

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Strong Hand in India—An International View of the Tariff of Abominations—Roosevelt's Tammany Leanings—Hoover Sees Prosperity Returned, and the Market Crashes

BRITISH LABOR AND INDIA

THE noisy advocates of the 'strong hand' will be delighted (by Gandhi's arrest). This, according to their creed, is the way to deal with the discontents of subject people. Is it? It has been tried again and again. But the results surely have been anything but advertisements for the method. Ireland—America—Russia. Turn where you will, the records of coercion are records of failure. The historic victories have been those of bold conciliation.

These are the words of the London *Daily Herald*, organ of the British Labor Party. They give ground for hope that the Party will find some honorable way out of the tragically difficult situation which it has inherited in India. To believe otherwise, to think the Labor government may go down in history as the ruthless policeman who successfully or unsuccessfully tried to suppress India's aspiration for freedom, is to believe that international Socialism will have received in the house of its friends a wound that its enemies could not possibly inflict. It would almost seem there were some Satanic lord of the universe, some grim and cynical cosmic jester, to order affairs that the MacDonald, who opposed the World War should be the champion of British imperialism in India, and that the party which has advocated the emancipation of the worker in India should divert the country's thought and energy and resources to maintaining by military force the hated power of the British Raj in India. Truly the only hope is a policy of bold conciliation which might more effectively have been tried some months ago but which it is never too late to begin although every day's delay makes it harder.

MRS. McCORMICK'S FIRST INSTALMENT

THAT \$252,000 which Mrs. McCormick says she personally spent in Illinois plus several thousand more spent in her behalf makes it clear enough that she owed her nomination not to any issue like the world court but to money plus organization. It is fairly possible that she spent the money legitimately but that primaries cost so much in our great industrial states means that the dice are loaded against any real democracy. It is easier to fight the old parties on the outside on the basis of a principle and a program than to try to capture them against such battalions of dollars.

THE TARIFF AND INTERNATIONALISM

OVER a thousand economists who, of course, don't count with Congress for one thousandth as much as one thousand log rollers, have formally denounced the present tariff bill as hurtful to the consumers, likely to increase rather than decrease unemployment by checking our export trade and hence of dubious value to producers in factories or on farms. Other authorities are telling us that the present tariff bill is likely to cost the consumers a billion dollars a year! This is an argument against the whole measure and not against certain parts of it. It is an argument based on the legitimate self interest of the American people.

But those of us who have any real sense other than the merest sentiment of a genuine solidarity of workers which must cross national lines cannot approach the tariff wholly as a national problem. When 20,000 French workers parade in protest against prohibitive duties on French lace we are concerned not merely because France immediately talked retaliation on American automobiles—although that was enough to make Congress bring back the lace tariff to its old level. We are concerned for the fate of fellow workers reduced without warning to something like permanent unemployment by cutting off their market. What a price for building up an artificial industry here!

The case of the French lace makers was extreme. In less extreme cases it may be possible that the fears of Canadian, Swiss, Argentine and other farmers and workers whose governments have protested will not be wholly borne out by facts. But those fears and those protests endanger friendly relations and make talk of any solidarity of workers a sorry joke. A tariff that in the long run is not likely to help the United States is likely to hurt other countries and certainly check the growth of goodwill. Which is another way of saying that few big economic problems today are wholly national. Even if high duties for manufacturers and debentures for farmers seem to give them a temporary prosperity which now seems lacking they will not and cannot be strong enough to build 'round American prosperity a wall against world misery. World unemployment and world exploitation must be opposed by an intelligent international solidarity of workers. To create this solidarity and make it efficient will not be easy. At least it ought to inspire opposition to the proposed tariff of abominations now in its final throes at Washington.

ALLOCATING RAW MATERIALS

A STRIKING example of the economic interdependence of the world was given by a speaker at the recent meeting of the American Academy of Political Science who said that the hotel ballroom in which he spoke could comfortably hold the men who control the world supply of minerals. These men are beyond any effective control by tariffs or other purely nationalist devices. Indeed nationalism is more likely to lead them to compete among themselves for even more monopolistic power at the possible cost of provoking war itself. But suppose that instead they make common cause across national boundaries. Then indeed they may block national wars, but at a price of a world despotism greater than that of any of the most famous conquerors of history, for in their hands are the minerals on which the machine age basically depends. No merely national Socialism even in so strong a country as the United States will be good enough to solve this problem. A peaceful and prosperous world will require us to come by some device to some form of allocation of raw materials, especially including mineral wealth, under international control, not for the profit of a few but for the peace and prosperity of us all.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT TO DATE

OPEN talk of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt as the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency makes an examination of his record as Governor a question of national importance. The bills which he has signed and vetoed furnish a good index to the quality of his progressivism.

Unquestionably, in his vetoes of certain Republican measures for strengthening the public utility law he has made a vigorous statement of the case against the public utilities. He has by no means made an equally vigorous statement of an adequate positive program. What we want to know is not so much how the public utility companies exploit us as what a Democratic Governor who wants to be President would do about it. How far does he think fundamentally, regulation or ownership? What does he think State action can go and where must Federal action come in? Progressives who want a valid program of action instead of a pathetic faith in some new Moses to lead them out of the wilderness must press these questions.

But by no means all of Governor Roosevelt's vetoes have been of the quality of his public utility vetoes. Governor Roosevelt has also vetoed every measure distasteful to Tammany Hall. The list includes laws to make election frauds a little more difficult, a law to prevent such a salary grab as the Walker administration pulled off, and a reapportionment law which would reduce the representation of Tammany in accordance with population. The Governor has been able to rationalize these vetoes in some fashion or other. Some of the bills were indeed open to criticism. Yet it is a singular thing that he has always found criticism effective when they applied to bills disliked by Tammany. As the Citizens' Union has pointed out, consciously or unconsciously he has applied to most of these bills principles quite different from those he has used when Tammany has not been involved. It is not merely a question of vetoes. The Governor signed a bill increasing the pay of the Sheriff of Bronx County, the political balliwick of his political adviser, the Secretary of State, Eddie Flynn. This in spite of the fact that the existence and salaries of five Sheriffs without doing anything the police department couldn't do any particular reason for existence in the five counties which compose greater New York is a public scandal. The city must even borrow money to pay this raise to an unnecessary Sheriff since the budget has already been made up.

Still another astonishing act of the Governor was his signature to a bill which was a pet hobby of Woodrow Wilson's friend and financial adviser, Mr. Baruch. This bill creates a commission to

(Continued on Page Two)

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Parker Defeated: What Next?

Labor's Battle Showed Weakness of Non-Partisan Policies And Strength of Fighting Spirit

Metcalf Heads Ticket In Wisconsin

Best State Convention In Years Places Strong Slate and Platform In The Field

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—With the nomination of Frank B. Metcalf for Governor and adoption of a ringing platform, the state convention of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin concluded a two-day session Sunday night. Among the delegates from all over the state there were four Socialist mayors. These included Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee; Rae Weaver of Beaver Dam; Martin Gorgensen of Manitowish; and R. I. Anderson of Iowa.

