

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

IMMEDIATE RELIEF IS POSSIBLE

IT IS, I THINK, vital that we who advocate immediate measures for the relief of unemployment now should make our position clear: We do not for an instant assume that relief measures of any sort under the capitalist system can cure unemployment. Economic processes under capitalism are not planned for the common good but for private profit and under this system the workers cannot buy back what they produce or its equivalent. Hence waste, hence periodic gluts on the market, hence hard times.

But it does not follow as the Communists proclaim that all immediate demands are futile save for their educational effect. On the contrary, they are of enormous importance for these reasons: (1) No men, still less their children, can live on the bread of Utopia. They hunger now. Cold and hungry children make no constructive social revolution. They add to the needless weight of the world's woe.

2. For a considerable transition period even a Socialist or Communist government must use unemployment insurance and other immediate measures of relief. For instance, so far as Russia from the cure of unemployment that she has, according to Walter Duranty's dispatches, not only over 1,000,000 on her registered unemployment lists, but a great mass of the unemployed and declassed folk and the threat of increasing technological unemployment as 40,000,000 peasants are progressively enabled by machinery to do the work of 60,000,000.

3. Finally, unemployment relief, got as a result of the agitation of the workers, is at once a measure of recognition of social responsibility and a condition of the successful organization of the workers. These things are or can be made definite steps toward Socialism.

THE PROFITS OF WAR

WHAT the profit lust does to men has come strikingly to my attention in two things I have read. The first was a despatch in the New York World describing the utter breakdown of machinery set up under the League of Nations for the regulation of the international traffic in opium and its derivatives despite solemn resolutions that the traffic is growing steadily and alarmingly in Africa and Asia. The sole reason for failure of regulation at the source, that is, of regulation of the factories making opium derivatives, is the strength of these institutions in Germany, Switzerland and Great Britain. Profit is profit even if it is made out of the systematic degradation of human beings.

And profit is profit even if it is made out of deliberate manufacture of war scares and out of the sale of arms to the potential enemies of one's country. This is the moral of a recent German book, "War for Profits," by Otto Lehmann-Russboldt, translated by Pierre L'Orange (Alfred H. King, New York). It appears that in one form or another what Big Drum Shearer did for our American shipbuilders at Geneva in the name of patriotism is a common practice. It has also been a common practice for the big armament makers either in competition or in agreement to sell wherever they could get the price. Thus British soldiers were killed by British Vickers at the Dardanelles. And German soldiers have had to face Krupp guns in enemy hands. The author's remedy is to take the armament industry out of the hands of private profit makers and to forbid the export of arms at any rate, to big nations. The remedy may not be as simple or as adequate as he thinks and his diagnosis for American readers could stand a little more elaboration. Nevertheless he makes his point about the profits of war.

RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC RETREAT

FROM the point of view of detroning the profit motive, in whose name such vast crimes have been committed, the whole world has a stake in the success of the Russian experiment which has apparently made genuine progress in the individual field. But it will be a tragedy if the only alternative to the kingship of profit is military Communism under a relentless dictatorship. Such an alternative is bound in the end to break down. The most recent despatches from Russia indicate that the Communist Party has again made a strategic retreat in the application of military Communism to the peasantry. Stalin explains that his agents have gone too far and too harshly, which is the usual excuse for the dictator when things don't work. Nevertheless, the relaxation of arbitrary pressure upon the peasants is a gain. So also is it a gain to check the zeal of extremists in secularizing the churches. One may grant this regardless of one's opinion of those churches simply on a sound theory of liberty. It does not follow therefore that some of our religious leaders who have discovered a new interest in religious liberty are right in the vehemence of their protests. They are to be congratulated on avoiding the tone of holy crusade in last Sunday's meeting in New York City, but there is always danger of the holy crusade idea emerging no matter how carefully the preachers stress the use of prayer.

A PLAY ON THE DEATH HOUSE

IN a real and true sense of the word there is a religious power and a religious appeal in that grimly realistic play, "The Last Mile." For us who easily ignore the ugliest things in our civilization there is a kind of moral duty about facing up to what our system of capital punishment means to the men who must endure it and the men who execute it. It is a horrifying but it ought to be to some extent a cleansing and invigorating experience to witness this magnificently acted play, one of the roots of which was the genuine dialogue written down by a condemned criminal while he waited for death. But the experience will be cleansing and invigorating only if it leads us again to face with new vigor the whole question of that thing we call criminal justice in America.

A "C. O." TELLS HIS STORY

WHILE I am speaking about plays and books, let me add a word of hearty praise for Ernest Meyer's book, "Hey! Yellowbacks! (John Day)." Meyer is one of the finest types of conscientious objectors and his diary, which is the basis of this book is one of the truest pictures of the experiences of a conscientious objector which I have seen. Meyer's freedom from exaggeration and the beauty of his literary style unite to make a book at once true and absorbingly interesting.

In his concluding chapter Mr. Meyer states that he thinks our government's policy was on the whole most liberal. Possibly he is right, but I think he overlooks one factor. He himself was freed by the end of the war before he was sent to Fort Leavenworth. Other men less fortunate stayed in prison until the end of the Wilson administration, long after the last of the English objectors had been freed. Here is a book worth reading.

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Is Combined

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U. S. Reports New Drop In Jobs; N. Y. Labor Demands City Action

Big Rallies In West Greet Socialists

Hillquit, Maurer, Hoan
and Others Entering
Second Week of Tour
to Pacific Coast

THE first meetings addressed by members of the National Executive Committee on their tour of the country enroute to the regular quarterly meeting in Los Angeles have been great successes according to reports reaching The New Leader.

The dinner given Morris Hillquit, national chairman, in Detroit proved a great success. March 17th, Hillquit addressed an eager group of students at a round table conference at Ann Arbor, Michigan. Chicago claimed Hillquit for two days, March 18th and 19th. A number of meetings were addressed by the national chairman. Though detailed reports have not reached The New Leader thus far, a short letter indicates that the meetings were extremely successful.

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee spoke in Chicago on March 15th, in Sioux City, Iowa, on the 16th, and in Des Moines on the 17th. James H. Maurer spoke in Duluth on the 17th and in Butte, Montana, on the 19th. James O'Neal spoke in Indianapolis on the 17th, in the Amalgamated Building. He had an audience of 200 which was keenly interested. He also addressed a student body at Richmond, Indiana.

Other dates scheduled for the Socialist leaders include:

Morris Hillquit: 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, Economics 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: Denver City Club, March 21; Sacramento, March 23; San 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 O'Neal Dates
James H. Maurer: Seattle Labor College, 23th; Portland, three engagements, 24th; San Francisco and Los Angeles; Kansas City, Missouri, Central Labor Union, April 8; Gillespie, Ill., April 9.
James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader: 20th, Pittsburgh, Kansas; 21, Arkansas City; 23rd, Dallas, Texas; 24, 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.

The New "Daily Herald"
The "Daily Herald," organ of the British Labor movement, was published in its new form from the 17th March on. The staff, however, has already moved to its new quarters, and the address of the editorial office is now 12 Wilson street, Long Acre, London W. C. 2.

NEW MINERS UNION
chooses former national secretary of the Socialist Party
at its vice president.



ADOLPH GERMER

Jury Supports Thomas Attack On N. Y. Courts

Specific Leads on Magistrates are Ignored However—Tammany Domination Greatest Problem

THE attack on the magistrates' courts of New York City begun by Norman Thomas when he was campaigning for Mayor on the Socialist ticket last fall bore some fruit last week. A special grand jury, appointed as a result of agitation begun by Thomas, has returned a presentment attacking the magistrates in scathing if somewhat general terms. It has proposed a number of reforms first urged by the Socialist leader.

While the Grand Jury recognized much of the Socialist criticism to be valid, its report on the whole was disappointing. As Thomas pointed out in a statement commenting on the Grand Jury findings, the Grand Jury presentment and the action of the Appellate Division in finding Vitale unfit to sit on the bench while they mark progress do not by any means go to the heart of the problem.

The Grand Jury gives a good general description of evil conditions in the Magistrates' courts and it makes some valuable suggestions on changes and procedure. Some of those suggestions are better on paper than in action. When one remembers that some of the least satisfactory magistrates have been in the District Attorney's offices and when one considers the charges that have been brought against the District Attorney's offices for the role they play in the faulty administration of justice, there is no reason to think that district leaders and other fixers would find it much harder to deal with an assistant District Attorney in a complaint bureau than with the complaint clerk.

It is noticeable that the Grand Jury does not even discuss the questions which Thomas has repeatedly raised concerning the right of trial by jury which may be demanded in municipal courts but not in Magistrates' courts. It does not even discuss the question of the manner of selecting Magistrates, which is the most important question of all.

The anonymity of the charge (Continued on Page Two)

Miners Pick Howat as President

Springfield Convention
Ends on Inspiring Note
as Germer and Hapgood Bury Hatchet

By Louis Stanley

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The "reorganization convention" of the United Mine Workers convening here wound up in excellent spirit Saturday evening, March 16. Most of the hard feeling that had been engendered by the fights over the seating of Frank Farrington and the election of a vice-president had been replaced by sentiments of good will.

Frank Farrington, former president of Illinois District 12, whose seat had been challenged because of his \$25,000 a year contract with the Peabody Coal Company while he was still in office, spoke almost four hours in his defense. His long awaited explanation came down to this: That he had made the contract, because President John L. Lewis for political reasons had refused to agree to a wage reduction needed for the rehabilitation of the union unless Farrington, Lewis' chief rival, had eliminated himself from the union. Delegates greeted Farrington's claim to favour of the union with loud guffaws. They placed more weight upon his plea for the preservation of his honor and that of his family and the fact that his credentials met all the formal requirements.

Howat Is President

John Brophy, Powers Hapgood and John Hindmarsh led the opposition to the seating of Farrington. The stand taken by Brophy and Hapgood was looked upon as ill-advised by many of the delegates, since both men were at the time not members of the U. M. W. A., having been expelled by Lewis; both represented unorganized groups in Pennsylvania, neither was residing in Pennsylvania, and Brophy was a salesman for the Columbia Conserve Company—"soup merchant," Farrington called him. Hindmarsh's personal antagonism to Farrington served to discount his arguments. Brophy, Hapgood and Hindmarsh laid chief stress upon the effects that the seating of Farrington would have upon the rank and file. Farrington was seated by a vote of 225 of 145, in the majority being the official family of District 12, some of the rank and file most of the delegates from the outlying districts.

The election of president and secretary-treasurer was an easy matter. Alex Howat, president of the Kansas District, was elected to the former position and John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to the latter. Both had been active Socialists years ago, Walker having abandoned his Socialism and become an exponent of conservatism. Howat had gone to jail for defying the Kansas Industrial Court Law, been expelled by Lewis and only recently reinstated. Re-elected to the presidency of the Kansas District he has done much to organize the coal mines there again. Walker had risen in the ranks in District 12 to the presidency and on one occasion was declared by Lewis to be ineligible to represent the United Mine Workers at A. F. of L. convention, because he held the office of president of the State Federation.

(Continued on Page Three)

585 Delegates from 200 Labor Groups Voice Their Demands

LARGE UNIONS
ARE REPRESENTED

Waldman and Thomas
Criticize Walker Inactivity, Demand Speed
on Construction and Relief

THE New York City administration was declared remiss in its duties toward the unemployed and was urged to speed up construction work and relief measures at a conference Wednesday night which perfected the organization of the Emergency Conference on Unemployment. Fully 585 delegates, representing 200 trade unions, Socialist party and Workmen's Circle branches, attended the conference.

Following addresses by Louis Waldman and Norman Thomas, setting forth the problem of getting some measure of immediate relief, the conference adopted the following resolution:

Text of Resolution

"We, the representatives of trade unions, Socialist and labor fraternal organizations, including the Workmen's Circle, representing a membership which in the aggregate number 300,000 people, assembled to consider plans for the amelioration of the distressing conditions resulting from widespread unemployment, and to organize the resources of our organizations to hasten the adoption of relief measures, urge upon Mayor Walker and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment the following immediate measures:

1. The City administration should officially recognize the existence of a grave emergency affecting the lives of tens of thousands of our inhabitants who, by reason of industrial conditions beyond their control, have suddenly become destitute and their families in want, and, accordingly, create an emergency unemployment commission to be composed of city officials, trade unionists, representatives of political parties, and officials of industrial and commercial elements of the city, as well as representatives of civic and fraternal organizations. The function and purpose of this commission shall be to organize and pool all available public resources, to afford relief to the victims of unemployment in the same manner as would be rendered victims of an earthquake, flood, or other public calamity.

2. The city shall make available all appropriations heretofore made and any others which under the law can be made for approved public works, so that a large portion of the unemployed might be placed in gainful occupations.

3. Relief stations shall be opened throughout the industrial sections of the city where food and clothing shall be furnished to those in need as a matter of right rather than as a matter of charity.

4. The city should at once organize an adequate number of competent and efficient employment agencies to bring such people and its failure to mention names is unfortunate. Are all the Magistrates and temporary Magistrates (Continued on Page Two)

HEADS CONFERENCE On
Unemployment Formed by
New York Unionists and Socialists.



A. I. SHIFLACOFF

Removal of Whalen Urged By Socialists

Many Others Join in Petition to Mayor and in Meeting of Protest

A PETITION asking the removal of Police Commissioner Whalen from office of Commissioner of Police Grover A. Whalen in New York City because of lawless methods in dealing with the Communists has been forwarded to Mayor Walker by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party Committee on Public Affairs.

The petition bears the names of a number of prominent men and women in municipal life, including Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president of Union Theological Seminary, Charles A. Beard and Mary Beard, authors of "The Rise of American Civilization," and noted historians, Professor John Dewey, Professor Roy Stryker and Professor R. G. Tugwell of Columbia University, Susan Brandeis, attorney and daughter of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis; Upton Close and Benjamin DeCasseres, authors, and Rabbi Sidney Goldstein.

Ninety-six names of active men and women in political, educational, church and welfare circles are attached to the petition, which was sponsored by Mr. Thomas. None of the signers are Communists. The petition while asserting that Commissioner Whalen was acting within his rights in barring the attempt of Communists to parade to City Hall on March 6th, arraigns the Commissioner for alleged brutalities committed against the throng that remained in Union Square without joining the parade. It declares Commissioner Whalen guilty of compounding a felony in attempting to have Communist workers discharged from their places of employment. It also denounces the proposed campaign of the police chief against Communist school children.

The fight on Whalen's attempt to create a new "red scare" was carried forward at a mass meeting organized by the League for Industrial Democracy and held in the Community Church last Tuesday night. A number of speakers attacked Whalen's policies along the lines laid down in the petition to the Mayor. In the course of his address, Thomas took up the various defenses which have been made on Whalen's behalf.

Hoover Prediction of "Recovery" Is Again Disproved By Official Figures

"SLIGHT RECESSION"
NOTED IN INDUSTRY

Large Cities Particularly
Hard Hit, Employment
Service Report Says—
Drop Continues In
Chicago

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—"All reports indicate that industry made no substantial gain during the month of February; in some industries a slight recession was noted," says the synopsis of the U. S. Employment Service's report for February.

Maine starts off with "Curtailed schedules obtained in the shoe, textile and sardine industries in various sections of the state, while reports from other centers indicated an improvement, with an increase in employment in these lines. . . . A plentiful supply of farm help was apparent throughout the state."

Curtailed operations in the shoe, textile, cigar and various other industries were reported throughout New England. Pittsfield, Mass., confessed "A further decrease in employment was reported. Practically all plants operated on curtailed schedules, and one woolen mill was closed."

New York state reported: "Part-time employment was quite general and considerable unemployment was apparent in practically all of the large cities." The same report came from Pennsylvania. Indiana claimed a slight upward trend in manufacturing, while Ohio reported that "Part-time schedules in the automobile and accessories plants and iron and steel mills contributed in a large extent to the volume of unemployment." "Michigan stated that 'A general surplus of labor was reported, largely due to part-time schedules in effect in the major industries. Foundries and brass plants, furniture and wood-working establishments, and plants manufacturing boats, paper and steel products operated with reduced forces.'"

Drop Continues in Chicago
Milwaukee stated that the local employment level during February was "below normal." Chicago said: "The industrial recession noted in January continued in many plants and factories during February." Minnesota declared: "Industrial employment reached the low point of the winter during February, but a strong improvement is anticipated with the resumption of spring work in March and April."

Missouri found industrial activity continued "on a seasonally curtailed basis." Maryland found "a surplus of labor apparent throughout the state, embracing nearly all trades." West Virginia echoed this report. So did the South and the West.

California summed up its crisis in the sentence: "Although unemployment continued more part-

TO WORKERS OF WORLD: DEMAND DISARMAMENT!

Manifesto of the Joint Meeting of the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International and the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Paris, March 7th, 1930.

THE Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions to the Workers of all Countries: When Germany was compelled to accept the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, the other signatories of the treaty gave a solemn undertaking to work for general disarmament.

This undertaking has not yet been fulfilled. The labors of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations remain without effective result. The peoples, overwhelmed by military expenditure, have waited ten years in vain for the realization of the promises contained in the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

On the morrow of the Labor victory in Great Britain, however, they were delighted at the initiative of the MacDonald Labor Government, which led to the convocation of the Five-Power Naval

Conference in London. Although they had no illusions as to what was possible at the present moment, they thought that they could at least rely upon a real and perceptible reduction in the existing level of naval armaments.

But, once again, no sooner had the conference met than there was reason to fear that the peoples would be deceived even in these limited expectations.

The British Labor Government has given and continues to give proofs of its sincere desire not only to stop the ruinous competition in naval armaments, but also to secure a general reduction in all classes of warships, the only thing which can prevent the conference from being a total failure.

