acute. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the mind too often gives way. Perhaps the worker in sheer desperation risks some form of theft. He is caught and prison yawns for him. The icy legalism that is blind to the economic background of such a family sends the offender to prison. For the family this means a world void of hope with a further descent into the abyss. Perhaps the breadwinner commits suicide and grief over the measureless loss is added to the household tragedy.

This is the stark realism of our makeshift capitalist world which permits industry to be the corporate property of a few thousands of workless owners. As though to mock the workless millions high hat bankers, realtors, capitalists and politicians fill their pantries with delicious foods and turn to empty-headed orators who talk of "prosperity." Almost within the shadow of the places where they dine are the outcasts of industry whose lives are a living hell.

Action is needed by the whole labor and Socialist movement to bring relief to the suffering millions and action cannot begin too soon.

Haiti Speaks

WITH President Hoover's investigation committee in Haiti we are getting some interesting information. Two Haitian leaders accuse Brig. Gen. John H. Russell of being a dictator, that President Borno is a puppet of Russell, and that Borno holds office illegally as the Haitian

Constitution requires that the president be native born while Borno's father was French. The Haitians warn of a general uprising if burning grievances are not removed.

This information is not new but its widespread publicity in this country is valuable. The Haitians have a long record of heroic struggle against foreign domination beginning with the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them to vassalage. Their warning is no idle threat. The "peace" that has been maintained in Haiti has been maintained by bayonets.

Our dictation in Latin-America has been shameful and it has served as ruthless imperialism as may be found anywhere in the world. The Monroe Doctrine has been transformed into a club to beat the weaker peoples into submission to our exploiting corporations. Our pretense of serving these peoples merely adds hypocrisy to brutal arrogance. It is capitalism at its worst. The first requirement to allay the mounting anger of these peoples is to get our dictators and marines out of these countries and stay out. Anything short of that is rubbing salt into gaping wounds.

Ripe for Nationalization

AT THE close of the first decade of this century the large corporations had gained the upper hand in industry. These huge consolidations with their large dividends were the marvel of that period and yet today they are infants in comparison with the great mergers of our time. Moreover, what they drain in wealth from the labor power of the masses is like a swollen river in comparison with a tiny stream.

While from the American social pit comes the distress cries of the unemployed, two financial items in the *New York Times* may be cited as a grim contrast. The various companies of the Standard Oil group are reported to have set a new dividend mark. From Chicago comes an estimate by Ernst & Ernst, accountants, which declares that the net profits of 794 corporations last year were 18.73 per cent higher than in 1928. The average net of 1,258 corporations was 15.28 per cent higher than the previous year.

And now at the end of this rich plundering the plundered find themselves by the millions cast adrift in this chance-world of capitalism. At the top of society are multimillionaires and billionaires while below is grim want. The social contrasts of the old nineteenth century capitalism are reproduced. In some respects the class contrast is as glaring as it ever was.

What becomes of the soothing messages of the economists, editors and politicians that the new capitalism is abolishing poverty and that the workers are becoming capitalists? Set their claims against what is happening in the heaven of the capitalist class and in the hell of the working class and what is the answer?

Our answer is that American industry is more ripe for nationalization than the industry of any other nation. Its present form of ownership is anti-social. It is organized for the benefit of a few hundred thousand persons who constitute a privileged class and against the welfare of millions of human beings—useful workers. Nationalization means the Socialist program with industry operated for human welfare. Why not?

IN A NUTSHELL

Corporation "earnings" made a record in 1929. The average for 1,259 firms was 15.28 percent higher than in the year before and Congress has reduced the income tax in order to help these fat corporation sows.

A speaker at the Wesleyan student conference spoke on the subject, "Can Business Rule Itself?" We should say that it can and that it rules the rest of us and does not feel exhausted from the effort.

All the Central Powers in the World War are disarmed and the victors are all parties to a treaty never to resort to war and yet at London they cannot do for themselves what they did for the Central Powers.

Moore Heard Again On Queens Sewers—Headline. And we will hear more of it the more capitalist politics we have in Queens.