The delegates to the convention were larger in number than at any convention in recent years and the interest in the party is on the increase since the collapse of "prosperity." A hard battle will be waged against the candidates of the capitalist parties. The Socialist ticket is as follows:

For Governor—Frank B. Metcalf of Milwaukee.

For Lieutenant Governor—John Severin of Sheboygan.

For State Treasurer—Mrs. Percy Steuber of Mayville.

For Secretary of State—Emil Tesch of Wausau.

For Attorney General—Gled Turner of Madison.

The pent-up enthusiasm that had been developing all through the convention burst forth when Frank B. Metcalf was nominated. The nominee declared himself ready for a fight to win and carry the truths of Socialism to the four corners of the state.

Metcalf Trade Unionist

Metcalf is known throughout the state for his leading work in the legislature during the sessions from 1911 to 1919. He was floor leader in the assembly during the latter session. He has a long record for labor bills passed and is also remembered for his fight against the state rail commission. Metcalf came to Wisconsin in 1905.

He was organizer of the Federated Trades Council and on the board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. For years he has been a member of the Milwaukee county board, representing the 17th ward.

The ticket nominated is a splendid one. No better candidate could have been nominated for Governor than Metcalf with his splendid service to labor's economic and political movement. The state ticket will be supplemented with equally strong candidates for congress, county offices, and the state legislature, and a strong campaign will be waged.

When Otto Hauser, Socialist candidate for governor in 1928, faced the convention for the opening address he looked into the eyes of the delegates and saw a sea of faces that filled every seat and occupied such space as could be found at the rear of the hall.

"Socialism is the natural next step in the rise of the human race," said Hauser. "The means to bring it about lie in the hands of the working class. Never before did we younger Socialists have the opportunity we have today to carry on a successful propaganda."

Tribute to Berger

Mayor Hoan paid a moving tribute to the late Victor L. Berger and then turned to the 10-cent fare decision which had staggered Milwaukee by its outrageous provisions. That action, he said, would put from \$400,000 to \$800,000 into the hands of a trust.

Among the other speakers were Mayor Weaver of Beaver Dam and W. R. Snow, formerly state secretary of Illinois, and now organizing the state department in Racine and Kenosha.

Resolutions were adopted in behalf of Mooney and Billings and the Centralia prisoners; urging the trade unions to support the party of their class; pledging support to the Milwaukee Leader; paying a tribute to the late Victor L. Berger, Frederick Brockhausen and Jacob Rummel; supporting the Norris Muscle Shoals bill; and instructing the state committee to appoint a committee on Y. P. S. L. affairs. One resolution on the industrial crisis in part reads:

"Resolved, that the Socialist party of Wisconsin in convention assembled, call upon the governments of the United States and

(Continued on Page Two)

THE nomination of John J. Parker to be an Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court has been rejected by a vote of 41 to 39. The court for years has had a majority of reactionaries and the defeat of Parker does not change the character of that body.

And yet we rejoice that Judge Parker has failed of his ambition. We are glad that the President who nominated him has also suffered a defeat. Within fourteen months of its ascension to office the Hoover Administration is shaken by this blow and by the prostration of the industrial system which he represents.

Judge Parker is not the only judge who has given judicial approval to that monstrous absurdity known as the "yellow dog" contract. He is not the only judge who has read racial prejudice into his opinions. There are others like him. It remains to be seen what other judge President Hoover picks for the supreme bench.

But there are other aspects of this rejection of the Hoover appointment that must be remembered. The New Leader stated a few weeks ago that it is doubtful whether Parker could be defeated if the appointment came a few months after the fall elections. Coming before these elections Hoover offended some Senators who are up for election. With the tide running against the administration the professional brokers have no desire to add to the dissatisfaction.

Then there is the vote cast in the Senate on Wednesday, 80 votes in a total of 96 and Parker defeated by the narrow margin of two votes. What became of the other 16 Senators? They were "paired," 8 for and 8 against. We shall return to these 80 votes later on.

There were 29 Republican Senators and 10 Democratic Senators recorded for Parker. There were 17 Republicans and 23 Democrats recorded against Parker. There was no clear party division and no clear party issue involved in the vote. There are "yellow dog" Democrats as well as "yellow dog" Republicans and no Senator will be read out of either party for having voted for Parker.

The vote may be considered from another point of view. On Labor Day of last year, President Green of the American Federation of Labor claimed a majority in both houses for Labor. This claim was repeated in the report of the Executive Council to the Toronto convention. The assertion brought no demonstration at Toronto. The claim brought no rejoicing in Labor ranks elsewhere. We now have an opportunity to test this claim.

It is claimed that 39 members of the Senate have a 100 per cent record for Labor and 15 members are "exceedingly fair with Labor." That makes a total of 54 Senators that are supposed to be solid with Labor but the total vote mustered against Parker was 41. What became of the other 13 "Labor" members? And who are they? Were some of them ranged with Parker or did they have so little interest in the matter as not to take the trouble to be present?

13,000 Rally In New York On May Day

Inspiring Socialist Demonstration Hears Labor Message in Address and Pageant

SELDOM in recent years has New York City seen such an enthusiastic demonstration as that which took place on May Day when from 12,000 to 13,000 Socialists rallied at the New York Coliseum in celebration of labor's international holiday. Though the size of the audience fell below that which attended last year's demonstration in Madison Square Garden, this year's May Day celebration fully surpassed any other in the last ten years in demonstration of Socialist spirit.

A stirring pageant that presented peoples songs and dances of 10 nations and races, ending with several choruses, the audience and a large band playing "The Internationale" held the audience in its chairs until 6 p.m. Most of the workers were in the hall by 12:30 noon.

Abraham I. Shipplaff opened the meeting and presided. In a few well-chosen words he enunciated the spirit of working-class idealism that is symbolized by May Day. He took the opportunity to voice the protest of the audience against the behavior of the Board of Education which had stationed truant officers at the door of the Coliseum where they stopped a number of children and attempted to take them back to their schools. Shipplaff declared the Socialist Party would fight the action of the educational authorities and offered parents of children the free services of the party. Early in the meeting, the truant officers, on the demands of Max Delson and Louis Waldman, had been forced to desist from their activities in the vicinity of the hall.

Parker Is Denounced
Waldman, introduced by Shipplaff as the first speaker, sounded the keynote of the meeting when he demanded that state and nation enact a system of unemployment insurance. He coupled this with a demand for the enactment of a system of social insurance which would afford protection for

(Continued on Page Two)

Socialist Women's Kitchen Feeds Mothers And Children

By Pauline Newman

THE belief of many that unemployment is on the decrease is found by the Women's Section of the New York Socialist Party to be only a fancy on the part of some optimists. When hundreds of self-respecting looking men and women are forced to stand in line waiting for a morsel of food—unemployment is still much with us.