But at the point which has now been reached it appears only too clearly that the other Governments in varying degrees are not disposed to welcome these proposals in the spirit in which they are made.

By throwing doubt upon the real value of international agreements which they themselves have signed, by creating the impression through their attitude that these agreements are only scraps of paper which do not justify the abandonment of any military

measures of so-called security, by giving way to considerations of prestige which lead them to claim parties without any relation to their existing naval forces, by appealing under the pressure of powerful capitalists interested in armaments to alleged needs which clearly have no relation to the necessities of legitimate defence, they risk the failure of the conference, which would be disastrous, as it would inevitably lead to a new race in armaments, and then to war.

Workers of all countries! The questions which are being discussed in London do not concern only the five countries which are represented at the Naval Conference. Upon the decisions taken at this conference will depend to a large extent the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of the more general promises made in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The issue is whether the peoples are to head for peace or war, towards disarmament or towards a strengthening of militarism which would lead the world to ruin and catastrophe.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact, and the other agreements of recent years are acts of homage rendered to the people's desire for peace.

It is the duty of the masses to support those who wish to draw the logical conclusions of these agreements, and on the other hand to fight and defeat those who, always ready to bring forward pretences for strengthening militarism, regard these agreements as both false promises and engagements which are only made to be violated.

Support the British Labor Government in its sincere efforts for peace and the outlawry of war. Denounce before public opinion those who for the sake of imperialism and prestige would fasten upon your shoulders the burden of unlimited military expenditure.

It is not only in Great Britain, in France, and in the other countries represented in London, that the two Internationals must declare their policy. They must do this wherever there are workers determined to fight against war and against those who are helping to prepare for war.

E. VANDERVELDE,
President of the I. S. I.
WALTER M. CITRINE,
President of the I. F. T. U.

particularly noticeable among unskilled laborers during February, there was also a surplus of skilled workers in all lines, manufacturing and building trades predominating."

N. Y. Demands Aid for Jobless

(Continued from Page One)

sitions as there are to the unemployed without robbing and defrauding them as the private employment agencies are doing."

Shipload Made Chairman

The credentials committee reported that the organizations present included the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and its N. Y. Locals, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Fur Workers, the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, the Brotherhood of Painters, the Workmen's Circle, the Socialist Party, the United Hebrew Trades and numerous other unions. In all, over 200 organizations were represented.

Samuel A. Beardsley presided over the session, which accomplished its work with great speed. Abraham I. Shipload, head of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, was elected permanent chairman; Edward F. Cassidy of Typographical Union No. 6, Beardsley, secretary of the International Jewelry Workers, and Morris Finestone, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, were chosen as vice-chairmen, while Julius Gerber, of the Socialist Party, was chosen executive secretary.

The conference greeted an address by Thomas with great applause. The Socialist leader made seven immediate suggestions which he called on the city administration to take: 1, a census on unemployment to be taken by the police department; 2, setting up of an adequate number of free employment agencies; 3, organization of the Department of Public Welfare to care for those suffering through unemployment; 4, a more aggressive program of public works; 5, "an end of the disgraceful delay of the city in determining and enforcing the prevailing rate of wages on city work;" 6, "the city should do all in its power by moral influence to bring about a shorter work-day;" and, 7, the feeding of school children in schools where the parents so desire.

Waldman Raps Mayor

Mayor Walker's claim that the city administration is doing all it can to deal with the unemployment problem was denied by Waldman, who declared that the public work of the city shows only normal activity, and that nothing of an emergency nature has been attempted to relieve the acute unemployment situation. He denied that city finances will not permit an expansion of the program, there being, he claimed, an unexpended fund available for new public works immediately.

Mr. Waldman said full five hundred thousand people are unemployed in New York City, alone. A few of the unemployed may have some means, scanty as they are, to tide over this distressing time. Most of them, however, are helpless. They and their families are facing starvation. The tragedies of tens of thousands of workmen, standing in line at the employment agencies, day in and day out without any encouraging results, without hope or prospect of getting a job, will not long be endured even by conservative people. The reports of all charity and semi-charity organizations show that self-respecting men and women are grateful to receive a cup of coffee and rolls or a meal.

"Of course, it is better to be optimistic. But, there is no sense in acting the ostrich. In a serious matter like this it is well to do plain speaking; to look facts in the face and try to be helpful," Waldman declared amid sustained applause.

"The trade unions on their part have done all they could in a trying situation. But the unions cannot carry the burden alone. The terrific pressure of the unemployed from without, the distressing conditions within, and the limited legal and economic powers and resources of the unions, make it necessary that organized labor and organized socialism combine to urge upon the public authorities constructive measures of immediate relief and also to lay the basis for future planning to meet the veil of unemployment."

"We are profoundly convinced that social discontent, having its root, as it has, in social injustice, must be met not by police brute

force, industrial blacklists, or a system of spying, but, rather by intelligent social planning to remove the source of discontent, and by serious and earnest effort to alleviate its tragic existing results."

Tells of City Hall Session

"Last week a sub-committee of the unemployment conference went to see Mayor Walker. The Mayor set next Tuesday, the 25th of March for a new hearing on the question. He indicated, however, that the city is already doing what it can in the premises. With that we disagree. So far, the city is not doing what it can. It is merely doing the ordinary city public work, which, in the present emergency, is not sufficient. There are three fields in which the city should at once become active and relieve, in part, the worst phases of unemployment."

"1. We propose that the City of New York, at once, increase its public works. The Mayor suggested that the city finances may not permit it. The fact is there are available funds already appropriated for transit construction, for instance. Everybody in New York knows that transit construction is twenty years behind time. Plans have now been adopted for the construction of subways to the tune of over one billion dollars. If the present method of the city's financing scheme do not yield sufficient money, we respectfully suggest a re-examination of the city's method of financing. Students of finance and of transit have insisted that the Mayor's policy of financing transit construction is unsound. Eminent authorities agree upon a form of financing which, in our judgment, would make available today between \$400,000,000 and \$500,000,000 for transit construction. The Corporation Counsel has passed on that method of financing and has certified to the fact that it is entirely legal. If the city is going to remain in a rut it cannot rise to meet the emergency—and this is an emergency, if ever there was one."

Opposes Private Charity

"2. To permit working-men and working-women to apply to charity is unworthy of our city. The city can immediately establish relief stations where food and clothing will be furnished to those in need."

"3. The twelve hundred private employment agencies in New York are a curse to labor. The more helpless the applicant, the more heartless the employment agencies. There is no excuse why the administration should not establish competent and efficient employment agencies that will bring every available job to the unemployed, without robbing and defrauding them."

"Finally, if the existing city machinery is not sufficient to carry this program into effect—as we believe it is not—an emergency unemployment committee should be created by the city government to consist of representatives of organized labor, political and economic, of city officials, of industrial and manufacturing interests and civic welfare organizations. The purpose of this commission shall be to take the situation in hand with energy, with a view of bringing actual and immediate relief."

Newark Votes Relief Funds For Jobless On Socialist Demand

NEWARK. — Recognizing that an "economic emergency exists," the Newark City Commission has decided to issue emergency notes to provide additional funds to aid the poor "when and if needed."

This action was decided upon when the subject of unemployment was again raised by Henry J. Sutton, a representative of the Socialist Party of Newark.

L.I.D. Luncheon Will Discuss Unemployment; WEAF to Broadcast

"Unemployment will be the subject of the season's ninth Saturday luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy. The speakers will be Beulah Amidon, Associate Editor of The Survey Graphic; Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the L. I. D.; Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The luncheon will be held at the Hotel Woodstock, March 22, 1930, at 12:45 p. m., 127 West 43rd street, New York City. This luncheon will be broadcast over Station WEAF at 1:45 p. m., eastern standard time."

ANOTHER SOCIALIST!

Editor, The New Leader: Your readers will be interested to know that the party has an important addition to its membership in the birth of Eugene Debs Tenaglia on January 22. We wish him a long and fruitful life.

WILLIAM ADAMS, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Cities Report Unemployment Is Unabated

Detroit and San Francisco Idle Run Into Huge Figures—300,000 Negroes Without Jobs

The Briggs Mfg Co. advertised but few weeks ago for 8,000 workers. The local press immediately seized the advantage to "blazon to a hungry world the return of prosperity." Prosperity returned—for three weeks, 5,000 men were hired. Three weeks later, 9,000 workers were laid off!

The office staff of the Cadillac Motor Car Co. has been severely reduced and further layoffs there are expected. Layoffs in the Packard office force are imminent. A salary slash has already gone into effect. Of the working force 30% were laid off several months ago. It is significant that when the lay-off instructions were issued it was ordered that women be retained insofar as possible. They can do the work ever so much cheaper.

Unemployment Serious in West. SAN FRANCISCO, (FP)—Accurate statistics on unemployment in the Bay District are unobtainable. State Federation of Labor officials dare not hazard a guess, since unemployment is worse among the unorganized than among the organized workers, but they also say that there is a greater percentage in the East Bay.

The Salvation Army has just completed a survey of all western states and announces that "while unemployment is heavier in San Francisco than last year, the greatest unemployment exists in the East Bay regions. The Salvation Army in Oakland has been forced to turn away more than twice the number of people the relief institutions are able to take care of, and the army facilities have been taxed to capacity."

Charity Outlay Climbs

BUFFALO, N. Y. (FP)—The Department of Social Welfare states that "a scrutiny of comparative statements will show that this department has been called on to provide the necessities of life to a much greater number of families than in previous years." The report continues: "One of the principal causes for unemployment of both skilled and unskilled workers, is due to the increased use of machinery in place of hand labor."

In 1927, in 28 cities of the United States, representing a population of 22,000,000, 100,000 people or approximately 500,000 people, applied to private charitable organizations for relief, i. e. food, payment of rent, clothing, etc. And conditions are much worse in Buffalo now than in 1927.

"It should not trouble us so much that thousands are looking for work, especially in winter, but it should cause worry to society generally that there are thousands who in despair have ceased to look for work. Single men and the less scrupulous of married men wander away, deserting their relations, and joining the hobo class, or worse still, increasing the number of migratory criminals."

Labor Head Shows Unemployment

DETROIT, (FP)—Speaking at a Detroit student gathering Eugene J. Brock, state commissioner of labor, denounced the narrow selfishness of employers, and called for unemployment insurance with state operated labor exchanges.

"The situation here in Michigan has become steadily worse," said Brock. "Where we usually have 3,000 families totally destitute in Detroit we now have 12,000. In the state at large over 100,000 are totally dependent on charity for their continued existence. 75,000 persons have already been compelled to leave the state."

"This is one of the busiest seasons of the year for both furniture and automobiles and yet we find unemployment reaching unprecedented figures in Grand Rapids, the furniture center, where out of 48,000 workers in Flint one 28,000 are employed. And they are employed only of part time."

"In Detroit less than 60% of the workers are at work and even they are working considerably less than two-thirds full time."

Third of Million Negroes Unemployed

Not less than 350,000 Negroes are unemployed throughout the country, estimates the National Urban League through its industrial relations department. Lack of jobs hits Negroes worse than whites, according to Director T. Arnold Hill, who points to the Buffalo job census showing 17.7% of Negroes unemployed against 10.8% among whites. In one Philadelphia district 29.2% of the Negroes were unemployed and only 3.8% of the whites.

Laidler On Unemployment

Dr. Harry W. Laidler will lecture on the subject of "Unemployment," under the auspices of the 3rd, 5th, and 10th A. D. Thursday evening, March 27th, at 8:45 o'clock. The lecture will be given in the Cherry Lane Restaurant, 42 Commerce street. Members of the branch are especially requested to bring their friends with them.

'New' Capitalism Fares Poorly At Hands Of Its Defenders And Critics At Phila. Institute

Filene, Woll, Laidler, Raushenbush, Green and Others Take Part In Symposium

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The new Capitalism did not fare too well at the hands of many defenders and a few opponents at the session of The American Academy of Political and Social Science held here on March 7 and 8. The meeting was engineered by Messrs. Filene, Dennison, Leeds and others of the "high wages" school. Rumor has, that our old friend Charlie Wood was largely responsible for organizing the programs. But the audiences were far from convinced that the day of wealth and plenty has arrived in the United States.

The session was billed as "The Second Industrial Revolution and Its Significance." At the end of the last session your correspondent left with the feeling that very few of the speakers believed there had been a second industrial revolution. The general theme was that we are the most prosperous country in the world and surely it must be due to our big hearted employers.

More than twenty-five papers were read in the two days. Time and space limit me to an account of those most significant for Socialism. A few open attacks and some veiled ones were made, but Socialism was more than ably defended by Harry Laidler and H. S. Raushenbush with some unwitting support from Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Filene's Thesis

Edward Filene opened the sessions with a paper on The New Capitalism. His thesis was that the new capitalism and made a reality of Socialist dreams but by using methods that are by no means socialistic. (I am sure no good comrade will disagree with the latter part of that statement regardless of how earnest his quarrel may be with the former part). By pure human selfishness we are to obtain ever greater profits which will bring increasing comfort and happiness. But somehow or other Mr. Filene failed to explain just how these ever greater profits reach the hands of the workers.

Another of his brilliant additions to the sum total of human knowledge was the following: "Only in this second revolution are we able to see clearly that the man or nation who would be great among us must be the servant of all."

Surely somewhere in his education Mr. Filene must have heard of Robert Owen or Louis Blanc or Karl Marx or G. E. Shaw or Karl Kautsky or Gene Debs! On unemployment we obtained two more scintillating gems—"unemployment is just bad thinking on the part of some people" and "unemployment and business crises are just as preventable as tuberculosis." Socialists have been telling the world for a good many years how to avoid business crises and unemployment and are willing to demonstrate at the first opportunity. We must certainly agree that unemployment is due to bad thinking, but if the new capitalism is as dominant as Mr. Filene would have us believe, it may be that the "high wage" boys are not as clever as we have been led to think.

Harry Laidler Speaks

The deficiencies of the new capitalism were ably portrayed by Dr. Harry Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy. He pointed out that industry has not been stabilized and added "Our new capitalism has particularly failed to place on a sound basis many of the foundation industries of the country, including agriculture, coal and textiles. While luxuries have developed, many of our old industries have been sick and thus far no cure is in sight." (I have a good hunch that if you asked a starving coal miner in Pennsylvania or a locked-out textile worker in North Carolina whether Mr. Filene or Dr. Laidler gave the truer picture of the situation I could predict the answer). Dr. Laidler further maintained that the changes in industrial processes had brought greater insecurity than had ever existed in the world's history. The firing of men at forty certainly hasn't brought any tranquility of mind to the worker. And last, but certainly not least, Dr. Laidler cannot see

Consolation for Grover

Should Mr. Whalen attend, disguised as himself, and in the event that he survives to the final judging, the costume committee will award him a special consolation prize. Every effort will be made to identify the finalists before the presentations are made, but no awards will be exchanged after leaving the building.

Only one restriction remains. In the interest of up and down and cross traffic on the dance floor, G. A. Gerber, WEVD director, also in charge of arrangements for the ball, has issued a warning that if moustaches on Whalen costumes have a wing-spread of more than six inches, they must be looped over the ears while dancing or cut down to negotiable size.

Whalen or Ramon

Those coming too late to be admitted as Mr. Whalen will be directed to the costume committee's room where they will be assisted in changing themselves to Ramon Novarro by the simple device of amputating the moustache, it was explained at the WEVD offices.

What was described as an enormous quantity of persons prominent in literary, artistic, musical, political and pugilistic pursuits are expected to attend, most of them for fun, some of them contributing

that a great deal of waste has been eliminated from industry during the past ten years.

Dr. Laidler's remarks on the insecurity of the worker received support from Professor Erwin Schell of Massachusetts Institute of Technology who said that the future held great misery for many employees due to the death clutch on many industries by individuals who were notoriously backward in accepting new ideas.

Dr. Person, the managing director of the Taylor Society, demonstrated that labor received the brunt of all hard knocks that come from attempting to run a highly mechanized twentieth century industry on concepts that were evolved in the last days of the household economy of the eighteenth century. The profit motive was questioned by Dr. Person and found wanting as a sound guide and inspiration to industry. But his answer to the problem is simply to proceed more slowly in speeding up production. Again we had no answer given to the eternal problem—how will this benefit labor?

Woll and Green Give Views

Our old friend Matthew Woll bobbed up again with strictions on social ownership of industry. He informed his audience that the American labor movement stood by the principle of privately owned industry. I could tell you a great deal more about his remarks but it is hardly necessary—we all know what the National Civic Federation stands for.

The A. F. of L. was far better represented in a paper presented by President Green. After a few remarks regarding union management cooperation and the organization of the south without strikes he did give a good summary of the problem of unemployment faced by the American worker. In direct contrast to the Hoover ballyhoo that unemployment would be normal within six months Green predicted that it would be the outstanding problem of the country for the next ten years, pointing out the enormous increase of technological unemployment. He added—"For these workers, jobless through no fault of their own but in order that social progress may go on, society does not even provide an adequate employment service to tell them where available jobs may be found, or counsel to help them with the problem of adjusting their abilities to the requirements of other jobs. Just as we are finding how to rehabilitate the cripple of industry so should we serve the victim of industrial progress." Had Brother Green added that the only organized group advocating a concrete plan of aid for the unemployed problem in this country is the Socialist Party we would

have absolutely no quarrel with him on that subject.

Raushenbush on the Utilities

Glenn Frank emphasized the fact that economic organization and political organization cannot be separated. Dr. Frank said that there are in reality three legislative houses in Washington—the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the lobbies maintained by manufacturers, farmers, and labor. A place must be made for this third group in our constitution. Functional government has long been a Socialist proposal and I am glad to welcome the president of the University of Wisconsin as a supporter.