Twenty Atlanta men and women, eleven of them city officials, have been indicted by a grand jury for bribery, perjury, fraud and larceny. Six councilmen and one alderman are involved. Why not transform the city hall into a jail and let it go at that?

History shows us that all great principles, however ardently espoused for a time, have a tendency to fade into traditions, to degenerate into a hollow cant, to become words of little import, and to remain for declamation when their vital power is gone. William Ellery Channing.

Puzzle: If a Labor Party had been sending increasing numbers of Congressmen to Washington in the last twenty years would the workers today be begging for old age pension legislation?

The Standard Oil group of corporations report a new high record of dividends for the first quarter of this year. Oil blessings still flow. God's in his heaven, and all's right with the world. Right, Mr. Hoover?

That drive for an increase in the membership of the Socialist Party has brought 2,500 new members throughout the country. Our enemies will have to postpone our funeral for a few more years.

We will award a pretzel to the bright scholar who will tell us why the class that own our industries are opposed to nationalization. Who can solve this mystery?

"Socialism In Our Time," is an excellent slogan but unless you work for it in your time it will not come self delivered.

An idle factory is the last word in futility, and a system which from time to time renders factories idle is the last word in a futile system.—Bertram Benedict.

Jackson H. Ralston declares that a sales tax may be compared with the method of relieving a goose of its feathers. But why be a goose? One can just as well vote Socialist.

If the machine ever controls us, says Secretary of Labor Davis, "civilization is gone." Does that include the Republican machine, John?

The Letter Box

The Demonstrations

Editor, The New Leader:

During the last few weeks a number of demonstrations of unemployed took place in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and other cities. In most instances the police maltreated the demonstrators. Whether or not these gatherings were organized and attended solely by Communists does not matter; for they impressed the country, more strongly than previously, with the economic importance of the existing desperate unemployment situation. That they had an effect on the public as well as on public authorities is evidenced by the remarks in the Senate by Senators Brookhart, Borah, Barkley, and others, as well as by the reaction of the press. Yet The New Leader's poise does not seem to be disturbed. The New Leader does not protest the police clubbing (condemned by liberals) nor even report the meetings. Does The New Leader by its silence join Woll's attack on those demonstrations—although a few months ago it made a splendid expose of the man Woll?

It is equally regrettable that The New Leader as well as the Socialist Party, does not speak up courageously in reference to the concerted attack by various groups upon Soviet Russia because of its religious attitude. The news of the so-called persecutions seem to be highly colored and, as MacDonald pointed out, are motivated by political purposes. It is difficult to see why Socialists should join the clamor with those who are common enemies of the Soviet Government. Even the Jewish Daily Forward, which for many years has been anti-religious, has now joined the bandwagon. This holds true for the author of the "Chatter Box" who twits the Soviets on general principles when the occasion arises. Why all this sudden pacifism on the part of The New Leader? Was the last municipal election responsible for it?

DAVID N. DITCHER

Brooklyn, N. Y.
P. S.—In view of The New Leader's editorial policy I hold that the above criticism holds true, although I notice and appreciate the commendable discretion of Mr. Norman Thomas' article on the religious question.

The above letter affords us an opportunity to consider a few important matters. The New Leader represents the Socialist Party which in turn follows intelligent methods of education and persuasion. It has never engaged in a policy of police-baiting nor has it ever supported this policy when followed by other groups.

Now to the questions raised by our correspondent. He is wrong when he declares that The New Leader has not condemned police brutality. In the issue of February 1, following the police clubbing at the City Hall, The New Leader ran a leading editorial denouncing this brutality while at the same time stating clearly our attitude towards the Communist movement.

Our correspondent is also wrong in saying that The New Leader has ignored news of unemployment demonstrations. We have ignored news of Communist demonstrations. We have declined to use our columns for affairs of this organization since the paper was established and we shall continue to follow this policy.

In the first place all our sources of information indicate that the "unemployed" demonstrations in a number of large cities in recent weeks have been Communist affairs. They also have followed a Communist procedure which clearly reveal an intention to bait the police, not to obtain relief for unemployment. Another motive is to use these demonstrations to attack the whole Socialist movement. In every instance only a few hundred have engaged in these demonstrations which shows that they have had no general popular support on the part of the working class. Spectators have been attracted to these affairs but they are by no means Communists.