Our daily bread line tells the story of fruitless job-hunting, of despair, of hopelessness and of hunger. For the first time in New York City, I think, women and children have appeared in a bread line. Is it perhaps because the Emergency Kitchen is conducted by women? However this may be—it hurts to see a youngster of seven in a bread line with his mother! No child of so sensitive an age should have to undergo such humiliation! And how hungry mother and boy were! Two helpings of a substantial stew, bread and coffee, (milk for the boy) appeased their hunger. And the aged! How grateful for a second helping.

Our Emergency Kitchen looks different from the Bowery kind. The walls are decorated with fine and thought-provoking English labor posters used in their last general elections. Our own posters with pertinent questions such as—"Why, in the richest nation of the

world, should men, women, and children go hungry?" or "When men and women are willing to work, why deny them a job?" A leaflet on social insurance is also given to each person as he comes in. These leaflets are read and kept, and some of them ask for more to give them to their fellow sufferers.

Whatever theory one may hold concerning whether or not this kind of work should be done by Socialists, when one watches these men, women, and children devour the food—one is very glad to be of help to those who through no fault of their own are face to face with starvation. Theories are sometimes forgotten—deeds are remembered.

The other day, the Emergency Kitchen fed more than five hundred, men women and children, in less than four hours. In conversation with those on the line, it was found that none were habitual idlers. They are skilled mechanics, pharmacists, department store salesmen, etc. Several trade unions and wholesale grocers have responded to appeals for food and funds to carry on the work of the kitchen. More food and money is needed. Contributions should be sent to Mrs. Rachel Panken, 7 East 15th street, or to Pauline M. Newman, at 128 West 11th street.

Shopmen Agree to Spread Layoff Around

MILWAUKEE—(F.P.)—Instead of having shop forces on the Milwaukee road cut 20 per cent all around, the unions have reluctantly agreed to a complete 5-day layoff in May and another in June. This spreads the idleness over the whole force instead of singling out every fifth victim.

Big 6 Cancels \$45,000 Loan to Albany Printers

ALBANY, N. Y. (F.P.)—One of the biggest single gifts in trade union history was made when Typographical Local 6—Big Six of New York—turned over a note of \$45,000 to the Albany Typographical Union for destruction. The loan was made during the Albany printers' strike of 1928, to finance publication of the Albany Daily Citizen, union paper.

(Continued on Page Two)

It is useless to ignore these questions for they are vital. Had the Executive Council named the Senators supposed to be pro-Labor we would today be able to point out the 13 who failed to respond. What test is used to determine the Labor views of members of Congress? This has never been revealed, but whatever it is it failed in at least 13 members of the upper house. As for others who voted against Parker, who can tell how many would have voted for him if the issue came up after the fall elections?

The A. F. of L. once provided a test. Beginning in 1906 it concentrated on the election of "union card men." That test continued for about 15 years and was abandoned about 1922. Why? Measured by this test the results were a failure. A vague and indefinite standard is now the rule and what it is no one knows. For this reason members of Congress are lumped together, some as having a "100 per cent record" and others as being "exceedingly fair." We are left to guess who the men are and what their records are. If 13 go astray in one of the most crucial issues that has ever faced organized workers it is certain that the test now used isn't of much importance to the working class.

It is just such a vague and indefinite standard that also guides the railroad organizations that are outside of the A. F. of L. Following this course, these unions selected Hoover himself for support in 1928 and the man they chose is the man who stood by his "yellow dog" appointment to the end! The funds and energy put into the campaign for Hoover by the railroad unions has for its net result just that and nothing more. Even these unions had to fight to undo the work they did in 1928.

We repeat, we are glad that Parker has not been confirmed but political action by the organized workers is so chaotic, so contradictory, and its choice of candidates, based upon a test that is unknown, is so vague and uncertain, that this action does not have the cohesion of a rope of sand. It is blind groping in the dark. The next week or month may bring to the supreme bench another man just as reactionary as Parker but with views not so conspicuous. As a matter of fact, there isn't much to choose between Parker and Hughes and the latter has a snug berth in the Supreme Court for life.

There is the further fact that within the A. F. of L. are men like Lewis and Feeney who were Hoover men. Even Matthew Woll is credited with inducing the Executive Council from withholding endorsement of the General Motors candidate in 1928 because Woll has an affection for Hoover.

A fortunate combination of circumstances rather than any power of organized workers has by a narrow margin kept Parker off the supreme bench. We are glad that this combination, but organized labor cannot afford to drift its present chaotic political course forever. A party of our own will unite us in principle and action. Nothing else will.

(Continued on Page Two)

Anthracite Miners Kick Lewis Traces

Tri-District Convention Frames Own Series of Demands to Be Made on Operators

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HAZELTON, Pa.—Riding rough-shod over efforts of International President John L. Lewis to dominate the convention, the anthracite miners delegates here framed a program of demands which features provisions for tightening the existing agreement as a result of which the hard coal miners have suffered losses in wages and working conditions. The revolt against Lewis at one point refused him the floor to speak. On important questions he was outvoted five to one.

When the convention of the three anthracite districts opened May 1st, it appeared that Lewis was in complete control. This illusion was soon shattered. Lewis faced a rank and file rebellion against insistent reports that he had already reached an agreement with operators to renew the present contract. Hardly had he taken over permanent chairmanship of the convention to launch into a talk than delegates demanded he restrict himself to 10 minutes, the limit his committee imposed on speakers from the floor. "We didn't come here to sit and listen to a bunch of fellows blowing their own horns for an hour and a half," remarked one delegate.

Revolt against the Lewis regime came near to victory the first day when Pres. Edward McCrone of the Scranton Central Labor Union, speaking for the union grievance committee of the Hudson Coal Co.'s 7,000 miners, threw administration forces into confusion with a demand for the printing of resolutions. The grievance committee, with important resolutions before the convention to be incorporated in union demands in the next agreement with the operators, was wary of the administration's resolutions committee. Pres. Lewis adjourned the convention for the day rather than face an immediate vote.

But Lewis succeeded only in staving off defeat, and when it

(Continued on Page Three)

Parker Fight Is Ascribed To Socialism

Fess Pays Great Compliment to Party—Labor and Negro Revolt Was Club Over Senator's Head

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—(F.P.)—By a roll call vote of 41 to 39, the roll call vote of 41 to 39, ate rejected, May 7, President Hoover's nomination of Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, sponsor of the "yellow dog" contract injunction in the mine workers' struggles for a living wage in West Virginia, to a place on the Supreme Court.