The utilities magnates received some rough handling from H. S. Raushenbush of Dartmouth. The vital matter of valuation by the Supreme Court and the plight of the poor consumer were thoroughly discussed. One of the highlights of Raushenbush's paper was the demonstration that the utilities companies would be infinitely more cheaply run by the government than by private companies for the simple fact that the capital return would be but 5 per cent, instead of the 8 per cent, and up now given to the power bosses by a subservient court system.

Mr. King Amazes

But now for the prize exhibit of the conference—Dr. Willford I. King. Grow amazed when you read the following reasons for American prosperity—

1. Prohibition.
 2. Lack of unemployment insurance.
 3. Cooperation between organized labor and management.
- Stuart Chase has so effectively disposed of the prohibition ghost in his "Prosperity—Fact or Myth" that I believe further comment is unnecessary. Dr. King informs us that unemployment insurance is paying people to remain idle. I can still scarcely believe that an economist of Dr. King's repute would make such a statement but I have credible witnesses. And for the third reason Dr. King seems to have conveniently forgotten that only 10 per cent. of the workers of the United States are organized.

All Socialists who were present at the session came away with one thought—if this is the best the new capitalists can offer we do not have as we thought. So far they have offered virtual nothing of real value to the worker. Now is the time for us to put a mighty army of organizers and speakers in the field stressing unemployment insurance and old age pensions and showing the workers that their only hope of salvation lies in themselves. Labor has been deluded too long by reformers from above and must rely on its own strength in the future.

WEVD Dance Rescinds Ban On Whalen Costumes, But Traffic Limits Mustachios

BY popular demand, The WEVD Radio Costume Ball has rescinded the original rule permitting only twelve persons disguised as Grover Whalen to enter Beethoven Hall, 211 East 5th Street next Friday night. It was announced today that all whose sense of humor so dictates may come dressed like the Police Commissioner. Furthermore, in the interests of art, prizes will be awarded for the best Whalen make-up. Molly Picon, who will be present, has been asked to serve on the board of judges.

- 1.—First Prize—A bale of hay.
- 2.—Second Prize—A copy of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, slightly shop-worn.
- 3.—Moustache Cup, believed to have been used by the late Buffalo Bill Cody during his last European tour.

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Jury Supports Thomas Attack on N. Y. Courts

(Continued from Page One)

to fall under the serious blanket charges that it makes against Magistrates? Or are Magistrates notoriously ill-adapted to their jobs by character, temperament, political relations and conduct on the bench to be enabled to say with the better Magistrates, "the jury didn't mean me."

The report was written before Thomas testified. Leads which he gave at various times do not seem to have been followed. These leads might not have led to indictment. They might if properly followed have led to definite and specific criticism far more effective than blanket charges.

In his statement Sunday, Thomas said:

"It will be observed how very unsatisfactory are the answers the Magistrates have made to my charges. Magistrate Simpson whom I have accused of nullifying the plain intent of the election laws in behalf of Tammany Hall simply says that the district leader ever told him to do anything wrong. Magistrate McAdoo, whom I have accused along with the Grand Jury of inefficiency in the discharge of his office and, on my own responsibility, of refusing to issue a warrant in time to prevent election frauds, showing thereby a leniency in striking contrast to his illegal refusal to admit certain Communists to ball, makes through the mouth of Attorney Raphael an irrelevant answer. I did not accuse Magistrate McAdoo in the Kunster case but in the case of Schaeffer and Schendelman, in which case, at the request of a Tammany lawyer who, I believe, was former Assistant District Attorney Dooley, he delayed action until after election."

Vitale Call Revealed

"I am reminded by these answers of the time when Magistrate Vitale called me up on the eve of election to complain of certain of my charges. He then told me that the Bar Association and Mr. Kenneth Spence had approved of the Rothstein loan. Of course they had not. Nevertheless, the delay of the Bar Association in acting is one of the very unsatisfactory features of the situation. Indeed neither the Bar Association nor the Appellate Division itself has given us much ground for encouragement."

"Consider the following facts: Vitale has been removed from office solely on the basis of the Rothstein loan, the facts concerning which were known weeks before election. Yet he continued both his judicial activities and his political activities in behalf of Mayor Walker untouched till the accident of his celebrated dinner inspired Commissioner Whalen to make sensational charges which the Bar Association threw out. In his case the Appellate Court has definitely held that corruption must be proved to remove a Magistrate. Short of corruption a thousand things make a Magistrate unfit. One may recognize the importance of protecting a judge from easy removal and still doubt whether the court's decision in this matter is in line with sound public policy."

"There can be no doubt at all that the committee of the Bar Association in Brooklyn and Mayor Walker departed from sound policy in the case of Magistrate Rudich. The committee itself admitted his very serious error in the Baker complaint against Patrolman Lowe. Yet he was reappointed on the basis of an opinion which came close to saying that if a lawyer or magistrate has done nothing bad enough to deserve indictment he is good enough for reappointment."

"In other words, not much has happened to give real hope for improvement in the Magistrates' courts, which suffer not only from the economic and political conditions which disgrace the processes of justice in general in America but from their peculiar position as an adjunct to the district leaders in building up party machines."

The Citizens Union has issued a statement commenting on the Grand Jury presentation on the Magistrates Courts. The statement points out that while the present contains several good suggestions, it does not attack the root evil of existing conditions, namely, the complete political control of appointments to the Magistrates Courts.

The Union suggests, as a method for checking this control in some degree, that the law be amended so that, before making an appointment, the Mayor be required to publish in the City Record a notice of his intention to appoint a specific individual unless within a prescribed period good cause is shown why such appointment should not be made. While leaving the full power and responsibility for the appointment in the Mayor, this plan would prevent the "springing of an appointment without opportunity to the public and the Bar to demonstrate the possible unfitness of a political henchman sponsored by a political district leader. The adoption of the suggestion would serve much the same purpose that is achieved, in connection with appointments to the higher courts, by the requirement of the Senate's confirmation of the Governor's nominees."

BOSTON (F.P.)—Labor leaders turned out en masse at a legislative hearing on bills permitting union shop agreements in Massachusetts and peaceful picketing. Many legislators expressed approval of the measures.

Ohio Socialists Name Sharts For Governor

Party Holds Best Convention in Many Years — Active Campaign Will Be Put On

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Joseph W. Sharts of Dayton, three times the candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor of Ohio, was nominated for the fourth time as head of the Party's state ticket at the Socialist convention held March 15 and 16 in Cleveland at the Labor Institute, 10511 Pasadena avenue.

Others on the ticket are Joseph H. Nathan of Cincinnati—Lieutenant-Governor; Henry Kullman of Cleveland—Auditor; Frank W. Krehbiel of Dayton—Attorney-General; I. Axelrod of Cleveland—Secretary of State; Sidney Yellen of Cleveland—State Treasurer; J. Slusser of Massillon—U. S. Senator.

New Party officers were also elected. Sidney Yellen of Cleveland was elected state secretary, and the following were elected on the state executive committee to serve a term of two years: Noah Mandelkorn, Joseph Matinek, Henry Kullman, Meyer Weintraub and Hy Fish.

Over fifty delegates representing about 25 branches were present. Unity reigned throughout the whole convention. Comrade Sharts said, "This convention is one of the most hopeful signs in ten years."

Resolutions for old age pensions and unemployment insurance were passed. Condemnation of the alien registration bill, foreclosure of mortgages in case of unemployment and forfeiture of payment in installment-buying, were in the form of resolutions adopted.

The Ohio comrades are planning a big campaign to secure the 24,000 signatures required by the new election code to put the candidates on the ballot. The establishment of a "state bulletin" was left over to the state executive committee. Delegates from all over the State told of the favorable signs in their localities.

The platform adopted by the party includes the following planks:

Public ownership of public utilities and basic natural resources, especially, as an immediate necessity, the taking over by the government of the coal industry as the only practical solution of the ruinous and chaotic condition.

Immediate relief of unemployment by extension of public works and shortening the hours of labor by law.

Social insurance guaranteeing protection against unemployment and old age.

Opposition to a state constabulary, as a strike-breaking agency at public expense.

Repeal of the infamous anti-syndicalism law.

Adequate legislation forbidding judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes and prohibiting use of private forces in time of strike.

No militarism in schools; also free school supplies; free noonday meal where necessary; direct employment of union labor on all schools and other public buildings.

Extensive plans for a campaign for members in the coal-mining district of southern Ohio are now under consideration of the state executive committee.

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Green Tells How to Reply To Census Men

Unemployment Data to Be Collected in April Will Serve as Basis of Action for Ten Years

WASHINGTON, (FP)—President Green of the American Federation of Labor has circulated a questionnaire in the unemployment census of April 1 should be answered. He points out that the securing of reliable statistics on unemployment in this country is of prime importance to the workers.

Every wage earner, Green says, should note the following:

First—Be sure to state your trade and the kind of shop, factory or industry you work in, and be sure the enumerator gets them straight. Thus

Machinist, working in shipyard.

Sheet metal worker, working in railroad repair shop.

Loom fixer, working in cotton mill.

Weaver working in carpet factory.

Laborer, working in street repair.

Salesman, working in grocery store.

Second—The first unemployment question will be:

Were you at work yesterday?

(Or if yesterday was a holiday, the last working day before it).

Answer YES if you worked at all, even part time. Answer NO if you were not at work, no matter whether it was sickness, bad weather, slack work or some other cause that kept you from working.

Third—If you were not at work, the questions the enumerator will ask you are most important. Be sure he gets the answers right. He will ask:

1. Do you usually work for a living?

Answer YES if you count on the income from your work for support. Answer NO if you only work occasionally for pin money.

2. Have you a job of any kind?

Answer YES if you have a job you can go back to. Answer NO if you cannot go back to the job you left.

3. How many weeks have you been out of work? Count the weeks since you had a steady job.

4. Why were you not at work yesterday? Give the reason in detail: Laid off because of slack work, because of new machinery, sick, strike, lockout, bad weather, vacation, stayed home for personal reasons.

5. How many days did you work last week? If you worked part time count the number of days you worked; if you found odd jobs and extra work, count the number of days you worked.

6. Are you able to work? Answer YES if you are not sick or disabled.

7. Are you looking for work? Answer YES if you want a job.

Fourth—If you are to be away from home or at work at any time on April 1 and the next few days after, be sure that someone at home knows exactly how to answer the questions. It will best to write out the answers for them, giving:

1. Your trade. 2. The industry you work in. 3. If you were not at work—

a. How long you have been out of work.

b. The reason you were not at work.

c. Whether you have a job to go back to.

d. How many days you worked last week.

e. Whether you are able to work and want work.

f. Whether you lost a day's pay yesterday by not working.

g. How many days you work in a week when working full time.

Enumerators cannot visit everyone on April 1, so your call may come any time within the next 30 days.

"The data gathered through this census," Green concludes, "will be the basis of study and policy making for the next 10 years."

Strikebreakers Kill Union Hosiery Worker



Bullet-riddled auto (top) tells story of brutal murder of Carl Mackley (inset) by armed strikebreakers of the H. C. Aberle hosiery mill in Philadelphia; (middle) confessed slayers before hearing; (below) scene in court as gunmen are held without bail. They are Walter Kane, Preston Kane and William Pfeiffer.



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Miners Pick Howat As New President

(Continued from Page One)

Walker is a staunch believer in the cooperative movement as a training ground for workers and as a means of obtaining for them the full value of their earnings.

Germer-Haggood Contest

Adolph Germer and Powers Haggood were the candidates for the vice-presidency. What a contrast there was between the two men on the platform Germer was tall, solid, middle-aged. Haggood was short, slim, youthful. That alone might have been enough to defeat Haggood but there were other reasons. He had opposed the seating of Farrington, he had favored signing no contracts with a company unless its mines in other districts were also unionized and he had argued for the reduction of the salaries of organizers from \$8.20 to \$7 a day.

Germer had been counted out as president of District 12 by the Farrington-Lewis machine years ago, had become national secretary of the Socialist Party, and served until the split in 1919, had been organizer for the oil workers' union in California, had served as a Socialist Party official in Massachusetts and New York and had participated actively in the La Follette campaign in California. In recent years he has been in the real estate business but he has never dropped his membership in the United Mine Workers, never lost interest in his affairs.

Haggood is also a Socialist. He entered the mines upon graduation from Harvard and has been active in the politics of the miners' union for years, running afoul of the Lewis administration most of the time. Like Brophy he worked with the Save-the-Union Committee until it was turned into the National Miners' Union controlled by the Communist Party. Recently he has been in Colorado. Refused admission into the U. M. W. A., he went to work in a non-union mine and organized the men there. Even that could not obtain Lewis' forgiveness and he obtained employment in a technical capacity at Josephine Roche's Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, which is unionized. He represents the union of his craft at the Denver central labor body.

Haggood and Germer Spoke

Germer was declared elected vice-president by a vote of 299 to 95. Thereupon Haggood shook hands with his opponent and made an eloquent appeal for solidarity. This brought down the house. He rose high in the estimation of the delegates and they showed their appreciation before the close of the convention. He advocated a

substitute motion for a recommendation of the resolutions committee that local secretaries be held responsible for libelous matter they read to their membership. Haggood argued for exempting the secretaries and the delegates chiefly as a mark of esteem voted for his motion.

The constitution of the new union seeks to correct the evils that have revealed themselves in recent years. Provision is made for the recall of officers. The obnoxious International Executive Board members paid by the International office are abolished and the district presidents made the board members. A system of electing organizers is established.

Oscar Ameringer, editor of the "Illinois Miner" in a side-splitting address to the convention poked fun at Lewis and the Indianapolis convention. He pointed out that there were only 26,000 bituminous coal miners outside of Illinois paying dues to Lewis' office. He showed that Ohio had 1061 members and 104 delegates at Indianapolis or one delegate for every ten members; Kentucky had 15 members and 70 delegates or one delegate for every one half of one per cent of a Kentuckian miner, and West Virginia 77 members and 100 delegates.

"In Arkansas we have a total membership of one, and the board member of the provisional, non-existing district is the one. He has to pay his per capita tax in Iowa or Indiana, because there isn't another member there to pay it to."

Among the members elected to the new Policy Committee are Powers Haggood for Pennsylvania and William Deach of John L. Lewis' local at Panama, Ill. for Illinois. Deach, a Brookwood graduate, joined Brophy and Haggood in their fight and may be expected to push for militant action.

Before adjourning the convention sent a letter to President Green of the A. F. of L. making a "place proposal" for a neutral convention of the United Mine Workers under the auspices of the A. F. of L.

John H. Walker announced to newspapermen his intention to offer his resignation as President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, to the Executive Board of that organization.

Green Promises Aid To Lewis Faction

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The Indianapolis convention of the United Mine Workers headed by John L. Lewis, started its second week by buckling down to the real business of dealing with the insurgents who had held the convention at Springfield the week be-

fore. The upshot is that what was expected to be done: the rebels will be expelled from the organization with the tacit support of the American Federation of Labor.

There was stalling for time Monday morning. The tension must have been even too great for routine business. Instead delegates took their turn singing songs or telling funny stories. At 10:30 President William Green of the A. F. of L. arrived with the previously constituted reception committee trailing behind him. A delegation was in the midst of recounting anecdotes and gave way to the distinguished visitor. President Green shook hands all around and then President Lewis casually asked the entertainer to continue as if nothing unusual had happened. The poor fellow lost his wits and told the story of which "Polish Hunter" over again, but while it is an excellent tale, it did not catch the second time.

President Green stood there immaculately dressed and reminded his hearers that "I am still the same old miner as I was when I worked in the mines. I possess the miner's heart and I speak the miner's language. I hold the miner's psychology and I smart under the imposition of the wrongs which the miners suffer."

For the second time since the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. last fall, he spoke of the drain upon his physical and mental strength and confessed that "I am not certain as to how long I can continue. I am endeavoring each day to do the best I can and to give the best of service of which I am capable, but I am conscious of the fact that it is almost impossible for any human being to keep going, going, going, paying the price and giving the strength and the service without some time calling a halt." What significance this may have is not publicly known but it is said that the reduced voting strength of the United Mine Workers at the next A. F. of L. convention may bear some relation to his statement.

President Green had indicated to newspapermen the previous day at his hotel that he was very much worried by the split in the miners' union. He now confessed this frankly to the convention.

"I come to you deeply concerned, gravely concerned over the situation that has arisen in this once great organization of which I have been a member all my life. I would indeed be unworthy of your confidence and of the honors conferred upon me if I did not view the situation with feelings of profound concern."

Then he hastened to give his first intimation of his position on

the major question before him:

"But I am glad to come here this morning in my official capacity and by my presence show you and the world that the American Federation of Labor recognizes one miners' union as having jurisdiction over the miners of this country."

This was a perfectly non-committal statement but it was interpreted as a pledge of support and greeted with vigorous applause.

What Green had proceeded to do, however, was to construct a legal argument for the recognition of the Lewis union of miners. He pointed out that the A. F. of L. granted charters to international or national unions which conferred jurisdiction and autonomy upon them and that to recognize two unions with the same jurisdiction would create chaos. The United Mine Workers had received a charter from the A. F. of L. on February 28, 1890. It had paid the per capita tax to the Federation. It was recognized by the A. F. of L. But which United Mine Workers, that at Springfield or that at Indianapolis ran the thought through the minds of the more discerning. A moment later he had made that clear:

"I state in this solemn fashion, with my hand uplifted here in your presence (he raised his right hand with his fist clenched), that the United Mine Workers of America—THIS United Mine Workers of America, here—is the only organization recognized by the American Federation of Labor."

That was clear enough and then there was applause again.

His next remarks softened his previous assertions and perhaps failed to receive the appreciation they deserved:

"Now we are conscious of the fact that out of this controversy will arise difficulties that we will in all probability be called upon to meet."