In New York City the Communists in these demonstrations have carried banners denouncing the Socialist Party and Socialists. They denounced Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union after he had publicly criticized the police brutality at City Hall. Their aim was solely Communist propaganda, not help for the unemployed.

In Milwaukee where we have a Socialist Mayor a few hundred gathered at the City Hall. Police arrested a few leaders. The department is not under the control of Mayor Hoan. A delegation entered the Mayor's office and informed him of the arrests. Mayor Hoan by telephone protested to the Police Department and obtained the release of the leaders. He then told the delegation that they had the right to hold public meetings and all that was required was to obtain a permit.

Despite the fact that Mayor Hoan had obtained the release of the leaders and assured the Communists that they had a right to hold their meetings, the "Daily Worker" of this city in streaming headlines declared that the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee had "brutally clubbed" unemployed workers. The object in Milwaukee was not sympathy for the unemployed but propaganda against the Socialists and lying propaganda

Second Terror in Russia

Head of Socialist-International, Ignoring Calumnies From the Right, Denounces Soviet Violence

By Emile Vandervelde
President of the Labor and Socialist International

ALEXANDRE KERENSKY has complained a short time ago to the Socialist group in the French Chamber of the "indifference of European Socialism" with regard to the recrudescence of terrorism which is at present raging in Russia. I think this reproach is unfounded, or at least—I shall say why in a moment—that it has only an appearance of having a foundation.

Not a day passes without the Socialist press of all countries denouncing the terrorist acts of the Stalin government. At its last meeting at the end of November the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International passed an energetic protest against the system of mass executions which recalls the worst moments of the civil war. And now, the report of Comrade Abramovitch to the International's Committee of Enquiry into the Position of Political Prisoners will shortly be published. This pamphlet denounces the ill-treatment of political prisoners in Russia and the frightful abuse of the death penalty. It is therefore incorrect to say that "European Socialism is taking no interest in what is happening in Russia." On the contrary, the truth is that there is no country in which it follows events with so much attention and anxiety. But there is also no country in which it is so difficult for the seeker after truth to know what is really happening. We have every reason in the world to distrust equally the accusations of the bourgeoisie and the apologia of the press in the service of Moscow. We should be deficient in critical sense if we accepted other than conditionally the statements of those who have been "disillusioned," exiled and banished by the Communist Party, however numerous and impressive these statements may be. If we wish to form a serious judgment we are largely reduced to the information which is sent from Russia itself, slowly, with difficulty and with terrible delay, by those of our own people who are still fighting against the dictatorship in clandestine organizations at the peril of their liberty and life. But let us say at once that however incomplete and frag-

mentary information may be, however greatly criticism may be affected by passion, by biased exaggeration, and—in certain quarters—by interested and by systematic calumny, there unfortunately remains a body of facts which must be taken as proved and which prove the direct responsibility of the rulers of Soviet Russia in a terrible manner.

On the essential points, indeed, with the reservation that there may be possible errors in detail, our Committee of Enquiry agrees in a striking manner both with the anonymous Communist author of the violent case for the prosecution—"La Russie Nue" (Russia Laid Bare)—which Panait Istrati has just published, and with Kerenky himself, who produces some terrible facts about the second Bolshevik terror in his report to the French Socialist Party (See, *La Russie Opprimée*, dated the 18th January).

There will of course be differences of opinion on the future prospects of Sovietism. There will be different opinions on the Five Years Plan and the collective agricultural communities, although to be frank the first results of the abandonment of the New Economic Policy and the return to war communism certainly appear to warrant very pessimistic conjectures. But from the point of view of humanity—and this is the only point of view which concerns us at the moment—it is only too certain that under cover, unfortunately, of a flag of the same color as our own, things are happening in Russia at the present time which must horrify anyone who respects human life and liberty.