After many days of debate which centered around the fact that Parker had rendered, in the Red Jacket case, a decision similar to the Dred Scott decision upholding chattel slavery, the argument had closed with Borah, Johnson and Shipstead asserting that the issue was human liberty. Johnson and Borah quoted, with telling effect, Lincoln's declaration after the Supreme Court had rendered its infamous decision in the Dred Scott case: "We mean to reverse this decision. It is based on a false statement of the facts."

While Parker's political activity in North Carolina was brought up by Johnson, as showing that the appointment was in fact political and not for merit, the fact that Parker had sought to deny to Negroes the rights guaranteed them by the 15th Amendment was not discussed in the closing days of the contest. Senators on the Republican side who had threatened or promised to vote against Parker because he had offended the Negro voters forgot their fears and lined up with the power trust and lobbyists for the power trust and spokesmen of the Republican committee were busy among them, and none deserted. But with every hour the storm of protest from organized labor and the liberal and radical groups throughout the country against yellow dog contract slavery, rose higher. The final rollcall was a measure of the effect of this class-protest.

How They Voted

Glass of Virginia and Simmons of North Carolina, making the final pro-Parker speeches from the Democratic side, confessed that the Parker issue was a labor issue. They tried to deny that Parker had shown himself prejudiced against the workers' rights. They denied that he had done more than "follow the Supreme Court" in his Red Jacket decision—a claim which Johnson and Borah shattered in two of the most eloquent brief arguments they ever have delivered. The rollcall showed that doubtful senators from states where rail labor and building labor is organized had agreed with Borah, that the Senate was about to vote its own verdict on yellow dog bondage.

Senator Fess, of Ohio, drudge in the household of the Hoover administration, paid the Socialist Party the great compliment of ascribing the opposition to Parker as based on "Socialism." The Socialist Party was among the first to join in the attack on Parker's nomination.

Voting or paired in favor of the yellow dog contract judge were: Allen, Baird, Bingham, Blease, Broussard, Dale, Fess, Fletcher, Gillett, Glass, Goff, Goldsborough, Gould, Greene, Grundy, Hale, Harrison, Hastings, Hatfield, Hebert, Jones, Keon, Keyes, King, McCulloch, Metcalf, Moses, Norbeck, Odell, Overman, Patterson, Phipps, Ransdell, Reed, Shortridge, Stephens, Smith, Smoot, Steck, Stephens, Sullivan, Swanson, Thomas of Idaho, Townsend, Walcott, Waterman and Watson—47.

Against the injunction were Ashurst, Barkley, Black, Blaine, Borah, Bratton, Brock, Brookhart, Capper, Caraway, Connally, Copeland, Couzens, Cutting, Deneen, Dill, Frazier, George, Glenn, Harris, Hawes, Hayden, Hefflin, Howell, Johnson, Kendrick, LaFollette, McKellar, McNary, McMaster, Norris, Nye, Pine, Pittman, Robinson of Arkansas, Robinson of Indiana, Robinson of Kentucky, Schall, Sheppard, Shipstead, Stetson, Thomas of Oklahoma, Trammell, Tydings, Vandenberg, Wagner, Walsh of Massachusetts, Walsh of Montana, and Wheeler—49.

Both Democratic senators from

(Continued on Page Three)

Labor, Capital Can't Find Prosperity

Pres. Hoover's Address Is Followed by New Slump on the Stock Exchange

PRES. HOOVER'S latest prosperity boast, as spread before the open shop U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, is as false as his other periodic prosperity tales since last fall when the industrial depression started. This is the unanimous consensus of the country's leading financial weekly, *the Wall Street Journal*, which in its editorial on the President's address, said: "The second quarter of the year," comments the *Journal*, "financial weekly of the New York Times," "opening with business activity approximately at the depression level of last December, offers no reasonable prospect of other than an uneven and low progress out of the valley of the current business cycle. The normal relations of production and consumption have been disorganized. Productive facilities, and all commodities including bank credit as used, are present in excess. The new stabilization that needs to be worked out is threatened by existing cheap money policy and rising speculation."

Annalist Is Gloomy
The *Annalist* sees a "broad valley of depression out of which business is not likely to emerge in less than six months or so." Hitting directly at the Hoover prosperity pronouncements, the *Wall St. weekly* says: "Another point to be noted is the indubitable fact of a reaction among business men against the cheerful business propaganda initiated at Washington. The ironical fashion in which business events have been reported successive 'boom' official statements from Washington has had its logical effect on the business mind—it has produced a conviction not only that the government does not know the facts, but that the facts are probably rather worse than has been generally supposed even outside of Washington."

The *Annalist* sees also in the Federal Reserve Board's cheap money program a direct incitation to the "overproduction" which caused the present debacle. The only cure, in the view of this financial paper, in such an era when there is too much capital, is to reduce profits and restrain stock market speculation.

The *Annalist* index of business activity for March, its latest figure, shows business even below the lowest previous mark of December. Freight car loadings, electric power production, cotton and wool consumption, and soft coal and zinc production, were all below the December figure.

Labor Not Impressed
Sec. James C. Quinn of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council declared that while spring had brought a certain seasonal upswing in employment of union members, it was far below the usual advance while unemployment as a whole remains "menacing." The Emergency Conference of Unemployment formed by needy trades and other progressive unions, reported no change yet from the first three months of the year. With both men and women retrenching first of all on new clothing in an era of depression, the clothing trade reported a quarter to a half of their members jobless.

"Last year at this time the employment agencies were pulling men off the streets to get 'em to go to the country," said a jobless worker on the Bowery. "They hollered at me from the doorway—come on in and get a job. I told 'em I was working, why should I go home on a railroad? They wanted to pull me in. This year—you can't get jobs. Agencies are

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FOR GOVERNOR of Wisconsin on the Socialist Party Ticket.



FRANK B. METCALFE

Wisconsin Socialists Nominate Metcalfe

(Continued on Page Three)
The separate states to take over the idle industries and the raw materials, and place them in charge of industrial boards to be operated for the benefit of all instead of for the profits of a few."

Vigorous Platform Adopted
The state platform is one of the strongest ever adopted by Wisconsin Socialists. It declares that capitalism "owns both of the old parties, the courts and the national and state executives. Never before has wealth so rapidly accumulated in the hands of a few resulting in a loss of security to the many."

"This is fastening a new slavery upon us, mortgaging our future, and curtailing our opportunities to expand and develop."
"We witness the cruel and grotesque spectacle of millions of men, women and children suffering for the necessities of life—in a country with boundless resources. The capitalist system has failed even to keep its own machinery going. The Socialist party demands that the production of this country shall be removed from the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only aim is to exploit us to the last limit of our endurance, without regard to human life or welfare."