"Perhaps it is possible for the officers of the American Federation of Labor to look at this whole controversy in a more calm and deliberate light than those who may be so closely associated with it as not to be able to get a wide perspective. . . . Now we must look upon the situation with feelings of concern, just as the parent looks upon his child, and in that broad, tolerant sense, may I say to you and to the officers of your union that if at any time we can be helpful in bringing about solidarity and unity, the American Federation of Labor will respond. We will be helpful at any time when called upon, but the American Federation of Labor will not inject itself into your family quarrel or into any other family quarrel."

"We hope, of course, that out of it all may ultimately come a settlement so that the men who swing the pick and swing the shovel and operate the mining machine may be brought into co-operation in a great united mine workers' organization, achieving the best results and securing for the workers the highest living standards possible through solidarity, co-operation and team work."

This was plainly a plea for peace and an offer of mediation. It was met with silence. President Lewis, indeed, expressed pleasure "that the American Federation of Labor joins the United Mine Workers of America in facing the future, and that we may thus laugh at the machinations and the pleadings and the treason of the traitors."

A delegate, Frank Davis, arose to ask a question. Lewis asked Green whether he would answer it and Green consented. The delegate came to the platform and after conferring with Green and Lewis, put his query:

"I want to ask President Green whether he will deal with that blatherhead, John H. Walker, if we take care of the others in Illinois."

"I am not sure to whom he has assigned the easier task," said Green wiping his forehead. "That subject will be dealt with by the President and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in accordance with the statement already made."

The audience rose to its feet applauding.

There were rumors early in the convention that the Lewis administration might make some concessions in view of the resolutions on the subject to amend the constitution to make the union more democratic. These reports proved to be unfounded. Instead a series of amendments was brought in by the constitution committee strengthening the power of the central authorities in order better to cope with the Springfield revolt. The International Union was specifically given legislative, judicial and executive authority over districts, sub-districts and local unions. The International Executive Board was permitted to appoint a sub-committee to investigate charges. Between sessions of the Board the president was to be free to carry on the workings of the organization and report to the Board for its approval. The secretary-treasurer was authorized to prosecute for wrongful use of the union's seal. Real estate acquired or reverting to the union was to be held in trust by the three International officers as trustees. Those charged with formulating a dual movement were to be tried by the International Executive Board after five days' notice. It was under the last provision that the persons signing the call to the Springfield convention were cited to appear for trial on March 25 to show cause as to why they should not be expelled.

Progressives Discuss New Miners' Union

Regional Conference of C.P.L.A. Asks Executive to Study Situation and Formulate Position

EMPHASIZING the fact that from working for the elimination of "Lewisism" from the Labor Movement, no matter where it may appear or under what guise, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, wound up one of the most stimulating conferences held within recent times when he presented what to him seemed to be the duty of progressives towards the new miners' union which resulted from the convention just concluded at Springfield, Ill. The only motion during the whole conference, which began at 10 o'clock on Sunday Morning, March 16, and concluded at 6:30 the same day, was made during the last moments of the sessions, calling upon the Executive Committee of the C. P. L. A. to give the present miners' situation careful and immediate study and to propose a definite course of action.

Over three hundred delegates, members of the C. P. L. A. and friends, most of them residents of New York City, of course, but many coming from Philadelphia, Utica, Buffalo, New Bedford, New Haven, Boston, Bridgeport and Pittsburgh, crowded the N. Y. Labor Temple hall.

The conference opened with William Ross, who represented the C. P. L. A. in the Southern textile drive, making the first report. He maintained that were it not for the action of the progressives there probably would have been no southern campaign. Without the money and leadership which progressives furnished the Marion development would have lost itself in the general story of abortive organization efforts in the South and the dramatization of the southern workers' plight, made possible because of the heroism of Marion workers, would have been impossible. He criticized severely the evident desire of the A. F. of L. to conduct a conciliation campaign at all costs, even to the point of repudiating the courageous stand of the workers as at Elizabethton. Such acts help to enforce the attitude of the employers against organization.

Labor Party Stirring Interest

The situation in the steel industry was covered by William Chalmers concluding that there is as much courage among the steel workers today as there ever was. What was necessary was a labor movement with a will to organize. The men were ready, in spite of the stool pigeons, unemployment, wage cuts and general bad conditions. Chalmers found the workers militant and waiting for an opportunity to change conditions. The skilled craftsmen in the industry are gradually losing strength and even their future is dependent upon organization efforts that will unionize the entire industry, skilled and unskilled.

The reports of the many delegates from the local branches of the C. P. L. A. showed most of the members in the various towns active in many phases of organization work, with special consideration given to agitation and organization for a Labor Party.

The Northwest is ready to throw its weight towards C. P. L. A. measures in overwhelming numbers as soon as we can make our program specific enough for the rank and file, was the burden of J. C. Kennedy's stimulating report.

Muste On The Miners

The climax of the conference was reached when A. J. Muste analyzed the miners' convention at Springfield, Ill., which he had attended. In Muste's opinion, the convention represented a hopeful beginning for a new progressivism in the trade union movement, despite its handicaps in accepting Frank Farrington. To Springfield 60,000 soft coal miners sent delegates as against 26,000 soft coal miners represented at the Indianapolis convention controlled by John L. Lewis, he said.

Whether rank and file delegates will accept Farrington, former Illinois leader, with his record of accepting \$75,000 from Peabody Coal Co., the biggest operator in Illinois, Muste admitted to be the crucial issue now in the building up of the Springfield union. Muste admitted that progressives could find nothing in Farrington's excuses for accepting the Peabody job to release him from responsibility. The delegates voted for seating him. The C. P. L. A. chief said, because nearly all mine union officers at one time or another have been tarred by the operators' brush, because Farrington's credentials were legal, and because of his sentimental appeal for vindication in behalf of his wife and children.

Members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, discussing Muste's report, generally favored support for the reorganized U. M. W. as the only alternative to Lewis. The personalities of Pres. Howat and Vice Pres. Germer appealed to them as a guarantee that Farrington could not regain his old influence.

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11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES:
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DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Psychology of Progress"
(C) Formalism and Skepticism in the 18th Century—Thought to have been the "Age of Reason."

Sunday evening, March 30th
MR. JOHN COWPER POWYS
"Ethics and Social Science"
The Art of Discrimination in Literature.

Tuesday evening, April 1st
MR. CECIL B. RUSKAY
"Anathema" by Leonid Andreyev. A Dramatic Presentation.

At Muhlenberg Library
209 W. 23rd Street
at 8:30 o'clock

Saturday evening, March 22nd
DR. V. J. MCGILL
"Phenomenology"
The Laws of Beauty

Monday evening, March 24th
PROFESSOR KARL N. LEWELLYN
"Law in Society"
(a) Law: The Official Conduct of Officials.
(b) The Three Eternal Problems: The Reckless, the Timid, the Reckless.

Wednesday evening, March 26th
MR. CLIFTON F. FADIMAN
"Contemporary European Literature"
England: Twilight of the Demi-Gods.

Thursday evening, March 27th
DR. E. G. SPALDING
"The Ways and Means of Reasoning"
Reasoning in Mechanics: Galileo, Newton.

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9:00 P. M.—Hon. Albert D. Shaner (Assemblyman, 2nd A. D. Brooklyn) on "The Baumes Laws."

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Charles Edward Russell 8:30 P. M.
SATURDAY, 2:00 P. M. March 29
"And They Call This Disarmament"

Debate:
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Capitalism vs. Socialism

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WHY TOM MOONEY STAYS IN PRISON

By Louis Adamic

IN the summer of 1929 mass-meetings were held in the larger cities of California to protest against the continued imprisonment of Mooney after his innocence of the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916 had been so well demonstrated, by the confession of some of the witnesses and of the utter discrediting of others. The judge who had sentenced him, all ten of the surviving jurors who originally had declared him guilty, the two assistant district attorneys who had helped to conduct the trial, the two captains of police who had prepared the evidence, and the attorney general of the State of California had all petitioned for his pardon on the ground that he had been convicted upon testimony afterward conclusively proved to have been perjured.

The Hon. C. C. Young, governor of California, was then sequestered in a mountain lodge "studying the case" with the view of acting upon Mooney's application for pardon which had been before him for over a year, and these mass-meetings were meant by their sponsors to spur him to the inevitable decision which would clear and free Mooney. To radicals and liberals and the few fair-minded conservatives who were interested in the case in California, as elsewhere, it was inconceivable how the governor—a relatively decent sort of politician; considered by many to be somewhat of a "progressive"—could keep him in San Quentin any longer. All who cared to know, knew that Mooney was innocent without reading a half-ton of court records and other documents in the case. People were willing to bet that Mooney would be out by Thanksgiving of last year, or by Christmas at the latest. I was told that the man himself was so confident of freedom by the end of the year that he was beginning to get impatient; he was putting on weight, and there was color in his face.

I attended the Mooney meeting in Los Angeles early in August. The audience consisted of a few thousand radicals and liberals. Most of the more prosperous-looking people I suspected of being detectives of the "Radical Squad" of the Los Angeles police and spies of patriotic-alarmist organizations (of which more later). On the stage sat the flower of California's liberalism, radicalism and enlightenment—Fremont Older, Upton Sinclair, Jim Tully, Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz, a red Jewish rabbi, a crimson Catholic priest, a pink Protestant minister, several followers of Clarence Darrow, and so on. There, too, were the Hon. Franklin A. Griffin, still a Superior Court judge in San Francisco, who had presided over the Mooney trial; and Mrs. Tom Mooney. I felt that most of the people in Los Angeles who were vitally interested in Mooney's release were there—about four thousand of them, from a population of a million and a half. But even so, as I listened to the speeches, I grew somewhat less skeptical about the governor's ability to muster enough courage to pardon Mooney, and then join Altgelt of Illinois in the company of American political suicides.

Judge Griffin—an amazing phenomenon; a judge who passionately believes in justice and, though a conservative, is outraged to the

California's Fear of Labor Deeply Rooted In Past Years; Business' Struggle for Supremacy; the MacNamara Case

point of fury when a gang of corrupt reactionaries use his courtroom to frame up a radical—, after telling the story of his part in the case, said that he felt sure that Mr. Young would soon free Mooney. Fremont Older, then a politician, if not a personal friend of Mr. Young, rose to say that he could not see what there was in the case that required "study," but, like Judge Griffin, he had no doubt that the governor would act soon—perhaps within the next six weeks (this, as I said, was in August)—, and act in favor of Mooney. He begged patience with the governor, who, he added, was in a difficult position.

Another speaker hinted that Mrs. Young, the governor's wife, was convinced of Mooney's innocence and wanted him freed at once.

But six weeks went by. Thanksgiving came, and Christmas came, and Mooney stayed in prison. New Year's came, and then Governor Young announced that he could not make a decision in the case and, washing his hands of it, "passed the buck" to the State Prison Board.

Meanwhile, Mooney—to say nothing of Billings, in Folsom—has started on his fourteenth year in prison for a crime which everybody, including Governor Young and his prison board, knows he did not commit. And, to my notion, it is not unlikely that Mooney will stay in San Quentin for some time to come; indeed, it will not surprise me if he should serve out his sentence—that is, die in San Quentin.

This may seem a rather ghastly state of affairs, but I think it is not unnatural. To understand the Mooney case is necessary to know more than the details of the Preparedness Day incident, of the frame-up and the trial, and of the subsequent breaking-down of the evidence on which the man was convicted.

In an article of this length I can barely suggest some of the more important facts and incidents which have, directly or indirectly, contributed to the Mooney affair as it stands at this writing, or else reveal the mood and the methods of the dominant interests in California when confronted with opposition to their purposes.

To begin with California is the Beautiful Country of Climate and Little Water. On the one hand she offers a tremendous advantage; on the other, from the viewpoint of great population centers within her borders, she annuls much of that advantage with a great drawback, and so the go-getters there, afflicted as they are with great desire for swift development of their towns and the State as a whole, are caught between Climate and the Water Problem.

I need not recite the wonders of Climate and other virtues of the State; whether real or unreal, they have been trumpeted far and wide by the California boosters for the last forty years.

The story of the Water Problem, however, is a little known even to the general public in California. It is a long and involved tale which would take volumes to give in detail; here I can but outline

one of its most interesting chapters which deals with the problem as it pertains to Los Angeles.

Thirty years ago Los Angeles had a population of less than one hundred thousand. Its water supply was sufficient for a city twice as large, but in the opinion of the big go-getters that was a mere drop in the bucket. They were "men of vision," eager for wealth and power, keenly aware of the great advantages of Climate; and they determined to give Los Angeles a good push toward becoming the largest city in the world, which they perceived as its ultimate destiny.

The master go-getter in Los Angeles at that time—and until 1917, when he died—was General Harrison Gray Otis, publisher-editor of the "Times," booster and empire-builder; a veteran of the Civil War and the Spanish-American war, an ex-military governor of Manila; an aggressive, boisterous, bombastic fellow, a fighter, bound to be noticed in a small city; for he had come to Los Angeles in the early '80s, when its population was only 12,000. To quote one of his eulogists, Otis was "a man resolute by temperament, endowed with moral strength, ripened by experience, confident of his resources and dead sure of himself." His enemies referred to him by unprintable titles. There had been a boom soon after his arrival in town, and he had immediately developed, to use his own words, "a tremendous and abiding faith in the future of Los Angeles." He was the moving spirit of every great enterprise and his power increased with the rapid growth of the city and general development of Southern California.

Early in the 1900's, the Otismen ("s"), all of whom had large real-estate holdings in and about the city, and of whose interest the "Times" was the principal megaphone, began to harp upon the idea that if the city continued to grow at a great rate—and to doubt this was treason—the then available water supply would be insufficient within ten years. They were most emphatic and vociferous on this matter. Los Angeles must think of its future population in millions. It must immediately increase its water supply tenfold.

(*) For brevity's sake, I refer here to Los Angeles' leading go-getters by this title, albeit, if truth be known, many of them personally hated Otis, an unimpressive blond who took credit for everything. They fell in with this great empire-building scheme in the Southwest because it promised them millions.

Some 250 miles northeast of Los Angeles, beneath the Sierras, off the Nevada border, in Inyo County, is an arid region called Owens Valley, and it was there that the mighty Otismen, about twenty-eight years ago, turned their avid eyes; for through the valley ran a river of melted snow from the Sierras.

In 1903, the National Reclamation Service became suddenly—and, for the time being, inexplicably—interested in the reclamation of the region. The ranchers were pleasantly surprised, for, to all seeming, the Government contemplated a project of storing the flood waters for irrigation purposes and distributing them to produce.

The date, which was originally set for April 4, had to be changed when the hall which had been engaged was destroyed. Arrangements have been made to hold the banquet in Judge Panken's honor at Beethoven Hall, 215 East Fifth street. The change makes it possible to commemorate the thirty-fifth anniversary, to a day, of the day Panken identified himself with the Socialist and labor movement.

Committees have already been named by the Socialist party, the Jewish Daily Forward, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Jewish Socialist Verband to represent them in planning the festivities. Other trade unions, some of which he organized, and all of which he has served as a speaker, as an organizer, as a lawyer, and as a judge will have their representatives on the arrangements committee.

The banquet will furnish another opportunity to the workers of the city to show the esteem in which he is held by workers of all shades of opinion in the labor and Socialist movement.

Norman Thomas is chairman of the arrangements committee, Mey-

er settlement and development. At last prosperity would come to Owens Valley!

Some storage locations had previously been made by ranchers who, however, lacked the means to carry out their purposes. Those locations were now willingly surrendered at the Government's request, and every co-operation that the N. R. S. asked was given by the people of Inyo County some of whom were already deriving water for their land from sources that would be involved in the project.

The N. R. S. went through the motions of making extensive measurements, tests of soil, area of farming lands, the duty of water in that climate, sites of proposed storage dams, and other details. All the local circumstances favored the project, and the people of Inyo, while noting the slowness of definite announcement of action, entertained no doubt of the good faith of the Government. But months went by while the N. R. S. did little more than mark time.

In 1904, one Fred Eaton, an ex-Mayor of Los Angeles and a leading Otisman and realtor, came to Owens Valley, accompanied by William Mulholland, chief engineer of the city water system who was also a great and resourceful Otisman, and bought extensive land. Eaton then deeded his purchases to the City of Los Angeles, and after the scheme was revealed the city itself openly and officially acquired some 70,000 acres, thus gaining full control of the flow of the river. And by-and-by it was also disclosed that the chief of the N. R. S. in California and supervising officer of the Owens Valley Project, had been hired by Otismen to handle the project so that the city would get most of the water, and he used his official Federal position to defeat the reclamation enterprise which would have benefited the valley after the settlers there had surrendered to the Government their water claims!

Meanwhile, the people in Los Angeles were being urged by Otismen to vote for a large water-bond issue. They proposed to build a great aqueduct to bring the water to Los Angeles. But, unexpectedly, a considerable opposition developed to the bond issue; the people had been asked to vote for all sorts of bonds for years and they were getting weary of the game. Besides, men of influence in town, enemies of the Otis group, insisted that it was unwise to bring water all the way—250 miles—from Owens Valley. There was water to be had nearly 100 miles closer.

But Otismen wanted the aqueduct and proposed to take no chances of having the bond issue defeated at the next election. The entire Water Board consisted of good and true Otismen; Chief Engineer Mulholland, as I said, was one of them, and so, to convince the voters that there was a water crisis, millions of gallons of the precious fluid were suddenly run into the sewers—ostensibly for purposes of sanitation, to flush the system emptying most of

the reservoirs in the hills beyond the city, and the people were forbidden to water their lawns and gardens. This artificially created drought lasted throughout the dry summer months, and all the lawns in the city turned brown and the flowers died.

On election day the people voted the water bonds—\$22,500,000! Incidentally, the "drought" ruined most of the ranchers in San Fernando Valley, a choice section immediately north of Los Angeles. The ranchers were compelled to sell their land—to a syndicate of Otismen, organized for the purpose of acquiring the entire valley!