In his report to the French Party Kerenky expresses himself on this subject in the following terms:—

"At the present time the Soviet Government is shooting at least six persons daily, often after a semblance of a trial and most often without any trial at all. For example, the number condemned to death from the 1st October to the 15th November was 225. This number was increased by 45 executions from the 15th November to the 1st December. Apart from two or three cases these figures are

taken entirely from the Stalin press. But you understand quite well that these figures are far from representing all the executions that have taken place. For this to be done, it would be necessary for all the judgments of the courts and the decrees of the OGPU (Cheka) to be published in the official papers of the U.S.S.R. But on the contrary, these particular cases, called examples, are only communicated to the press on exceptional occasions, when the Stalin administration wishes to terrorize the population again. Moreover, the executions by administrative order decreed by the OGPU only reach the press in quite exceptional cases. Thus it was announced in the spring of 1929 that Mock, Paltchinsky and Velitchko, three of the best engineers in the service of the Soviets, had been shot by order of the OGPU. Recently, during the military difficulties in Manchuria, the OGPU made it known that five artillery academy students who were working for the national defence service had been executed. As a general rule, the executions by order of the OGPU are not made public. But we know from an absolutely reliable source that executions of this kind are taking place daily in every part of Russia."

The official organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, the "Westnik" (Socialist Messenger) moreover writes as follows in its issue of the 15th December:—

"Dozens of 'specialists' are executed and hundreds of others are deported to the Solovki Islands—The crowd of intellectuals in the service of the Soviets is seized with panic—They are becoming more and more persuaded that the Soviet Government is proposing to exterminate all the old specialists' of whatever importance, and to condemn the others to a lingering death in the prisons and places of deportation."

The Communist press will not fail to say once more that the U.S.S.R., which is surrounded by enemies, is obliged to defend itself; that the people who are being shot are conspirators, traitors to the revolution, spies or saboteurs, conscious or innocent hirelings of international capitalism.

On this point we will leave the opposition Communists the trouble of replying to them. For the rest there hardly appears to be any doubt that the terror does not distinguish between the counter-revolutionaries, or those who are so-called, and the severely oppressed peasant who is revolting, the worker who is complaining of his conditions of labor, the intellectual who is deprived of his rights as a man and a citizen, the priest and the monk who have been delivered over to the secular arm as enemies of the public by an inquisition from the other side. But for the very honor of Socialism it is necessary that our protest against terrorism, against the death penalty, against the stifling by sword and fire of all free thought and action should also make no distinction between one side and the other.

Only a person with no idea of what a revolution is would be astonished or indignant that the Soviets are dealing severely with profiteers, prevaricators, spies or traitors. But that after the régime has existed for twelve years in complete peace, without the excuse of the bloody counter-attacks in a civil war, shootings and massacres should be taken up, or more exactly taken up again, that the Moloch of the dictatorship should need his daily ration of victims, that irresponsible administrative bodies like the OGPU or so-called courts which sit without any of the elementary guarantees of the right of defence, should send to their death hundreds of unfortunate people who in other countries would not be persecuted or would at the most be liable to imprisonment; these are the things which democratic Socialism could not tolerate without exposing itself to the just reproach of complaisance or even of moral complicity.

The Labor and Socialist International is and wishes to be on the side of the Russian revolution nevertheless. It is convinced in spite of everything that great things will ultimately come of it. It is defending it and has always defended it—whatever the Bolsheviks may say—against reactionary attacks. But this defence includes fearlessly and firmly denouncing faults, mistakes or crimes which threaten to dishonor it.

Congress Today—A Socialist View

The Election Address of August Claessens

In his address to the voters of the 18th Congressional District, New York State, where he is the Socialist candidate in the special election to be held March 11th, August Claessens has written a vital criticism of the House of Representatives which should be of interest to thinking men and women all over the country. Mr. Claessens' election address is printed below.

By August Claessens

THE Congress of the United States is a body of immense power and responsibility. As the legislative instrument of our nation it has infinite possibilities for social progress. There is ever so much more that it can do than it can not or is not doing. Although some of its enactments are frustrated by the usurpation of power of the Supreme Court, nevertheless Congress does possess considerable power. Moreover, a more aggressive and determined representation of men and women in our National legislature may radically influence the judiciary and check its nullifying practices. Congress can assume a greater position of power, prestige and respect.