The immediate measures of relief demanded in the platform include public ownership of the instruments of production, communication, distribution, and all natural resources; public development of water power; popular election of judges; revision of the tax system; public work to be done by direct employment; democracy in education; abolition of the railroad commission; extension of insurance to include disability, sickness, accidents, unemployment, old age and workmen's compensation; government manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages; complete civil rights.

The state committee will immediately plan for a vigorous statewide campaign.

Husky Former Senator Gets \$250 War Pension

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—Rice Means, former Klan Senator from Colorado and head of the United Spanish War Veterans, is one of the busiest and healthiest-looking lobbyists in Washington, but he is drawing a war pension of \$250 a month, it was disclosed during the House debate on the Rankin pension bill which has just gone to the Senate.

charging fees. They never did that on the Bowery."

The director of one of the missions confirmed this. "55 for a job, at the agency near us," he said. "Last year that outfit sent 200-400 men a day, and the companies would pay to get them."

"We handle just about five jobs a day," said an employment agent. "Last year it was 100, 110, 120." "Worst winter in years," said Col. Winchell, at Salvation Army headquarters. Though he had heard things were opening up this week, he admitted the streets looked as full of jobless as a month ago. "Over 85% of the men, we find, will do any work they can get," said the colonel. "But no wonder they get bitter. Pay \$5 for a job, and then they may get out in the country and be fired after working 2 weeks. It's just like slavery."

1,500 Rally At Cleveland May Day Meet

Address by Thomas, Socialist Songs Mark Inspiring Demonstration — All Literature Sold

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND.—The Cleveland Socialist movement viewed its most inspiring mass meeting in ten years Thursday evening, May 1. Fifteen hundred people jammed the Slovenian National Home to celebrate labor's international holiday.

The Yugoslav Male Chorus opened the program with the singing of the "Internationale" in which the audience enthusiastically joined. After singing another song they were followed by the Collingwood branch of the Yugoslav Federation who also sang two songs. The chorus of 120 voices of the Workmen's Circle school children then sang a repertoire of four songs.

Noah Mandelkern, former Socialist councilman, ousted during the war, chairman of the evening, introduced Joseph Martinek, editor of the *"American Labor News."* Martinek stressed the need of an old-age pension bill, and a more united Socialist and labor movement. He was followed by the Bohemian Dramatic Singing Society, "Vojan," who rendered two songs.

Thomas Gets Ovation
Charles White, noted Negro lawyer and leader, who reviewed the Judge Parker case, followed. His speech was interrupted by the tremendous ovation that the enthusiastic audience gave Norman Thomas as he entered the auditorium. After White, the D. T. J., Bohemian Labor Sports Union, gave a series of tableaux finishing up by building a huge pyramid and the top man waving the red flag.

A resolution demanding the six-hour day, five-day week, unemployment insurance and old-age pension, repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, and non-confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench, was unanimously passed by the audience. Another resolution congratulating Mother Jones on her 100th birthday was passed. In appreciation of her services to the cause of labor, it was voted to send her a basket of flowers. Three songs were then rendered by the Young People's Socialist League.

All Literature Sold
Norman Thomas, who outlined the program of the Socialist Party in America, then spoke. He told of the need of old age pensions and unemployment insurance, "not as charity but as a matter of justice to the working class." "But this is not all we want," said Thomas. "It is only a step towards our ultimate goal—the cooperative commonwealth." That the state was to blame for the burning of 322 prisoners in the Ohio State penitentiary was his contention when discussing the catastrophe.

In spite of all the literature ordered there were many who wanted to buy some but who could not because of the shortage. This meeting has removed all doubt from the minds of our pessimistic comrades who believe the Cleveland movement is on the downward grade.

Communists Disappointed
The Cleveland Communists attempted to stage a demonstration on the Public Square which drew about 1,000 curious spectators. The Communists divided into five different meetings. In spite of advocacy of race equality they held a special "Jim-crow" meeting exclusively for Negroes. While the other meetings were for the white people. The parade in which about 300 participated lacked the enthusiasm of their March 6th parade.

The crowd very evidently showed that they were merely there to "be in on the fun" if there would be any. They impatiently moved from place to place. Very few listened to the speakers yelling themselves hoarse. Cleveland police were mobilized and ready for anything that might happen. Every policeman had to be on duty under threat of dismissal. They were all furnished with clubs and ready for action.

U. S. Guards armed with rifles and baseball bats guarded the Federal Reserve Bank. The two noses of machine guns that could easily be seen on the roof were held in readiness. But to everyone's surprise the Communists' disappointment, no riots took place. Communist enthusiasm and influence seems to be waning in Cleveland.

Huge Bridgeport Meeting for Thomas
Expected Tuesday
BRIDGEPORT.—As the culmination of a vigorous membership drive the Socialist Party organization in Bridgeport will hold a monster mass meeting next Tuesday evening, May 13th, in the Odd Fellows Temple, Broad and Gilbert streets, with Norman Thomas as the principal speaker.

Every effort has been made to make this meeting a success and the indications point to it as being the largest gathering of this nature held in Bridgeport since the war.

Senior Surveys Results Of N. E. C. Western Trip; Sees Big Party Gain

Urges Membership Look Ahead—Finds Old and Young Cooperating—Sees Sectional Criticism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—The meeting of the National Executive Committee, on the Pacific Coast has been a great boon to the Socialist movement in several respects, according to the report of Secretary Clarence Senior. He points out that this trip gave the western Socialists the first opportunity that they have had to see the members of the executive committee and it also gave the members of the committee the first opportunity that several of them have ever had of getting into first hand contact with the western members of the party.

In all 110 meetings, distributed as follows, were addressed: Comrade Hillquit 12, Oneal 15, Maurer 19, Hoan 24, Senior 40. The publicity attendant upon the trip was read by millions of subscribers of capitalist dailies who would not have read a word about Socialist activities otherwise. The folder in the national office which contains thousands of inches on Socialism and the party's work.

One new state organization was brought into the party, probably three new locals will result and the national secretary had conferences with numerous state and local secretaries about the party work. Every member of the committee was extremely heartened by the activity seen on the trip. "It shows us that there is a great deal more going on than we hear about in the national office," said Senior, "and that a strong and virile movement is being built up."

Finds Many New-Comers

"I made notes along the way," Senior said, "of the things I found which are militating against the growth and strength of the party. I would like to call the attention of the comrades to some of these things, so that they might see them and try to deal with them. On the part of the older comrades, particularly, there is a tendency to look back to the glorious days before the war when the party was in its height of activity and when it was a social and political force. Of course while we should examine what happened during this period for the experience on which to rebuild our movement, the attitude of looking back to those days with a sigh helps to chill the activity which is necessary before we are going to reach that same position and grow stronger again. Let us look forward to 1932 and 1936, rather than back to 1912!"