With the bond issue authorized by the people, Mulholland set out immediately to build the aqueduct, and in less than two years he built one as long as England is wide, passing through 142 tunnels and crossing a desert as large as the State of Massachusetts. This Los Angeles—or rather, the far-seeing Otismen—took the water that a naive God had intended for the use of Owens Valley, and so neatly ruined the region for most agricultural purposes. In taking the water from the Owens River, Los Angeles had the sanction of the Federal Government, then headed by Roosevelt, a friend of Generalissimo Otis. It has been said, and to the point, that "the Government held Owens Valley while Los Angeles skinned it."

But if the aqueduct ruined Owens Valley, it made San Fernando Valley, now owned by the syndicate of forward-looking Otismen; for at the finish Mulholland brought the great pipe-line, not into Los Angeles, but right into San Fernando—and, in consequence, members of the syndicate, including Mulholland, have since cleared millions on their elegant San Fernando subdivision. In 1912, a faction in the city grumbled at the fact that the aqueduct had been brought into San Fernando, which was outside the city limits, and demanded that it be brought into Los Angeles. It never was. To silence the annoying voices, the Otismen, always fertile in expedients, caused, instead, the city limits to be extended beyond San Fernando Valley, thus taking the city to the aqueduct—which, incidentally, is one of the reasons why Los Angeles is so vast in area.

But I am getting ahead of my story. Mulholland was finishing the aqueduct—in 1911—when along came the famous MacNamara case, unquestionably the most important incident in California's modern history.

While Otismen were stealing the Owens Valley water, a vastly interesting politico-economic situation—which was a part of the general national situation—developed in Sunny California.

The wave of radicalism that had begun to roll over the Republic early in the 1900's increased amazingly, as it will be recalled, toward the end of the decade and there was a definite drift toward Socialism of various shades of redness, not only among the so-called Proletariat, but among the public at large. The plain people were commencing to realize that they were being caught in a

system of circumstances, developed by the then current tendencies of capitalism, which became increasingly more unfavorable to their economic and social advancement. Capital continued to concentrate and stiffen its organization against labor and the public at large. The elegant ideal of service had not yet been invented. The struggle between the haves and the have-nots was fierce and bloody. It was referred to as the class war. There was a financial crisis. Unemployment was widespread. There were bitter strikes and lock-outs, injunctions and boycotts, sabotage and dynamite, gunfire and murder.

The Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case inflamed hundreds of thousands of people. Gompers was about to go to jail for contempt of court over the Buck Stove and Range Company boycott case. The I. W. W. were organizing. The child-labor question aroused much feeling. Lincoln Steffens, David Graham Phillips, Ida Tarbell, Robert Herrick and other muckrakers turned out reams of copy for "Munsey's," "McClure's," "Everybody's," and the "American Magazine," and, incredible as it may seem today, by 1910 even the "Saturday Evening Post," already then with a circulation of over 1,000,000, was featuring political and sociological articles composed from a strongly radical viewpoint. And it was not long before the "Ladies Home Journal" offered a fair explanation of "What Really is Socialism." Radicalism was in the air, and the magazines printed what the public wanted. Upton Sinclair's story of the stockyards continued to upset many stomachs. "Appeal to Reason," a Socialist weekly in Kansas, had a regular circulation of over 500,000; the Jewish "Daily Forward" in New York City over 100,000.

The Socialist movement, though badly organized, compelled notice. In 1909, a New York professor of theology called it "Christianity's most formidable rival." In 1911, the "Atlantic Monthly" featured an article entitled "Prepare for Socialism." In 1910-11 the Socialists elected mayors, councilmen, judges and other officials in close to a hundred cities and towns scattered throughout the Union, and the "New York Times" said: "The unexpected Socialist victories . . . have scared the ranks of the two major parties."

Political writers predicted that the first state to elect a Socialist governor would be Wisconsin and the second California. But toward the end of the decade California

was even redder than Wisconsin. La Follette met Socialism more than half way, but in California the messianic Hiram Johnson was elected governor that he might "kick the Southern Pacific out of politics."

California was bitter against the corrupt doings of the great railroads. Frank Norris' "The Octopus" had a tremendous circulation on the Coast. In the San Francisco "Bulletin," Fremont Older, with his great energy and deep human sympathy, hammered incessantly at all forms of corruption and hokum.

In point of membership in the Socialist Party, California was the fourth state in the Union; ahead of her were three industrial states with great foreign population, Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio whose census figures were two, three and four times those of California. Pasadena and Berkeley elected radical mayors, while Oakland, Fresno, Stockton, San Diego and San Bernardino almost went Socialist too.

San Francisco was a stronghold of trade-unionism. The unions had been well entrenched there even before the earthquake; after it they became the dominant element in the city. They had taken advantage of the catastrophe and organized till they controlled practically every job in town. Builders and manufacturers could not move without considering the unions. Labor leaders were go-getters of the first order, motivated by the same psychology that moved the directors of great trusts and corporations. They demanded high wages for the working "stiffs," so called, who were members of the unions, and graft for themselves. Holding an advantageous position, they managed to get both. Workers who could not join the unions because of the prohibitive initiation fees, were scabs.

In 1909, the unions put forth a candidate for Mayor—one Patrick Hooligan ("Pinhead") McCarthy, president of the San Francisco Building Trades Council. His nickname describes him in part. The local "Argonaut" characterized his personal style and manner as that of "a blatant bulldozer" who conducted "the simplest negotiation with exhibitions of physical and vocal energy adequate to the management of a twenty-bull team." The political boss steering "Pinhead" was another gorilla-like labor leader, a dark Swede by the name of Olaf Tveitmo, who was secretary of the Building Trades Council. "Pinhead" was elected and im-

mediately thereafter, in a confused speech at the Labor Temple roared the following avowal: "To be sure, I am Mayor-elect, but first of all I am president of the Building Trades Council, and . . . whenever it becomes a question of public office and the labor movement, whether as mayor, governor or United States senator, they must go down before the interests of labor."

The wages were higher and working hours shorter in San Francisco than anywhere in the West, and the industrialists around the Golden Gate found it impossible to compete with Seattle, Portland, and—most of all—Los Angeles. In the summer of 1910, the "Argonaut" editorialized mournfully: "Not only does new capital fear to venture, but old capital is drawing out. And unless there shall be some change under which labor conditions in San Francisco may be equalized with labor conditions elsewhere, then the day is in sight when we shall practically cease to do anything more in the mechanical line than tinker up and keep in repair the ships and machinery which we import from other places, more favored on the score of labor conditions."

Los Angeles, on the other hand, was a booming "open shop" town; booming, according to Gen. Otis, because open shop. Otis hated organized labor as the Devil hates holy water. It was part of his empire-building scheme that Southern California should remain open shop. Pointing at San Francisco as the most horrible and obvious example, he held that where labor unions gained power there business stagnated. He fought the unions with every weapon at his disposal. In the "Times" he referred to organized workmen, and especially their leaders, as "sluggers," "trouble breeders," "the horde," "disturbers of industrial peace," "gas-pipe ruffians," and "the strong-arm gang."

Some of these titles were not unjustified. The San Francisco laborites were a notoriously ungentle lot; McCarthy and Tveitmo and their adjutants were popularly known as the "gorillas"—dynamic, hard-fisted fellows who sooner smashed a face than not, or dynamited a building on which the contractor employed non-union labor. They were barbarous Nietzscheans who had studied the philosophy of "might is right" from Ragnar Redbeard and Jack London. They laughed and jeered at the Socialist agitators who aimed to educate the working people and conducted classes in economics.

Tom Mooney, then in his late twenties, was a prominent member of the McCarthy-Tveitmo machine. (To Be Concluded Next Week)

New Leaflets Ready for Distribution

N. Y. Socialists Re-issue "Is a Friend of Yours Out of Work?" and Other Literature

A SERIES of leaflets, the first batch of many that are to be printed in the educational campaign that the Socialist party of New York plans to conduct in the next few months, are now available at the Socialist city office, 7 East 15th street, Marx Lewis, executive secretary, announces. Out of town Socialist branches may have their own imprint, in most cases if they order 1,000 or more leaflets.

Among the leaflets that can now be obtained by Socialist party branches are the following:

"Why I Am a Socialist," by Norman Thomas.
"Is Any Friend of Yours Out of Work?" (New edition).
"Unemployment Insurance."
"What is Socialism?"
"Is it a Crime to be Old?"
In addition to these leaflets on old age pensions, unemployment, and Socialism, which are intended for free distribution, arrangements have been made by Lewis to obtain quantities of pamphlets printed by the League for Industrial Democracy, and dealing with pending problems from the Socialist point of view, at a reduced rate, enabling Socialist party branches that wish to handle them to do so at a profit to their branches, while disseminating up-to-date information on social, industrial and political conditions.
Among the pamphlets that are available immediately are the following:

"Unemployment and Its Remedies," by Dr. Harry W. Laidler.
"How America Lives," by Dr. Harry W. Laidler.
"Challenge of Waste," by Stuart Chase.
"The Challenge of War—An Economic Interpretation," by Norman Thomas.

"The Profit Motive—Is It Indispensable to Industry?" by Harry F. Ward.
"What Is Industrial Democracy?" by Norman Thomas.
"Old Age Security," by Dr. Abraham Epstein.
"Public Ownership—Here and Abroad," by Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

Most of the pamphlets sell for 10 cents a copy, while a few of them sell for 15 cents a copy. Substantial reductions for branches wishing to purchase them in quantities of 50 are offered.

Boro Park Labor Lyceum Bazaar Opens Tuesday, March 25th

The Labor Lyceum of Boro Park Circus and Bazaar will open Tuesday, March 25th, and will continue until April 6th. Gangster Bros. Circus will entertain and 10,000 dollars worth of various articles will be sold for next to nothing. Many unions have made very liberal contributions of merchandise and every one will be able to buy great bargains. The following organizations have been busy for the last 2 months in the preparation of the affair. The Party branches of Boro Park the P. S. L. the Boro Park Branches of the Workers' Circle and the Socialist Consumers League, Branch 17. The affair has been arranged for the purpose of raising money with which to save the Lyceum from foreclosure and all comrades and friends are urged to attend the bazaar and help in the work of saving the Lyceum for our movement.

Panken to Be Honored at Dinner May 1

Date Advanced and Affair Is Shifted to Beethoven Hall—Many Groups Cooperating

WHEN Socialists, trade unionists, and liberals with whom Jacob Panken, Socialist and labor leader, has been associated in many political and industrial struggles get together on May 1 at a banquet to honor him, they will be not only celebrating his fiftieth birthday, but 35 years of service he has rendered the cause of Socialism and labor.

The date, which was originally set for April 4, had to be changed when the hall which had been engaged was destroyed. Arrangements have been made to hold the banquet in Judge Panken's honor at Beethoven Hall, 215 East Fifth street. The change makes it possible to commemorate the thirty-fifth anniversary, to a day, of the day Panken identified himself with the Socialist and labor movement.

Committees have already been named by the Socialist party, the Jewish Daily Forward, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Jewish Socialist Verband to represent them in planning the festivities. Other trade unions, some of which he organized, and all of which he has served as a speaker, as an organizer, as a lawyer, and as a judge will have their representatives on the arrangements committee.

The banquet will furnish another opportunity to the workers of the city to show the esteem in which he is held by workers of all shades of opinion in the labor and Socialist movement.

Norman Thomas is chairman of the arrangements committee, Mey-

er Gillis is the treasurer, and Marx Lewis is the secretary. The office of the committee will be located at the party headquarters, 1 East 15th street.

All labor organizations are asked to keep the evening of May 1 open for this affair, and to arrange no other events on that evening.

Dr. Knopf of Vienna To Address Rand School Women's Committee

The Women's Committee of the Rand School has been most fortunate in securing Dr. Olga Knopf of Vienna, Associate of the Viennese Psychologist Dr. Alfred Adler, for its next meeting on Tuesday, March 25 at 3 P. M. in the studio of the Rand School.

Dr. Knopf is eminent in the field of Individual Psychology, which she regards as the most hopeful means in understanding the human soul and the influence of the psyche in physical conditions. Since 1923 she has been associated with Dr. Alfred Adler, first as pupil and then as collaborator.

Dr. Knopf has published many articles, her last articles appearing in the volume, "Guiding the Child" by Dr. Adler and Associates. She has lectured widely here and in Europe, has given courses in Individual Psychology, conducted clinics and in Vienna was leader of six advisory-councils in the schools and in the field of parents' education. Her talk, therefore, on "Women's Problems" and the discussion following will assure a most stimulating afternoon. Readers of The New Leader and their friends are cordially invited to attend the meeting.

Dr. Liber to Talk
Dr. B. Liber will speak on "Religion and the Daily News," at the Ingersoll Forum, 135 West 70th street, east of Broadway, New York City, on Sunday, April 6, at 8 p. m., sharp.

Socialist Party Protests Alien Registration Bill

CHICAGO.—Opposition to all three bills for the "voluntary" or compulsory registration of aliens now pending before Congress is expressed by the Socialist Party in a statement issued by Clarence Senior, executive secretary. The statement contains extracts from a letter sent to members of the Senate and House committees on immigration.

"The powers given to government bureaus by any of these bills are unwarranted increases in the new autocratic control of too many aspects of individual lives by underpaid clerks and snoopers for the Departments of Justice and Labor," Senior said.

"Voluntary" registration is only the first step toward compulsory action of the same kind, which means that friends of political and economic liberty must fight all three bills, introduced by Senator Blease and Congressman Aswell and Cable.

"The provincialism of these three men plays into the hands of the industrial feudalists who want their newly-arrived workers to be under the threat of deportation if they become active in trying to organize unions to better their working conditions or if they become interested in radical political action," according to the statement. "The bills clear the road for wholesale deportations such as took place during the delirium of 1921, when police tried to cure economic misery by persecution, just as they are now trying."

"Socialist locals and sympathetic unions are called upon to protest against any and all attempts to register aliens as being the beginning of the end of all civil liberties for seven million aliens now living in the United States. The bills are S1278, introduced by the great friend of labor, Senator Cole Blease; H. R. 9101, by Aswell of Louisiana; and H. R. 9147, by Cable of Ohio."

A SOCIALIST STATESMAN

The Life and Work of

MEYER LONDON

By HARRY ROGOFF

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

Arrival in New York — Building The Unions and the Socialist Party — The Fight for Social Legislation — The One Sane Man in a War-mad Congress — A Tragic Accident — A Brave Death.

Three Hundred Thousand Lined the Sidewalks When Meyer London Was Borne to His Grave.

Every Socialist Home Should Have This Book.

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(SIGNED)

ADDRESS

(If You Are Already a New Leader Subscriber, We Will Be Glad to Send the Paper to Any Friend You May Indicate)

The Miners Seek Democracy

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
The Midwest bids fair to regain its old-time position as the center of progressive labor activities of the country. Springfield, Illinois, has been selected as the headquarters of the coal-miners who have repudiated the leadership of the reactionary John L. Lewis and declared themselves to be the bona fide United Mine Workers of America under the leadership of Alexander Howat.

And these past two weeks there have come to Springfield, the town where Lincoln lived for so many years, progressive laborites determined to restore to the miners' union its constructive militancy which made it one of the strongest units of organized labor in the world.

Here is Howat with his fine record of having defied the Kansas anti-strike law and Adolph Germer who is vice-president of the new organization and John Brophy and Powers Haggood. Clarence Senior was here with his wife helping the publicity men for the miners and Paul Porter dropped in on his way to a speaking trip through the colleges. Oscar Ameringer, fighting editor of "The Illinois Miner," who did so much to bring about last week's colorful convention, is as busy as a hen with a lot of new chicks these days. The fight against John L. Lewis is one very much to his liking. He chuckled gleefully when read that over in Indianapolis where Lewis has marshalled his "yes-men" in an obviously packed convention, the striking John L. dramatically tore up a copy of "The Illinois Miner" in the presence of the delegates shouting, "This sheet soils by hands."

Lewis has every reason to hate the "Miner." From the beginning of this fight last Labor Day, "The Illinois Miner" has kept up a steady machine-gun fire on the reactionary policies of the repudiated miners' leader. Oscar's blistering editorials have made swell reading for a rank and file smarting under indignities heaped upon them by their officers and there is no more popular man in the union today than Oscar Ameringer.

Oscar made a speech that was a perfect gem at the last session of the convention. It wasn't the sort of thing that you put on newspaper wires. It had the elusive charm of the man all the way through it, nothing that can be captured in cold type. He told the men from the picks seated before him, about to go out to a desperate struggle for the reorganization of their union, that by their actions in the convention they had restored his faith in the wisdom and integrity of the common man.

"Democracy is like grass," Oscar said. "The storms rage and the great trees fall down before the mighty winds but the grass around their trunks bends back before the winds and then once more springs up in green beauty. It is the humble grass which in the long run gives us the best things of life, food and strength and finally a warm beauty as well. The common men are the grass which remains after the storms have died down leaving destruction in their wake."

Oscar has a way of staying in the background. He gives gladly of his ripe wisdom when he is called on for advice but he no more desires to be known as a "labor leader" than did Gene Debs. Yet there is no one man who has done more to inspire the oppressed coal-diggers of America than this kindly, whimsical, bespectacled editor. Before long, I hope that he puts on paper for the sake of the youngsters coming up in the movement some chapters from his crowded life when he was pioneering in the early days of the Socialist Party. Just now however, he is too blooming busy living in the immediate present and the exciting future to dwell for a moment in the past.

The way that you know that Spring is coming to these Midwest towns is that the persistent rain is a bit warmer these days. Rain and soft coal-smoke are the overheads of March in Illinois.