As constituted at present, Congress is reactionary and impotent. It is a huge, noisy, aimless and visionless assembly. It is composed of altogether too many busy little people with dominantly local and special interests. They are utterly provincial in their approach to National problems and international relations. In theory Congressmen are supposed to devote themselves to the greatest good of the greatest number. In fact they usually represent only some particular business interests and for which they bargain and battle. The tariff

squabble now on in the Capital arena is a fit illustration of the fact. Our official Washington "selectors" of big and little business are bargaining endlessly and shamelessly. The sordid motives of easy money and increased exploitation inspire our Congress and converts its halls into Chambers of Commerce. Everything else is subordinate or beyond its consideration.

An amazing example of the impotence of Congress in its attitude to the growing condition of unemployment. This problem is assuming ever greater importance and seriousness and presents a challenge to our boasted prosperity. True, our President has called together all sorts of conferences and received from them all sorts of assurances, promises and good wishes. The purely psychological appeal may have had some effect on the approaching business depression but fundamentally it accomplished but little. In response to the demands of the serious situation of joblessness and increasing suffering of millions of workers all over the land, Congress rose to the occasion and reduced the income taxes of the wealthy! This was its only contribution to the need of the hour. Instead of making a rapid survey of the condition, inaugurating large public undertakings and improvements immediately, enacting legislation for more efficient employment exchanges and unemployment insurance, Congress could think of nothing more urgent than to ease the burdens and sufferings of the rich.

In other parts of the world the reason for this lamentable deficiency is not difficult to discern. In most every other civilized nation of the world Socialists are among the representatives in the law making bodies. In many countries the Socialist or Labor Parties are either the governing or dominant political factors. The Social-

ist philosophy and program is the compelling idea and the logic of its demands organizes the forces that are prodding on economic, social and political progress. Socialism proclaims with peculiar emphasis that modern civilization is yet to be achieved. The marvelous industrial revolution is yet to fulfill its great objective. We have yet to realize the miracle of industrialism and applied science—the effective organization of men, material and machinery toward the establishment of economic security for all and the release of much more of the energies of all men and women for social, spiritual and cultural progress. That end can be attained only through the socialization of natural resources and the tools and processes of our age, and with the end of the autocracy of private ownership and management in our industrial and commercial spheres must come a more ideal democracy in our political institutions.

This viewpoint and program is not now represented in the Congress of the United States. In this respect our national legislature is unique. Its debates and accomplishments and its visions and morale are also sadly unique! We are years behind other nations in social legislation! With our relatively greater wealth we should be at the very forefront! And we can and will be there as soon as our workers of hand and brain understand that the Republican and Democratic Parties represent the old order of things. They stand in the way of progress. These Tories of ours can also be defeated. They can be displaced with men and women with a radically different ideal. This is the trend of the modern world.

L. I. D. Dance March 14th

The New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy will hold the first gala dance and entertainment of the season for its friends and members at the Renaissance Casino in Harlem on Friday, March 14, Norman Thomas, and Harry Laidler, directors of the League, together with distinguished men and women of the literary, artistic and political worlds will be on hand to greet their friends and comrades.

Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League, has succeeded in obtaining the Lenox Club Entertainers to put on their revue the night of the dance. Jeff Blount of the Lenox Club will personally direct the revue. The famous Renaissance Casino band will play while the League and their friends dance.

Heywood Brown, Floyd Dell, Art Young, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Frank Crosswaith, Hubert Herring, William Lloyd, Morris Hillquit, Walter

Frank, and over fifty prominent men and women will be there to join in the merriment and greet new friends and old comrades.

Delegations of League members coming from Vassar, Smith, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, as well as great numbers of students from Hunter, Columbia, Barnard, and City Colleges will make the Renaissance Casino on March 14 a riot of fun and merriment.

The tickets are being rapidly sold at the extremely low price of one dollar. Tickets bought at the door the night of the dance will cost \$1.50. They may be obtained at the office of the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, Algonquin 5885; at the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street; at the Civic Club, 18 East 10th Street; at the Darktower, 108 West 138th Street.

A few logos and boxes are still on sale. Information about them can be obtained directly from the League office.