"One of the most encouraging signs seen was the growth in interest in Socialism among young people. In almost every community where I stopped there are young people coming into the movement and in very few places is there any friction between the young and the old. The older members of the party should check up on themselves, however, to see if they are giving a fair deal to the younger people who are coming into the party with a great deal of enthusiasm for things which may have been tried years ago and failed. That they failed ten or fifteen years ago does not mean that they should not be tried again at the present time."

"To some extent there is a homesickness for old phrases which are now outworn or which have been taken over by the Communists. It is time that the Socialists understood that they must build up a philosophy which will fit American working-class conditions and not have a hankering for speeches which are made in the old manner and which use the same content Socialist agitators

fifteen years ago used. I heard very militant Socialist speeches made, which were criticized by some persons because the speaker did not use the phrases to which the listener was accustomed."

Urges Better Contacts

"In several places local comrades were asking for suggestions on how to reorganize their local work. I asked them if they had been reading the series of articles being run in *The New Leader*, on how New York branches have pepped up their work. In most cases they had to admit that they had not. This is an indication of a very grave weakness. We do not read our own official organs which carry valuable suggestions. These articles by Marx Lewis should be studied by every branch."

"Very close to this is a mistake which weakens the party considerably. In many places I found that there was a great deal of activity, especially dealing with unemployment. In Duluth demands were made upon the city council to have it carry out a very well thought out plan of city construction work. This was given lots of space in the local newspapers and created quite a stir because it was so well planned. Nothing was heard in the national office about this until the secretary passed through Duluth."

"This is an inexcusable error on the part of any local that is carrying on activity. At least local papers can be clipped and the clippings sent to the national office if the secretary cannot take time to write. Word can thus be spread through the Socialist papers that activity is going on. Activity in one place generates activity in other places and it is just as important in building up the party for Atlanta to know what Duluth does, as it is for us to raise money."

The Sectional Differences

"In some places there was a rather strong spirit of provincialism and of dislike for comrades who are unfortunate enough to have to reside in New York City. Although it must be admitted that there is some ground of dislike of methods which New Yorkers sometimes use because they are not in step with the tempo of the rest of the country, there is absolutely no grounds for refusing to carry on party work because New Yorkers have taken the lead in starting or initiating it."

"It must be admitted by any person who wants to be thought of as having good judgment, that the comrades throughout the east have been more quick on the pick-up and better able to take advantage of social conditions than many of the comrades in the west. A younger group coming into the party in the west, however, is going to assure that more initiative will be present and that the Socialist party will again become a political factor in these cities, as it now is in some eastern cities."

"The west was once the backbone of the Socialist movement. Unless I am mistaken it will again become the section of the United States most conspicuous for its struggles for economic and political independence," Senior says in closing his statement.

Timely Topics

(Continued from Page One)
build up and administer the waters at Saratoga Springs. It is not a committee of investigation. It is a special commission to do what should have been done under the New York State constitution by a bureau in the appropriate State department. By signing this bill the Governor is beginning over again the erection of separate commissions which confuse and disorganize state government and give room for waste and graft. He is undoing the work which it was a proud boast of his predecessor and political sponsor, Al Smith, to have done. We urge liberals who are always more interested in a man than in a party to consider these things and then tell us whether the existence of Gov. Roosevelt on the Democratic horizon carrying with him so excessive a consciousness of obligation to the Democratic machine makes a progressive party of the workers called by the Socialist or any other name an unnecessary thing!"

THE ECONOMIC STORM IS NOT OVER
WARM weather and seasonal employment in some trades will partially alleviate the suffering of unemployment. But Gov. Roosevelt is right in warning Secretary Lamont that unemployment is by no means ended. Unemployment is a world-wide phenomenon which makes it a harder problem. It is likely to be increased under our capitalist system if owing to a shortage of gold prices tend to fall. Or, in other words, if the gold dollar can command more labor than at present. Here in the United States practically all the figures are adverse to any immediate return to prosperity. Corporate earnings are falling off. The money now in circulation has reached the lowest ebb for years. There is no new industry like the automobile industry to take up slack as it did after the war. Hoover's latest optimistic speech was immediately followed by a stock market crash on stocks which ought never to have been pushed so high on the basis of the facts. Public works and private building may help ease the strain but still we insist that not even from the standpoint of alleviation has any political leader rounded program which must among other things in the United States include unemployment insurance, preferably by the federal government.

6,000 Attend Chicago Rallies On May First

Eight Meetings Held—National Office Receives Reports of Other Successful Gatherings

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—Largest and most successful meetings in over ten years are the reports coming into the national office of the Socialist party from all over the country. In Chicago, eight meetings were held, with a total attendance of over 6,000.

The Cook County celebration was held in Workmen's Circle hall, with 2000 persons present. There was entertainment, mass singing, and pageantry. The University of Chicago Socialist and liberal clubs combined attracted over 500 to their meeting, where McAlister Coleman and Clarence Darrow spoke. Clarence Senior was the English speaker at both the Bohemian and Slovenian meetings, which had 1500 and 500 persons present, respectively.

The Polish comrades held two meetings, and the Italians and Lithuanians one each. In addition, the Amalgamated held a meeting. In Milwaukee, over a dozen meetings were held, the main one being Sunday, topping off a series held by branches, unions, fraternal organizations, and singing societies.

13,000 At New York May Day Meeting

(Continued from Page One)
The workers against old age, sickness and disability. Waldman's main points were later incorporated in a resolution adopted by the meeting.

The audience, in the course of an address by Jacob Panken, took a rising vote of protest against the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench. Others who spoke were Joseph Weinberg, president of the Workmen's Circle; Abraham Miller, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; N. Chanin, of the Jewish Socialist Verband; Algernon Lee, of the Rand School; B. Locker, of the Poale-Zion; Jacob Roberts, of the capmakers' union; Morris Feinstein, of the United Hebrew Trades; Senator Piotrowski, Socialist leader in Poland; Pauline Newman, of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party; and Julius Umanisky, of the Young Peoples' Socialist League.

Elaborate Pageant Given

The pageant which occupied the second half of the program was the unique feature of the demonstration. Nothing like it had been seen and heard at Socialist meetings in years. Largely through the efforts of Louis Stanley, Socialist and labor culture groups in and near the city, had been hunted down and brought back into party work. It is expected that a permanent association of persons interested in labor art will result from the pageant.

To the martial tunes of the Marseillaise, the some two hundred participants in the pageant paraded from the extreme end of the huge arena to the platform. Labor's struggles, first in a dance of slaves and then in a robot rhythm, opened the pageant. The Young Circle League then presented an offering called "Liberation." Songs and dances of many nations followed. Alice Crawford sang Negro work-songs. The audience listened on more and more but the length of the program prevented her from responding. Naquayuma and Mofist, two original American "reds," then presented a group of Indian dances. The group of Spanish songs and dances was particularly colorful. Pauline Koner appeared first in a spirited gypsy dance. Patricia Garcia sang some songs of her native Santo Domingo, and the Mexican Trio played native airs. A group of Mexican workers appeared in a dance, "Jarabe Tapatio." Ukrainian dances given by girls and boys of the Ukrainian National Home of Passaic, New Jersey, proved one of the brightest spots on the rich program. Towards the close, Miss Koner appeared again in a Russian mazurka. The first was a vigorous rendition of "The Internationale," given not once but three times.