Right now the hotels are filled up with public utility men come here for a convention. Fat, slow-moving, slicked-up gents in startling contrast to the long, lean miners who went out of here on Sunday.

They picked a strange town in which to hold their convention. Springfield is the home-town of Willis J. Spaulding, who has given his city a fine system of public ownership of the gas and electric plants and a central heating plant as well. Although a private concern operates here and turns on gaudy electric signs every night which shine in the windows of my hotel-room it can make no headway against the good service and the low rates which Spaulding has got for his people.

While fundamentally this is a reactionary, middle-class burg, (you ought to see its papers, boys and girls), its citizens go right on electing Spaulding, year in and year out, to run their utilities, never dreaming that there might be anything "socialistic" in having the people have a say in their government.

Tonight the privately-owned public utility gents are having a jamboree at the Hotel Abraham Lincoln. A local gal, Miss Molly Furlich, an employee of the Illinois Power Company, is going to speak a piece called, "The Electric Utilities Contribution to my Community, State and Nation." If Molly does well she will win a trip to Europe because she is in a contest with a lot of other utility enthusiasts. The judge of the contest, by the way, is Francis G. Blair, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and you can guess what sort of public instruction the kids of Illinois are getting.

We can hardly wait to hear Molly's talk. We have a sort of hunch that she won't mention one of the most important contributions of the public utility companies, namely the campaign contributions. There was that great utility magnate Sam Insull of Illinois who contributed a wad of jack for the election of a United States Senator and then got to show any partisanship threw in about a quarter of his contribution to the Republicans to the Democratic candidate.

Unbeknownst to us it seems that "The Chicago Journal of Commerce" has been denouncing us and Steve Raushenbush because we are members of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power. It seems that we are Bolsheviki. It was almost worth the trip out here to read what the "Journal" thinks about us. I can't think of any paper that I would be prouder to be bawled out in than that same "Chicago Journal of Commerce."

I'll be back some time this week. See you provincial New Yorkers as they call us out here, then.

McAlister Coleman.

It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against society.—John Stuart Mill.

An Escape From Fascism

Young Nitti's Story of His Jail-Break, And Some Reflections on Shaw

By H. W. Nevins

ESCAPE, by Francesco Fausto Nitti (Putnam) is "the personal narrative of a political prisoner who was rescued from Lipari, the Fascist 'Devil's Island.' The preface is written by the author's uncle, Francesco Nitti, once the famous Prime Minister of Italy. The whole book is a record of political tyranny hardly surpassed for outrage and brutality even under the last of the Tsars or the last of the Sultans. One can only hope that these abominations may have been perpetrated under the last of the tyrants, whether in Italy or any other nation.

Francesco Nitti tells the story of his sufferings and escape with the perfect simplicity that allows no question of the truth. By a carefully designed plan, prepared for several months, escape was accomplished in a rapid motor boat from one of the Devil's Islands used by the tyrant as a prison for those Italians who do not agree with his tyranny. Two others shared the joy of the hazardous adventure, and one cannot help thinking of the similar escape of three political prisoners from the same country nearly eighty years ago. Swinburne wrote a poem on it, called "A Song in Time of Order (1852)." In that poem occurs the verse:

*They have tied the world in a tether,
They have bought over God with a fee;*

While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.
Those last two lines are five times repeated in the poem, and how often they have rung in my head as I watched the first efforts of freedom struggling against a tyranny that seemed as overwhelming in power as in brutality! Three men have escaped from the prison of Italy, but hundreds are left enchained in solitary cells or exiled upon island rocks dragging out the slow and useless years of their sentence.

As a nephew of a distinguished Liberal Prime Minister, Nitti was naturally suspected by the tyrant, whose policy it was to obliterate all trace of freedom—to advance, as he boasted, over the putrefying corpse of liberty. With the enviable courage of youth, he increased the suspicion by taking flowers to lay upon the spot where the decapitated body of Matteotti had been discovered, murdered by the tyrant's agents a year before. Even in England that atrocious murder roused some protest, for Matteotti was known here as a man of noble character and mind. He was a patriot, a worthy of Mazzini. He was murdered near Rome in June, 1924. His widow was atrociously persecuted, but Nitti continued to call upon her, and in consequence was watched and followed, even when he went to and from his work at a bank. In December,



1926, he was seized at midnight in his room and shut up in the Roman prison, called "The Queen of Heaven."

He was warned by fellow prisoners that to offend a warder there was to expose himself to the torture called "Saint Antony" (tyranny often observes religious forms). For this torture three warders hustle the prisoner off to a solitary cell, throw a heavy rug over his head, beat him till he drops fainting on the floor, and leave him lying in his blood. Nitti himself avoided this torture and the solitary confinement in little dark cells where many of his comrades spent weeks. He suddenly found himself condemned to five

years' deportation to a convict colony on a charge of "subversive acts against the political and economic institutions of the State, and of having at various times manifested the intention of modifying these institutions by violent means."

No trial or examination was allowed. He heard afterwards that the proofs of his crime were that he had been leading an altogether too serious and secluded life, that he had neither a wife nor a mistress, that he did not amuse himself like other young men, that he was a Freemason, and had democratic ideas. To have democratic ideas is dangerous in most nations of Europe since the war that was to make the world safe for democracy. Accordingly, Nitti was shipped off with a batch of similar offenders to the tiny rock of Lampedusa, which you may discover on a big-scale map lying between the southwest of Sicily and Cape Bon in Africa, not far from Malta. The prisoners went handcuffed in chains.

On that rock he was exposed, first, to the crazy cruelty of a lieutenant who took a sadistic delight in the infliction of pain upon his helpless victims, and then to the crazy whims of a Sicilian Prefect, whom military habits seem to have driven apomodelically insane. After a few months, however, that convict settlement was broken up, and Nitti was transferred in chains to Lipari,

one of those volcanic islands which our liners pass on their way from Marseilles to Egypt and India. There he remained for thirty months, being given two shillings a day for food and lodging. As the months passed he was afflicted by the terror that haunts all captives—the fear of losing reason. The degrading and idle life dried up his faculties. He could not concentrate his thoughts. He lost all pleasure in reading and intellectual interests.

The exiles had formed a little library, but the censors in Rome struck off more than 500 of the books, including Carlyle, Mazzini, Tagore, Tolstoy, and other great writers. Of course they allowed Bernard Shaw to remain, owing to his welcome praise of the Fascist regime—praise which, I suppose, has done more than anything else to consolidate the tyranny, and ingratiate it to many minds. Even our Mr. Churchill has not served Fascism better, and I recommend the prison governors on the Lipari Islands to rig up a theatre for the performance of "The Apple Cart." In that popular drama the prisoners would see absurdity of freedom and the advantages of tyranny humorously displayed, and so would be taught to recognize the justice of their tortures and misery. No more useful lesson could be given to the victims of Italian or any other despotism.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

The French Socialists and Colonial Policy

The Socialist Deputies Nouelle and Sixte-Quenin made speeches in the French Chamber on January 28, in which they renewed the indefatigable protests of the Socialist Party against Colonial expeditions of any kind whatever. Comrade Nouelle emphasized that the Socialists had raised a whole series of questions on Colonial policy, to which replies would have to be given.

What about the problem of forced labor in French Equatorial Africa? he asked. Will the government benches decide one day to explain the frightful mortality in the factories of "Congo-Ocean," and on the scandalous liabilities of the concessionary company and the administrative authorities? Nouelle asked the government "What are you expecting to do? Are you going to follow the example of your predecessors and return to Chinese labor? And, on the other hand, what sanctions do you envisage against those responsible for forced labor and for the manhunt in Equatorial Africa?"

With regard to the police provocations in Madagascar on the 17th May last he pointed out that the natives are in a state of great excitement, as they have been outraged by being treated as citizens of the second zone and deprived of the most elementary liberties.

Reply To Tardieu
Comrade Sixte-Quenin who followed, replied to the famous declarations of M. Tardieu regarding the 800,000 square kilometers, the 15 million inhabitants, and the half a milliard of francs of commerce which the "victory" brought to France with Syria, Camoron and Togo, that these square kilometers bring France an annual profit which benefits a certain number of compatriots. But the expense? For Syria alone the taxpayers must find 295 millions without counting the interest on loans.

The Socialists could not accept, however, the naive thesis of the Communists, who demand immediate evacuation. We make no pretense of trying to make rivers return to their source. Our position has always remained the same, and if we previously refused to have French soldiers killed in order that the workers of Morocco should pass from a feudal to a capitalist regime, we do not wish any more today that our soldiers should die in order that the same workers should be again submitted to some feudal heads in Morocco.

The immediate evacuation of Syria? Yes, for that could be carried out without injury for the populations, and for the greater good of the French taxpayers. The immediate evacuation of Morocco? This question is more complex.

Reject Evacuation Plan
We Socialists have therefore rejected this naive formula of the evacuation of Morocco, and moreover if M. M. Doriot and Cachin came into power, they would certainly claim Moroccan territory in the name of the same principles which drive Stalin to claim a Chinese railway.

Comrade Sixte-Quenin concluded: "The Socialists will continue to desire the peace of the world—in Morocco as in Manchuria—and equally to take account of realities. It is in this spirit that they will oppose without relaxing for 50 years past has caused us to pour out precious blood and milliards and milliards of francs throughout the world.

"We have certainly extracted some profit from this, but the return would have been much more interesting if the same sums had

been employed in France in cutting a canal from Havre to Marseilles or from Sete to Bordeaux, or in fighting against tuberculosis. I therefore ask you to remember when a proposal is made to throw away more milliards in the sands of the Sahara that the best French colony is France itself."

The Martyrdom of a Russian Socialist

The foreign delegation of the Russian Social-Democratic Party has received the following from Russia:

Comrade Rosin-Rabinovitch was arrested in Charkov as a Social-Democrat as the beginning of 1924 and sentenced by a decision of the OGPU (Cheka) to two years' imprisonment. After he had served two years in the infamous prison in Sussdal he was banished for a further three years to the village of Wikulowo (in the Ichim district in the North of the Ural region). In March 1929 these three years also were completed. But a month later the district OGPU of Ichim accused Comrade R., who had not yet left, of having lived under a wrong name. R. was re-arrested and taken to the prison of Sverdlovsk (formerly Ekaterinburg).

At the end of a month R. adopted the desperate measure of the hunger strike in order to protest against unceasing torments. On the 16th day of the hunger strike the OGPU ordered his removal from the prison to the infirmary and promised to set him free for the present—until the case was decided by the collegium of the OGPU—if he stopped the hunger strike. This happened, and eight days later R. was in fact set free. Hardly three months later Comrade R. was again arrested. He was informed that the collegium of the OGPU had decided to banish him for three years to Oboorsk (far in the North of Siberia, near the Arctic Circle). Comrade R. thereupon declared "a dry hunger strike" (that is to say, he also refused to take water), which lasted for a week. Meanwhile he was transferred to Tobolsk. But his state of health had become so threateningly worse that the OGPU of Tobolsk found it necessary to release him for the time being from prison. What is to happen to him further is not known. He can be re-arrested any day in order to be transported to Oboorsk.

Comrade R.'s health has broken down through the prison hardships and the repeated hunger strikes. He spits blood, his legs are swollen, and signs of scurvy have shown themselves upon him.

Finn Socialists Fight To Cut Army Service

The demand of the Parliamentary group of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party for a reduction in the period of active service from 12 to 9 months was rejected by 99 votes to 79 at the Third Reading in the Finnish Diet on February 24th. The negative attitude of the Agrarian Government came in for severe labor criticism. A different attitude had been expected in view of the election promises of the Government Party and the intimation of the Government Party paper "Helsingin Sanomat" on January 15th that a government bill would probably be introduced in the Diet in February which would provide for an appreciable reduction in this period of service. As it is, in the debate on the Third Reading the government declined even to promise that the revision of the Military Service Bill at present being prepared would bring about any reduction at all in the duration of the service.

Foreign Help for Danish Militarists

Efforts which are being made to deter the Danish Socialist Government from forcing through its disarmament proposals, have led as in 1926, to a Conservative alignment extending beyond the Danish frontiers. In 1923 military officers in the other Scandinavian countries made fierce attacks on the disarmament proposals. The search for allies has now carried the Danish Conservative parties much further.

The Conservatives began by proposing in the Lower House that no actual steps toward disarmament be taken by Denmark without consultation with the other Scandinavian countries. The Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary most emphatically refused to entertain any idea of the kind. The Conservatives then tried to organize an exchange of views between the military movements of the various Northern countries. Big meetings with Conservative speakers from Finland, Denmark and Sweden itself were held in Stockholm. The Danish Conservatives have allied themselves with the influential editor of one of the biggest papers in the Northern countries, who was called to Copenhagen from Gottenburg to speak in favor of the Conservative proposal for a Scandinavian Pact. The Conservative Press of all the Northern countries has of course been carrying on a furious campaign against the Danish proposals. They have even gone so far as to ridicule the part played by Stauning at Geneva in the League Assembly of September last.

Swedish Government Shaky
The last of these futile attempts were directed towards claiming of military aid in Scandinavia in favor of the Danish Foreign Secretary, P. Munch, to London some time before the Naval Conference was construed by the Danish Conservatives and by some newspapers in other countries too, as being made on the initiative of the British government, and in the Danish Diet the Conservatives even went so far as to suggest definitely that the visit had been desired by MacDonald himself in order to discourage the Danish disarmament proposals.

The other attempt was to make capital out of the attitude of the present Foreign Secretary of the Swedish Conservative Government, who has already showed considerable willingness to come to the assistance of the Danish Conservatives, for instance by pointing out to the Danish Ambassador that anxiety was felt in Swedish circles on account of the Danish disarmament proposals.

But the standpoint of the Swedish Conservative Government on the question of disarmament in Sweden itself is seemingly leading to its own downfall. The military estimates laid before this year's session of the Swedish Parliament, in the latter part of March, have already received the strongest condemnation not only from the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, but also from the Liberal parties. This means that the government on this point is facing an oppositional majority, a majority which is making itself disagreeably felt on a series of other points too. The Social-Democrat leaders, P. A. Hansson in the Swedish Second Chamber, and Gustav Moller in the First Chamber put the following questions to the Foreign Secretary: "What information has the government considered it necessary to give the Danish Government on the Danish disarmament proposals

and what reason has the government had to approach the Danish Government?"

Both speakers emphasized that an appeal to the government of another country as to how the country should organize its defense is in itself a most extraordinary step. It would seem even more extraordinary to communicate to the government of another country the extent to which the "Press" or "part of the Press" has been able to seize the purport of the plans which the Foreign Government desires to realize. A step of the kind seems rather superfluous unless it has been taken with a precise end in view, going beyond that of the communication itself.

N. Y. Window Cleaners Un Has Injunction On Picketing Vacated

Supreme Court Justice John Ford, sitting at Special Term, Part 1 of the Supreme Court, New York County, has vacated an injunction by Judge Philip McCook against picketing signed by him March 6th.

The injunction was obtained by the Allied House & Window Cleaning Co., of 347 Fifth Avenue, New York City, against the Window Cleaners' Protective Union, Local No. 2, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Allied Company, conducting an open shop, complained that the union had stationed pickets at the Equitable Trust Company, the Otis Elevator Co., the Pennsylvania Railroad Station and other buildings cleaned by the Allied and that such picketing is in the nature of a secondary boycott in that it was the customers who were picketed and not the plaintiff.

The affidavits in support of the motion for an injunction set forth that the customers of the open shop employer were greatly annoyed by the picketing. The papers in opposition to the motion for an injunction were prepared by William Karlin of 291 Broadway, New York City, attorney for the union. The officers of the union, as well as the pickets, interposed numerous affidavits showing that all the picketing was peaceful, and categorically denied the statements in the moving affidavits to the effect that there was any coercing, threatening or assaulting. In his brief Karlin set forth decisions made by the highest courts of this state regarding such picketing as permitted by law, not only against open shops, but their customers as well.

In denying the temporary injunction, Judge Ford said "Here is presented the old-recurring trouble between employer and employee. Strikes are lawful. Picketing is permitted. Giving due weight to the opposing affidavits, I can see no sufficient reason for throwing the power of the Supreme Court on the side of the employer. If disorder occurs the police can cope with it effectively. Motion denied."

Chicago University Has an Active Socialist Club

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—Last fall a number of students who had strong Socialist leanings appeared on the campus of the University of Chicago. Some carried red cards and had been associated in Socialist activity. They organized a club with Prof. Robert M. Lovett as faculty advisor and Ralph McAlister the first president.

Meetings were held weekly and more people became interested. On the average over fifty people have attended each meeting. Out of the club has sprung the Hyde Park branch of the Socialist Party, a Y. P. S. L. group. A municipal research bureau was recently organized with Miss Barbara Spackman as director. The purpose of this bureau is to produce facts and pamphlets which can be used by Cook County in the municipal campaign of 1931. The club is also ready to send speakers to any group which wishes to hear addresses on Socialist topics. Among the speakers at club meetings have been Paul Porter, Clarence Senior, Allister MacDonald, Mary Agnes Hamilton M.P., W. E. S. Zuehl, Professors Laswell, Douglass, and Lovett. Teas were held for Fenner Brockway M.P. and Norman Thomas.

Karlin to Debate On Public Utilities

William Karlin, former Socialist Assemblyman, and candidate for District Attorney of New York County in the last municipal election, will present the case for public operation of public utilities in a debate to be held on Thursday evening, March 27, at the Fort George Presbyterian Church, 186th street and St. Nicholas avenue. The debate has been arranged by the League of Women Voters. The title of the debate is "Resolved: That private operation of public utilities is more advantageous to the people than public operation." One of the speakers on the other side will be Miss Emily Marx, while there will be one more speaker defending private ownership, and an associate of Karlin's defending public operations.

The Chatter Box

Kissena Park in Flushing is a delightful place for a walk on a brisk March night. Particularly when you are all fed up on a work-a-day. When the headlines of the newspapers have danced you brain dizzy. . . . When the mingled tribulations of home and family have played rag-a-tag with you emotions. . . .

All deserted, save for a stray pair of mooners of the gravelled walks, the park lures you into a stroll. I yielded the other night, and came upon a rare adventure.

I set out leisurely toward the lake. It lay then like a huge mirror. The moon made a silver grin across out of herself. Here and there a star slipped from behind a cloud to catch a look at its own wink ing.

Suddenly a smart wind blew up and ruffled the looking-glass out of its placid purpose. I tightened the collar around my throat and started a brisker pace through the wooded path.

The wind persisted and increased its impenh sway among the trees. You could hear him start a whistling snatch here, or woo like a frightened of babes over there. Now he would simulate a re-anger, now he would laugh and hurry away. I found myself thinking about the wind . . . repeating the verses of an old poem:

*"If I were the March Wind
If I held his passion,
I would find use for it
In a grim fashion. . . ."*

"Ha, ha, old boy," a rough yet kindly voice beat onto my ear-drum, "you would, would you . . . ? Startled like the poet in Poe's "Raven" by words so aptly spoken, I turned to greet the speaker. . . . And again like the "Raven" affair, all I peered into was darkness. . . .

"Now, don't get scared, fellow poet," the voice continued, "it's just me, the Wind . . . the March Wind. If you like. . . . Keep walking but a lot of dumb chimney tops, roofs and trees to bother with this evening . . . a poet's scarce companion in these parts . . . especially one that wants to make a Bolshevik out of me. . . . Ha, that's a great idea. I caught my breath, paused to escape from wonder for a spell, but he caught about my shoulders and gently yet firmly pushed me on. . . .

"Now, get me right, pal, I'm no sweeter than you are on this crazy world of people and its manner of going through the comedy they call life. . . . Ever since I can remember I have been trying to blow the whole bloody business of men and beasts and everything off the earth. And my grievances go back longer than you or your books can record. Long, long ago, when there were only hunks of jelly-stuff and lizards sticking or sliding in slime. I saw what all this life would come to . . . just a silly process of grabbing, biting and swallowing for one's self, for one's own nasty stomach . . . pure selfishness. . . . I have seen these change into fish, birds, monkeys and men. . . . I've seen civilization or whatever you might call it, fill the world with a thousand wonders. . . . Gosh, it gets me how you folks think up all these marvellous tricks and jim-jacks of science and invention . . . how you make everything out of steel, and wood, and earthen stuff do such marvellous things. . . . You manage to make everything work right except your lives. . . ."

Here I stopped to edge a word in: "Hold on, my breezy philosopher, what do you mean we make everything work right . . . how about government? . . . have we learned how to manipulate the mechanics of mass regulation . . . the material control and distribution of material necessities . . . in short, have we put Socialism into effect . . . ?"

A puff of impatience greeted my interruption. "Tut, tut, young fellow, don't start buzzing me up with your Karl Marx. . . . I'm talking of life . . . and here you come picking hairs with me about such an inconsequential thing as government . . . pouf on all government. . . ."

I turned away angrily. "You're nothing but an anarchist. . . . I've argued myself blue in face with your kind down in Stelton, New Jersey. . . ."

"There you go, like any Union Square Communist . . . calling me names. . . . Is that nice . . . coming from a nice, self-restrained and intellectually disciplined Socialist. . . . Listen . . . and then call me names. . . . if you like . . ."

Ashamed, I took his rebuke and ambled along. "Someday, all of you 'anists' will find enough leisure to sit down and mull over the problem of life itself. Just now you are so taken up with trying to mould it to your particular notice. . . ."

Now what was I in for, I kept hearing. Unmindful of my inward doubts, he kept right on. "For almost a million years, I have watched life on this planet. I have blown your seed across fallow fields, in the spring, warmed it into birth, kissed it into flower, and always found dissatisfaction with the universal self-mindedness and self-appetite of each living thing. . . . Every year I have blasted the world bare, tried to freeze it into eternal death, reloaded and recommenced the cycle again of spring planting and summer bloom, hoping to find a sense of self-sacrifice and social cooperation awoken within the heart of Life.

"The few who understand me, and dare to follow in my thought die of hunger or are hoisted on a cross. Whenever you find me spinning like a dervish over the land, or fuming black madness over the water, churning up a wake of destruction and death, it is because I have lost patience with Life, and can only remember what it has done to the Christs of the ages. Of course, I come to my senses after a while, and recall how futile all my insane violence is against the dream for the finer life. So I grow gentle again, and wait with the sun for what I fear will never be. . . ."

It was here that I became bold to the point of familiarity. "Comrade," I said, "we need you and your splendid idealism . . . you are more human than most of us . . . and you have the virility and color of energy that all of us lack. . . . After all, our hopes and dreams converge to the common goal of happiness in life. Socialism on earth will bring about all you plan and vision for the ultimate in living. Come, join the party. . . . here is the application card. . . . You sign here. . . ."

I held the card out to him in the darkness. Something fast tore it out of my fingers. . . . I saw it being whisked over the bushes and over the road. . . . It danced like a live thing down to the edge of the lake. It lifted . . . floated in the air for a moment and then landed lazily on the scrubby breast of the lake. . . . The last I saw of it was when the moon came out from behind a cloud to squint without the slightest interest.

"The moon's dead, anyhow, and wind's anarchist. . . . This I muttered. But my companion was gone.

S. A. de Witt.

Sixty thousand infants die in England every year. If a similar number of lambs died a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into the reason.—Rhys L. Davis, M.P.

Capitalism has had a long run chiefly successful in the manufacture of poverty.—Sir John Gilmour, M.P.

THE STRANGE DEATH
OF
PRESIDENT HARDING
from The Diaries of
GASTON B. MEANS
Department of Justice Investigator
As Told to MAY DIXON THACKER
OUT TODAY AT ALL BOOKSELLERS . . \$3.50
Gould Publishing Corporation, 19 W. 44th St., New York

"The Blue Ghost"—First of the Summer Plays

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

SPOOKY-OKUMS

"THE BLUE GHOST," Forrest Theatre.

THE full title of this organic thriller comes as: "Jimmie Cooper sponsors the night of nights in the career of 'The Blue Ghost,' created by Bernard J. McOwen and J. P. Riewerts" and more. Mr. McOwen plays the role of Dr. De Former, in whose California home the midnight prowler stirs. However, you see him in effect long before the curtain rises; for the ushers have so felt the tremors of the supernatural that their appearance has become permanently altered (for the run of the play, perhaps). At any rate, the radio effects are by the Electric Telephone Corporation.

If this isn't enough to let you know it's that kind of a play, let me add that it has probably come to go down in the history of the season as the first summer play; for the chills and delightful shivers it sends up and then down the long-enduring spine are just the sort desired for a hot summer day. Also, it may be added in condensation, the ghost is about the only thing blue.

MORE MURDER

"PENNY ARCADE," By Marie Baumer, Fulton Theatre.

Another of the good old melodramas, and still wrung out of booze and backsliding, sets its characters in the penny arcade of a cheap amusement resort not far from any big city (the program says New York). Elemental human passions are starkly, but neatly, flung into opposition; there are indeed several strong contrasts, as of the sister who must divide her love between husband and to be and brother—which to shelter from charge of murder; and the mother is equally torn between the daughter and the son—though her choice is perhaps easier, as she has spoiled the lad so long that he has grown to expect and need protection. The acting of James Cagney as that weakling son is the high mark of the play; although his mother is played by Valerie Bergere with strong precision.

Just why all the shooting, is simply explained; while the gang leader is in jail, one of his henchmen, using gang money, starts to sell competition booze on his own account; as soon therefore as the leader is released, he pulls a gun to settle accounts. The expectant boy, Young Delano, beats him to the trigger. But the interest of the play is less in this story, or even in the too bald contrasts of mother love and mate love, than in the picture of the "home life" (if this be home, or, for that matter, life) of the resort folk, which forms the environment for the lurid events of the evening, and gives color, protective coloration, to an otherwise unadorned yet exciting tale.

TENNYSON WELL DONE

"LAUNCELOT AND ELAINE," Tennyson's poem dramatized by E. M. Royle, President Theatre.

There is more of beauty retained in this version than the usual Broadway playgoer, scoffing by habit and blurted out at the smug Victorian, has any reason to expect. The list of names of the players, revealing a lengthy string of unknown persons, and including the adaptor's daughter as Queen, Guinevere, further predisposes us to finding fault. The triumph, though incomplete, is but the more welcome.

There are of course stretches of tedium in the retelling of this well-known tale, but its very familiarity makes us the more friendly, and the reader to catch the subtleties of character revelation that might otherwise be lost in the windings of the story. THE

NEW YORK COLISEUM
10 DAYS
BEGINNING THURS. MAR. 27
RINGLING BROS. and BARNUM & BAILEY
1000 NEW FOREIGN FEATURES
Before by popular ZACCHINI shot from mouth of cannon. MORE—75 MORE PEOPLE.
POPULAR PRICES—1st and 2nd seats—on PRICES—Mats. except Sat. \$3.00. Tickets at PRICES—Coliseum & Madison Square Garden.
OPENING MON. MARCH 27 AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
Twice Daily (incl. Sunday) 2 and 8
Tickets Now at Garden Box Office

ANASTASIA RABINOFF
PRIMA DONNA SOPRANO
In a program of Russian, Italian, French, German, English, Spanish and Hebrew Songs and Operatic Arias
GUILD THEATRE
TOMORROW (Sunday) AFTERNOON at 2
Chief Soloist at the Piano
Concert Management Daniel Mayer

In Dance Recital



Carola Goya, whose beauty and grace have made her one of the most popular Spanish Dancers, will give a dance recital at Carnegie Hall on Friday Night, April 4th.

tragedy of the maid who loved a knight, who guarded his shield high in her tower to the east, while he was making free with the wife of the purest king country or symbolism ever held, is a gentle drifting toward Lethe; and its delicacy and charm (for that after all is the Victorian depth) are caught engagingly, with a quiet melancholy, in the current version at the President Theatre.

MECCA March 22nd at 8 P. M.
Manhattan Symphony
HADLEY, DUNN and MOORE Conductors
DAVID BARNETT, Pianist
Seats 50c to \$2.00 at Box Office

Conductorless
Symphony Orchestra
CARNegie HALL
Friday Evening, March 22, at 8:45
Soloist SOPHIE BRASLAU
BORODIN, Symphony No. 2, B minor
GOSSENS, Symphonie for Strings
MOUSSORGSKY, Group of Songs
WEBER, Overture "Euryanthe"
Tickets \$1, \$2, \$2.50 at Box Office and at 22 E. 55th St. Steinway Piano

TOWN HALL
Wednesday Evening, March 26, at 8:30
THE COMPINSKY TRIO
Tickets at Box Office
Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

Philharmonic Symphony
TOSCANINI, Conductor
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
SUNDAY AFTERNOON AT 3:15
ROSSINI - HAYDN
DEBUSSY - BERLIOZ - STRAUSS
CARNegie HALL
Thurs. Eve., March 22, at 8:45; Fri. Aft., Mar. 23, at 3:15; Sat. Eve., Mar. 24, at 8:45
Soloist: ALFRED WALLINGSTEIN, "Celloist"
WAGNER - GOSSENS
BOCCCHINI - SNETANA
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgt. (Steinway)

TOPAZE
Comedy Hit from the French
with FRANK MORGAN
PHOEBE FOSTER
CLARENCE DERWENT
MUSIC BOX THEATRE
45th STREET, WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:40, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

"DRINK HEARTY"

"A GLASS OF WATER," by Eugene Scribe, The American Laboratory Theatre.

The vogue of the Russians still runs in the land. Our children of Society, having heeded the call of fashion—ingeniously disguised so the advertising would not protrude when Morris Gest brought over the Russians—so formed the habit of considering as the final word in art the product of that country which in politics they refuse to recognize at all (save through the back door of profitable trade, or as the basis of new terms of contempt)—our socially important persons, I say, represented by a long list of names of donors and sustainers on the program of The American Laboratory Theatre, still deem anything of Russian art worth while. Discrimination comes less readily, as is evident in the current production.

Scribe's "The Glass of Water" is one of his neat, well-made comedies, which fill some forty volumes and occupy the imaginary land of Scriba, where brittle figures bow neatly, and actions fit like cogs into the turnings of the plot. As such, it remains a pleasing piece of artifice, not underserving of revival. Unfortunately, Maria Germanova, imported by the American Laboratory Theatre as directress of the season, seems to be learning English by taking a prominent role in each of her productions. This might be forgiven; but an overemphasis in the direction (comparable to the lack of subtlety we see on the Yiddish stage and call overacting) that spoils the delicacy many of the young players are ready to give, is less easily condoned; and in contrast to these graceful players the exaggerated simpering of the "famous" Russian directress in the role of Queen Anne seems a dowager affecting the debutante. Either this group—which has done things that should make it ashamed of the present production—should cancel the proper adjective in its name, or it should recognize that a French play about the English, directed by a Russian, does not make typical fare for what calls itself "The American Laboratory Theatre," and make some radical changes in its organization and its plans.

The dancer had added many new numbers to her program this year, although most of them have emanated from the same inspiration that governed last year's program—the contemporary metropol. The complete program will be announced shortly.

Born in this country of Viennese parents, Miss Didjah received her training in dance technique from Alexander Korichevsky, who staged the famous "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers" for Ballet's Chauve-Souris; with Constantin Kobleff, Margaret Curtis and Angelo Carmino. She has appeared in the Metropolitan Opera House ballet in "Faust," "Romeo and Juliet," "Tannhauser" and "L'Africain."

Bella Didjah to Disperse With Character Costume

The original mime and character dances which Bella Didjah, the young American dancer will present at her second recital on Sunday evening, March 30, at the John Golden Theatre, under the direction of Eva Le Gallienne, will be danced without the conventional costumes which would identify the various characters.

The decision to disperse with

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS
A MONTH IN THE COUNTRY
By IVAN TURGENEV
GUILD THEATRE
32nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

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

"BIGGEST LAUGH IN YEARS."
—Dartons, Eve. World.
SAM H. HARRIS presents
JUNE MOON
By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
Broadhurst WEST 44TH ST.
Evenings at 8:40
Mats. Wed. & Sat.

THE BLUE GHOST
"Berie, ghostly, uncanny things happened so fast and furiously that the weak gasped, the strong gulped and even the blasé blinked."—Eve. World.
FORREST THEATRE
49th St. West of Broadway
Evenings 8:30, Mats. Wed & Sat. 2:30

Fritz Leiber Brings Hamlet to N. Y.



At the Shubert Theatre beginning Monday, Fritz Leiber, just in from Chicago, where he has caused somewhat of a stir, begins his New York season with "Hamlet."

costumes was reached by Miss Didjah and Miss Le Gallienne because of the belief of both that the illusion of the dance should not be dependent upon costumes, but that the dancer should create moods and character without the aid of outer trappings. Slimly fitted black tights and accessories, such as a cane, or a basket, will therefore serve Miss Didjah for the various types and characters she represents.

Once again the air is surcharged with excitement and interest. For it's "circus time." The great Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey circus, with a thousand and one wonders gathered from every corner of the globe, has again gladdened the heart of young and old by the announcement of its ten-day engagement at the New York Coliseum in the Bronx, beginning Thursday afternoon, March 27.

No truer harbinger of joy ever came to New York than The Great Show on Earth. And this year there will, as usual, be much that is new and novel, much that has never before been exhibited in any land.

It requires 100 double length railroad cars to transport this giant of the amusement world. Four long special trains are owned and operated by the circus and its "population" includes more than 1600 persons and 1700 animals.

No show like this has ever be-

Friday Feature at City
The City Theatre on East 14th Street, in inaugurating their spring season of two a day burlesque de luxe, are arranging spe-

JOHN GOLDEN Theatre, W. 58th St.
SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 30
Eva Le Gallienne
Presents
BELLE DIDJAH
In Dance Recital
Only N. Y. Appearance This Year
PRICES: \$3, \$2.50, \$1.50
At Box Office or By Mail

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

CIVIC REPERTORY
14th St., 8th Ave. Eves. 8:30
50c, \$1, \$1.50, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director
Mon. Eve. "The Open Door" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero)
Tues. Eve. "The Living Corpse" (Tolstoy)
Wed. Eve. "The Sea Gull" (Theobald)
Thurs. Mats. "The Cradle Song" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero)
Fri. Eve. "John Gabriel Borkman" (Ibsen)
Sat. Mats. "Peter Pan" (Barrie) and "The Wolf-Be Gentleman" (Molier)
Seats 4 Wks. Adv. Box Off. & Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St.

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Just East of 7th Ave.
4th and Last Week
Popular Prices—Perf. 1:30—Midnight
First Time at Popular Prices
THE FIRST 100% GERMAN TALKING PICTURE
"DICH HAB ICH GELIEBT"
("Because I Loved You")
"One of the best films that has come from Berlin since 'Variety.' You do not have to understand German to follow clearly every scene of the action," says the "FIM DAILY."
Laurel & Hardy "Oberammergau" Talking Comedy German Short Film

RUTH DRAPER
in her
ORIGINAL CHARACTER SKETCHES
Evening: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, 8:30
Management Actor-Managers, Inc.
Comedy Theatre, 51st St., E. of B'way
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. Very good seats \$1
Evenings 8:30; Matinees 2:30

CONNOLLY & SWANSTROMS
Musical Smash Hit of the Year
IMPERIAL
THEATRE 45th ST. W. of B'WAY
WED. and SAT. 2:30

LIBERTY THEATRE, W. 42nd St.
Dir. A. L. ERLANGER
Eves. 8:30; MATS. WED. and SAT. 2:30
I WANT MY WIFE!
R. M. Kaye's New Farce Comedy, presented by Murray Phillips
The Cast includes: HERBERT YOST, SPRING BYINGTON, PATRICIA BARCLAY, GERALD OLIVER SMITH, EDWARD FIELDING, MARION ABBOTT, GLADYS LLOYD, ALAN DAVIS and JEROME COLLAMORE.