Party Arranged Meeting
The meeting was organized by the Socialist Party in cooperation with the Emergency Conference on Unemployment, representing a number of large unions and the Workmen's Circle. Julius Gerber, was in charge of the demonstration. Gerber gave liberal praise to those who helped make the meeting a success.

"I want to take this occasion," Gerber said, "to thank all members of the various labor organizations and the comrades of the Socialist Party for the work they have done to make the Coliseum meeting a success. I want particularly to express my appreciation to Comrade Di Rossi and the League, Comrade Comrade Young Circle Workmen's Circle Foner, and to Comrades Elizabeth Stuyvesant and Louis Stanley for their work in training the boys and girls for the pageant and arranging and managing the whole program. It was a good job well done and should act as an inspiration to show us what can be done if we only try."

Harvard Liberals To Pay Scrubwomen

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. (F.P.)—Harvard faculty members and students will collect money for twenty scrubwomen whom the university fired because it was unwilling to pay the state minimum wage of 37 cents an hour. The Harvard Square Deal Association has been formed to raise funds to wipe out the "debt of honor" which President A. Lawrence Lowell, who helped turn the switch to burn Sacco and Vanzetti to death, refused to recognize.

Williams Sees Labor Victories In Fall Poll

Secretary of L. I. P. A. Urges Aid To Socialist Party In Congress Fights

MINNESOTA will elect a third party governor for the first time in her history next November and probably elect three Farmer-Labor congressmen, the prediction of Howard V. Williams, Executive Secretary of the League for Independent Political Action, in a report submitted Wednesday to his Executive Committee at the monthly meeting in New York. Mr. Williams has just returned from a seven week's trip to the Pacific Coast, speaking and organizing in thirteen states and covering thirty-two cities in the interest of a new political alignment.

Floyd Olson, county attorney for Hennepin County, in which Minneapolis is located, will undoubtedly be elected Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota in the fall election, and third party congressmen from St. Benson and Crookston districts of the state, declares Mr. Williams. Even staunch Republicans are admitting this victory, he says.

Sees Great Unrest

"Great unrest and dissatisfaction with the present political regime are to be found throughout the Middle West and Far West. The great unemployment crisis, the farm depression and inadequate relief of the Farm Board, the tariff scandal, the failure of the London Naval Conference necessitating probably a billion dollar building program, have all brought the workers and farmers to open revolt. If conditions had been more severe this winter workers affirm in many places there would have been organization to resist. These are the conditions that will make possible a third-party governor in Minnesota," the report affirms.

The League will help try to elect Socialist congressmen in Milwaukee, Reading and New York City, and Independent or Labor Party congressmen in Buffalo, New Bedford, and the first and third districts of North Dakota, continues the report. Mr. Williams is urging the League for Independent Political Action headed by Dr. John Dewey, to send national figures to speak in these districts.

Central trade union bodies are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the present political policy of the American Federation of Labor, and everywhere respond enthusiastically to the appeal for political action independent of the Republican and Democratic parties. In numbers of cities local unions are forming Labor parties to use politics to secure adequate protection for their unions and progress toward the solution of unemployment, old age insecurity, and "yellow dog" contracts. There is no question but what this growing conviction will force a change in the present leadership of the A. F. of L.

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U. S. Socialists Query British Labor On India

Telegram From Party Heads Says American Workers Are Puzzled By Situation

Events in India in recent weeks and finally the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi have disturbed American Socialists who are unable to understand the policy of the British Labor Government toward India. Most of the news coming from abroad relates to the activities of Gandhi in India and very little from London and especially from the Labor Party and its responsible spokesmen.

Realizing the importance of a statement from the Labor Party itself, The New Leader on Wednesday cabled the head office of the Labor Party for an official statement of its views. It is hoped to have this statement soon. The cable follows:
"Labrepcom,"
"Churton, London."

"American workers puzzled regarding Labor Party's attitude toward India. Mail statement desired views for readers of New Leader."

"JAMES ONEAL, Editor."

Muste Assails MacDonal For Gandhi Arrest

Attacking the British Labor Government for its use of force in India, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, has characterized MacDonald's countenancing repressive measures as "the breakdown of an outstanding personality which leaves his friends powerless to say a word in his defense."

"The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi by a Government of India which is in the last analysis responsible J. Ramsay MacDonald, is one of the major tragedies of our era," the statement reads.

"It represents a tragic failure for the British Labor Party. When all allowance is made for the numerous complexities in the Indian situation, it still remains true that there has been an utter lack of vigor, imagination and originality in Ramsay MacDonald's handling of a situation with which he is supposed to have a very special acquaintance. To arrest Gandhi under a statute of 1827 and to put him in jail without a trial is the logical culmination of this awful lack of policy. It is not clear that even a Tory government could have handled the situation more inefficiently and shamefully. Infinitely better if the British Labor Cabinet had concentrated its attention on working out a sound labor peace policy in India."

"If the British Labor Cabinet without a clear majority in Parliament is in a position where it cannot act otherwise, then it would be much better to say that frankly and resign than to become a party to bloodshed for the maintenance of British imperialism and the defeat of the aspirations of the people of India for independence."

"For Ramsay MacDonald who a dozen years ago was hunted by mobs through British cities for his opposition to war now to throw a great fellow-pacifist into jail and to countenance violent measures for breaking up a campaign of non-violence marks the breakdown of an outstanding personality which leaves his friends powerless to say a word in his defense."

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ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE TARIFF BILL

By James Oneal

Conflict Is Between Exporting And Importing Capitalism; High Duties Hold No Advantages For The Workers

THE tariff has been an issue in American politics since the organization of the Federal Government. As some trade unions have provided a special organization to increase tariff duties this question is worth special consideration.

To the writer it appears that this action has been taken without any serious study of American tariff history. What follows here is necessarily only a sketch but it will be helpful in forming an intelligent judgement of this issue.

I may add that I am only interested in the question as it affects the working class. The woes of the owners of industry have no interest for me. It may be answered that as we are still living under capitalism one cannot ignore the necessity of the continued operation of industry if workers are to live. Agreed, but if the answer implies that American industry will become stagnant unless our high tariff rates become higher, my rejoinder is that this is an assumption, not a proved fact.

The tariff issue had its origin in Hamilton's celebrated Report on Manufactures. As Washington's Secretary of the Treasury he pointed out that tariff duties would enable manufacturers to exploit the labor of women and also children of tender age. The hideous exploitation of women and children in the succeeding seventy years fully verified Hamilton's forecast.