The Season's Outstanding Triumph
Katharine Cornell
in **DISHONORED LADY**
"I've waited all this year for a stretch of acts as immediately glamorous and subtly colored and alive."
—Gilbert W. Gabriel, New York American.
EVENINGS AT 8:40
MATS. WED. and SAT. 2:30
EMPIRE THEATRE, E'way & 49th St.

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

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

"THE ONLY REAL MYSTERY THRILLER"
SUBWAY EXPRESS
"Should Run as Long as the Subway Itself."—Eve. Post.
REPUBLIC THEATRE
42nd STREET & BROADWAY
MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY
EVENINGS AT 8:30 P. M.

Bertha Kalich

Critics and other students of the theatre who are not called upon to write their views, discuss frequently the meager equipment both as to training and intellectual capacity, of many of our stars. These criticisms are, in the main, exceedingly well founded. Accident or beauty, or both have been responsible for the creation of a vast number of over-night favorites in the American theatre.

The completeness and severity of the training given foreign-born stars—or those who ultimately become stars—is well exemplified in the case of Bertha Kalich, the famous tragedienne who is now featuring in "The Soul of a Woman" at the Downtown National Theatre.

Mme. Kalich has appeared in the spoken drama in seven languages, and one additional dialect which in itself constitutes an eighth tongue. This wonderful Galician woman, was born in Lemberg, appeared when a mere slip of a girl in Bucharest and there, in the Rumanian tongue, worked her way to the position of star.

fore been even dreamed of, to say nothing of having been brought into actual being.

Five great rings are each filled with troupe supreme in their lines. There are daring aerialists, beautiful girls, handsome steeds, unbelievably clever acrobats, wonderful riders, funny clowns, unusual and rare beasts from the fastnesses of the most remote jungles and a thousand other wonders to command constant interest and attention.

Many new and great European stars are presented for the first time in America, and it will be a circus filled with new things and new persons which greets its audiences at the huge Coliseum, near the East 177th street subway station.

Synd Hossain, Lecturer on The Orient, to Be at the New History Society

Synd Hossain, lineal descendant of Mohammed, will be the speaker before the New History Society tomorrow (Sunday) evening, at nine o'clock in the ballroom of the Park Lane, 48th street and Park avenue. Mr. Hossain has just returned from a tour of the United States, during which he has spoken at foremost universities, clubs, and organizations. He is an orator of international reputation, and an authority on the political, economic and cultural relations between the East and West.

"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

JACK DONAHUE in
SONS O' GUNS with
LILY DAMITA
(By arrangement with Samuel Goldwyn)

LIBERTY THEATRE, W. 42nd St.
Dir. A. L. ERLANGER
Eves. 8:30; MATS. WED. and SAT. 2:30
I WANT MY WIFE!
R. M. Kaye's New Farce Comedy, presented by Murray Phillips
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New York Chamber Music Society Closes 15th Season

The New York Chamber Music Society brought its 15th season to a close on Sunday evening with a pretentious program of classic music in the grand ballroom of the Plaza Hotel. The soloists were Maria Kurenko, Russian soprano; Rafaelo Diaz, Metropolitan Opera Tenor; and Aurelio Giorni, pianist. The first item was a Concerto in E flat major by Mozart, the solo piano part of which was played by Mr. Giorni in musicianly and correct Mozartian style. The ensemble in spots showed lack of sufficient rehearsal. Mr. Labate, the oboist, who has a naturally big tone, was too heavy and overbalanced the other woodwind, while the intonation of the clarinet was not all that might have been desired. In the group of songs which followed, sung by Madame Kurenko, a happier atmosphere prevailed, a special word of praise being due to the first violinist, Ottokar Cadek.

Diaz sang three short songs in his usual artistic manner, and the concert closed with the suite "Through a Looking Glass" by Deems Taylor, which was written originally for this Society in 1919.

Many notables were present, including Gino Piere, Madam Harrison-Irvine, Dr. Henry Haddley, conductor of the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, etc. Miss Carolyn Beebe, the founder of the Society, was the recipient of many tributes of bouquets and baskets of flowers from her host of admirers and friends, and in a short speech thanked the committee for their splendid work during the fifteen years the New York Chamber Music Society has been functioning. Next season, she said, there will be five subscription concerts, with an eminent soloist at each.

C. K. D.

Features at Hippodrome

The RKO Hippodrome this week of March 22nd, is presenting a double feature program. On the huge screen, the romantic thriller "The Phantom of the Opera," all the thrills, mystery and sensationalism of the silent "hit" are magnified and the lover of this type of picture will find his appetite more than satisfied.

Besides the boy Siamese Twins and their brides who perform with the assistance of a hot Filipino Orchestra, the vaudeville program consists of Murray and Alan; Charles Hart's Krazy Kats; the Vic Honey Trio, Paul Kirkland and Company, and the Oh Wah troupe.

HIPPODROME 6th Ave. & 43 St.
NOW with SOUND and DIALOGUE
The PHANTOM of the OPERA
with
LON CHANEY
Mary Philbin, Norman Kerry and
SIX R-K-O ACTS including
THE SIAMESE TWINS and
BRIDES
with Hot Filipino Orchestra
—CONTINUOUS—
10:30 to 1 p. m., 2:30; Mat. Orch. 2:30; Eve. Orch. 5:00, except Sat. and Sun.

RADIO PICTURES PRESENTS
HERBERT BRENON'S
Masterwork from Arnold Zweig's World War Book
THE CASE OF SERGEANT GRISCHA
with
Chester Morris Betty Compton
NOW! Daily from 10:30 a. m.
No Advance in Prices
CONTINUOUS SHOWS
CAMEO
12nd STREET and BROADWAY

THE CASE OF SERGEANT GRISCHA
with
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NOW! Daily from 10:30 a. m.
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CONTINUOUS SHOWS
CAMEO
12nd STREET and BROADWAY

2nd BIG WEEK
RICHARD BARTHELMESS
in **"SON of the GODS"**
A First National and Vitaphone Technicolor Dramatic HIT
WARNER BROS. NEW YORK
STRAND
BROADWAY at 17th STREET
Midnite show EVERY SAT.
BROOKLYN

LAWRENCE TIBBETT
has smashed all attendance records in the thrilling musical picture
THE ROGUE SONG
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's sensational TECHNICOLOR Triumph.
Daily 2:50-8:30
Sat. Sun. 1:30-8:30
E'way at 45th St. Sat. Midnite 11:40

Bright Star



Grace George, who stars in St. John Ervine's witty comedy "The First Mrs. Fraser" at the Playhouse.

Anastasia Rabinoff Sings In Seven Languages

Anastasia Rabinoff, whose concert tomorrow afternoon at the Guild Theatre is hailed by her friends and many admirers as the musical event of the season, will sing operatic arias and ballads in seven languages—Italian, Russian, French, German, Spanish, English and Hebrew.

One number on the program, "Malaguena," was especially written for and dedicated to Miss Rabinoff by her Maestro, Mario Mallo-Malatesta, teacher of Rosa Raisa, Lucrezia Bori, Edith Mas-on and other celebrated stars, who, after coaching Miss Rabinoff only a short while, took her on tour all over Italy with some of the important opera companies in which she sang the leading roles of "Tosca," "Butterfly," "Cavalleria Rusticana," "Otello," "La Boheme" and many other operas, and in which she scored triumph after triumph.

ROXY
7th Ave. and 50th St.
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAUS (ROXY)
William Fox Presents
ALL-TALKING
Movietone Romance
The SKY HAWK
with
JOHN GARRICK
ON THE STAGE
PERCY WENICH, composer of "The Sky Hawk" and America's most popular songs, with his company, assisted by Roxy Ensemble, in a compilation of songs, old and new. BALLETT CLASSIQUE, a new and brilliant performance of Roxy Ballet Corps. Patricia Bowman, Leonide Massine, ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Roxyettes and other unique features.
MIDNIGHT PICTURES
CAPITOL
Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward G. Bowes, Mgt. Dir.
MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30
2ND TREMENDOUS WEEK
THE TALK OF THE TALKIES.
GRETA GARBO
TALKS IN
Eugene O'Neill's Immortal Drama
ANNA CHRISTIE
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
ON THE STAGE
Dave Applegate in a colorful talent-studded Revue: Capitol Grand Orchestra, Brainard conducting, Hearst Metrophone News

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in
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Music by Irving Berlin
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39th St. & 7th Ave.
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Theatre Parties.
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4623 or write to Barnett Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

NEW LEADER

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

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Party, supports the program of the organized working class.

Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy

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assured of perpetual control over the minds of the people. History records the opposite as true.

There are many reasons why judges of the type that have been appointed to office, locally and nationally, should be considered fit to be the judges of fifth, perhaps more in politics than in literature and art. If the literature dealt with the corrupt practices by which they are named to office, or the art referred to the art by which third-rate lawyers were able to become members of the judiciary, there could be little doubt about their qualifications to pass upon the questions they will be called to pass upon as a result of the Smoot amendment.

While the effect of this amendment is likely to produce less damage in effect than it does in theory, the principle is a dangerous one, and it ought to meet with the unanimous opposition of all liberals and progressives.

The Miners Awake

DISCOMFORTING as the prospect of two unions of coal miners in conflict with one another is, there is much consolation in the present situation, as there has been in the existence of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, dual to the United Garment Workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Springfield "reorganization" convention of the United Mine Workers may have originated in a factional quarrel between the Illinois District and International headquarters but circumstances have forced a broader fight. The rank and file can only be held to the support of the Springfield union by a program which will carry on a militant struggle against John L. Lewis, the president of the Indianapolis U. M. W. A., the operators and the corruptionists within the ranks of the reformed union. As a means of surviving the Springfield group will necessarily have to make concessions to progressives and move along progressive lines.

The officers of the new organization give one cause for assurance. Alex. Howat, president, is beloved by the miners for his fight against the Kansas Industrial Court Law, his defiance of Lewis and his return to work in the mines upon his release from jail, although he had been offered a hundred thousand dollar ten-year contract by the operators. Adolph Germer, vice-president, was national secretary of the Socialist Party during the trying days of the war up to the split in 1919. John H. Walker, secretary-treasurer, con-1919. John H. Walker, secretary-treasurer, is commended a material sacrifice in lining up with the Springfield organization. As we go to press, we learn that President Howat has appointed Powers Hapgood and William Deach, both as organizers. That augurs well for the future.

Officially John L. Lewis will have the support of the organized labor movement but in spirit the best elements everywhere among officials as well as among the rank and file, will sympathize and wherever possible support the insurgents. We hope that the rebels will not fail their friends and the labor movement.

William Howard Taft

An Elegy
O you of labor and handicraft,
Mourn now for Taft;
Lift loud the mournful coronach,
O ye who have great weils upon the back,
The sunny smile so often photographed
Will smile no more;
And as the wires waft
News of the sorrow and the cannons roar,
And all the land is daft,
A toast to Taft.

He was never of the dissenters;
He was one of the first inventors
Of what is called the injunction.
He did it with such smooth unctious
That when the hustings chaffed,
And spoke against him hard,
The people said he was a card,
They made him president while the big plutes
Guffawed
Mourn, mourn for Taft.

Bring forth the dulcimer,
Bring forth the sackbut,
Bring forth the shawms,
Bring anything that calms.
He was a friend to Mulciber,
A foe to every crack out,
He never rode afoot,
When anarchy and strike arose,
And union labor and such foes
Were out for graft.
He smote them as he laughed,
Did Taft.
Go tell Ed Neckles
The news that chills the cockles
Of law and order's heart.
See John Fitzpatrick quick,
Take him aside, apart;
Hold tenderly his hand.
Great grief is on the land
And on the Philippines;
And other iles at sea,
A poised shaft
Has pierced the heart of liberty—
Mourn loud for Taft.

CHICAGO FEDERATIONIST.

IN A NUTSHELL

Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the ancient gentes.—Lewis H. Morgan.

Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy.—United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

If any man can convince me and bring home to me that I do not think or act aright, gladly will I change; for I search after Truth, by which man never yet was harmed. But he is harmed who abideth still in his deception and ignorance.—Marcus Aurelius.

We are not in politics to preserve an unjust system, humanising the cruelties in which it results, but to make the workers conscious of their wrongs and united in their aim to obtain a just system.—Colonel J. Wedgwood, British Labor M.P.

The Socialist seeks to educate into community and co-operative frames of mind.—Ramsay MacDonald.

Do not be too moral; you may cheat yourself out of something. Aim above morality. Be not simply good; be good for something.—H. D. Thoreau.

Whalen, Menace To Peace

By Harriet Stanton Blatch

SOME radicals in America like to have the biggest thing of its kind. If we get a church bell, we want to own the noisiest in the city. Our railways must have more mileage than those of any other state in the union. Civic pride demands the highest building in the world. We are 100 per cent. Americans in all such aspirations.

We are filled with chagrin, therefore, that when we enter the dictator contest we make so poor a showing. Compared with Rome's Mussolini how puny is our Whalen.

But I do not advise because he is short on brains, common sense and knowledge of human nature, he is negligible. He is small, but so are microbes. The proper thing to do with a microbe is not to ignore it, but get rid of it. Whalen is dangerous not in and of himself but because he has at his command at a critical moment thousands of policemen of whose legitimate use he knows nothing, in the service of a citizenship of whose guaranteed constitutional rights he knows less.

Don't blame this well-dressed young man. Experience has probably not acquainted him with the difference between a bill of Wamakers and a Bill of Rights. He is always concerned with dress, yesterday with the policeman's cap, today the uniform for a taxi-driver. His is a haberdasher's point of view. Keep the fashions changing and inaugurate prosperity.

That's not the type needed at the head of the police in a great cosmopolitan city in a time of unprecedented unemployment. Grover Whalen is a danger. This is no time to have a commissioner who sends his force in plain clothes to spy on the political parties of the workers, to warn employers against them, to mouse round to the end of having children, whose opinions don't suit him, turned out of the Public Schools, to have his patrolmen at outdoor rallies carry provocative banners, and go so far in their play-acting as to pretend to be Communists and attack uniformed policemen. Whalen was unwise enough to order his men to do these things but fool enough to talk of them. Let us lead him out of the city government, before he leads the city into chaos.

Thurlow Weed, Boss

JAMES O'NEAL has an article in the March number of The American Mercury bearing the title, "The Dictator." It is a biographical study of Thurlow Weed, once the great Whig boss of New York State, based upon the changing economic history of the state from the early thirties down to the decade following the Civil War.

Weed served various types of ruling property interests during this period, the powerful large landed interests until they were overthrown as a result of the riotous twenty years before the Civil War, the aristocratic merchant princes of New York City in alliance with the municipal magistrates; then the class of manufacturers with their banking allies who became the ruling groups after the Civil War.

Oneal portrays Weed as one of the most shrewd political generals in American politics also as one who represented the old feudal traditions of aristocracy in the old Europe as well as the colonial gentlemen before the days of the American Revolution. Weed's career in politics is traced through a number of these economic changes and his skill in adjusting his views to the needs of each new ruling class is traced from era to era.

Beginning life as the child of extremely poor parents, Weed became a noted Warwick in American political life. His views of the working class, expressed with remarkable candor in his old age, reveal a politician who understood that law and politics and legislation were intended for those who own property. Weed frankly declared that working people should be content to serve their "betters" in the lower walks of life and that their votes should be given for the happiness of their "betters."

Weed was a contemporary of Horace Greeley and the contrasting views of the feudalist and the radical are brought out in the article.

Progressive Printers To Meet Saturday

A meeting of the Progressive Printing Trades Group will be held on Saturday, March 22, at 2:30 p. m., at the Cooperative House, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

Some of the outstanding problems facing the printing trades, such as unemployment resulting from mechanization were discussed at the last meeting, at which it was decided to call another meeting to map out a program of progressive action in the printing industry. Everyone engaged in this industry—compositors, pressmen, lithographers, bindery workers, etc., are invited to be present.

By Jessie Stephen

IN MY previous article I dealt, rather sketchily it is true, with the British Labor Government's attempts to give immediate temporary unemployment relief. I now desire to touch upon those more permanent schemes which it is discussing. Obviously, temporary schemes, however admirable, will not take us very far. If that were all we were prepared to do, by the time another two or three years had passed over our heads the position would be more acute than ever.

Although it may not be generally recognized, Premier MacDonald's attempts to scale down expenditure on armaments and to promote the cause of peace is one angle of the desire to reach a more enduring solution of the unemployment problem. Britain spends 3 per cent. of her total national income in paying for old wars or preparing for new ones. Nearly two thirds of all taxation raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is mortgaged for such purposes. Success in getting all countries to agree to progressive reduction in armaments must in the very nature of things, release huge sums of money for constructive social purposes. The cost of a single battleship like the Rodney would provide the wherewithal to build at least 12,000 working class houses.

Apart altogether from this aspect of the question, it would open the way for a great and rapid development of economic co-operation between the nations themselves. Recognition of Russia, now a accomplished fact, will secure for Britain a fair share in what is potentially one of the greatest world markets for those manufactured goods which our country is best able to supply. The undoubted benefit which accrued from our recognition of Russia in 1924, it would be foolish to deny. In the fishing industry for instance, where wages prior to 1924 had fallen to an average of seven and a half dollars a week with half the industry unemployed, began to rise rapidly, and before Labor left office in October of the same year, the average