Wage workers as a rule were disfranchised for decades after Hamilton made this report and the political agents of the capitalist class could afford to be frank in stating their real reasons for this tariff policy. By 1830 workers were rapidly acquiring the suffrage and the old frank argument had to be abandoned. Votes could not be obtained from ballot-armored workmen if they were told that high tariff duties were intended to help capitalists

to rob the home and the cradle of women and children.

Another phase of the issue was the conflict of interest between factory owners of the North and land owners, including the wealthy planters of the South and the western farmers. Space will not permit discussion of this struggle. It is sufficient to say that it repeated the conflict of interests that has appeared in every nation between the capitalists and the agricultural classes. This struggle is still with us in the tariff fight between the capitalist owners of big industry and the western farmers.

The agrarian opposition generally agreed to a tariff to supply government revenue but opposed it when rates provided protection to the owners of industry. Agrarians argued, and rightly so, that when rates become protective, tariff policy passed from a revenue-raising one to a policy of nursing the interests of a class. Because of the power of the slave owners and the assistance which they often received in politics from western farmers on this issue, the capitalist class of the North never fully had its own way. Not till the southern representatives had left Congress following the election of Lincoln did northern capitalism satisfy its tariff appetite. The war tariffs were increasingly protective and the trend on the whole has been upward ever since. Today the pol-

icy is towards exclusive tariff walls, a policy that has embittered other nations, invited retaliation on their part, and one that certainly does not contribute to the peace of the world.

We may now turn to the labor phase of the issue. The most thorough study made of it will be found in "The Labor Argument in the American Protective Tariff Discussion" by George Benjamin Mangold and published by Wisconsin University in 1908. The author shows that the frank capitalist argument was shifted to a labor argument as the workers acquired the suffrage and organized trade unions. The new argument declared that workers must be protected against the "pauper labor of Europe." Considering the former argument in behalf of cheap labor of women and children, the reader may judge whether the new appeal was sincere or not.

To buttress the new argument deceptive comparisons were made with the wages received by workers in England and Europe. It was said that American workers enjoyed "high" wages and this argument is heard to this day. A starvation standard of measurement was used. If American workers, for example, received ten cents more per day than a poorly paid European worker their wages were considered "high." They were, but they were also terribly low, for in the mill towns the privation of factory workers was revolting. Professor Mangold's comparison of American and European wages in the thirties shows that the "higher" American standard was nothing to boast of.

New England was the early home of textile capitalism. Textile capitalists and their political agents were among those who stressed the "pauper labor" argument in favor of high protective duties. At their head was Harrison Gray Otis and Amos Lawrence. Otis had made a fortune through speculation and banking. Formerly a free trader, he turned protectionist when he invested in manufactures.

Lawrence was a textile mill owner. He and Otis secretly raised a large fund from mill owners to pay Daniel Webster at Washington for his services in behalf of tariff legislation while a member of Congress. Otis has the distinction of being the first man in our history to found an employer's association to fight trade unions. He headed the organization of capitalists that raised funds to combat strikes. The black list was common. Alien workers were imported to break strikes. Corporation paternalism became rampant and workers were assessed in some factories to pay the salaries of corporation preachers.

One of the chief issues which workers were fighting for was the ten-hour day and by 1850 it had entered politics. Of the attitude of the high tariff capitalists of the period James Truslow Adams writes:

In Lowell, by 1851, so blatant had become the habit of dictating to the hands that a few days before election the Hamilton Company posted a notice at its gates that "whoever, employed by this corporation, was seen to vote for the Hour ticket on Monday next will be discharged." The year before, the minority of the Ten Hour committee of the Massachusetts legisla-

ture had pointed out in their report that "the infusion of foreign labor among the operatives has been rapid and is going on at a constantly increasing rate. . . . It will be found that in a few years an entire modification and depression of the state of society in and about manufacturing places will be wrought by this cause."

The owners had won. They controlled the lives of the municipalities and the legislature of the state, and left no loophole of escape for the type of self-respecting American youth with decent standards of living who had so willingly offered themselves for employment in the industries of New England.

Those who care to further explore this tariff paradise are referred to Adam's third volume, "New England in the Republic, 1776-1850." The last four chapters are especially illuminating.

In practically all modern countries the textile industry has been the earliest to be identified with the protective tariff policy. It is also a striking fact that this industry throughout its history has been an abomination in its treatment of the workers. It had also, except for a few minor groups of the skilled, been a low wage industry and it still retains this distinction, yet no other industry has so fully enjoyed nursing at the tariff bottle.

In his study of the cotton manufacturing industry published by Harvard University in 1912, Professor Copeland presents some grim facts. His detailed study of the wage rate in Fall River from 1834 to 1908 for weaving "shows little advance during the last 25 years." As new machines were introduced the piece rate fell and the capitalists obtained a larger output. His study also convinced

him that "the earnings of American cotton mill operatives more closely approximate those received in England than we have commonly been led to suppose."

The atrocious conditions in the textile industry in recent years have become too vivid to require any discussion. One might ask, however, why workmen and women should get excited over tariffs when this industry, the oldest protected in this country, reveals some of the worst conditions that face labor in this country?

We may next consider the iron and steel industry in relation to tariffs and their relation to the steel workers. This industry had been as generously protected as textiles and yet it produced one of the bloodiest labor struggles in our history at Homestead, Pa., in 1892. The Republican Party had taken over the "pauper labor" argument in supporting high tariffs and emphasized the happiness that had come to American workers by "protecting" them through tariff legislation.

The Carnegie Company at Homestead with its many other plants in Pennsylvania had become a giant enterprise. It was one of the "infant" industries that had been tenderly cared for by levying protective duties. Steel workers became tariff advocates and cast big majorities for the Republican Party. Carnegie was a generous contributor to Republican campaign funds and when Henry C. Frick united his interests with Carnegie's the big corporation acquired one of the most ruthless enemies the working class has ever had. Frick had a rep-

utation of never conceding anything to workers in the coke regions where he was master. His policy was to ruthlessly crush all opposition.

Carnegie discreetly went abroad and left Frick in charge and the brutal struggle commenced. Burgoine in his history of the Homestead strike reports one speaker at a mass meeting of steel workers on Sunday, June 19, as saying in part:

What brings you here this morning? Is it idle curiosity, or is there a real, tangible reason beyond? The cause of this war trouble is not generally understood. We were persuaded to vote the Republican ticket four years ago in order that our wages might be maintained. . . . This is the effect of legislation employing no other means. The McKinley bill reduced the tariff on the four-inch billet, and the reduction of our wages is the result. You men who voted the Republican ticket voted for high tariff and you get high fences, Pinkerton detectives, thugs and militia.

The union had a sliding scale of wages based on the price of billets and it is charged that Carnegie had asked a reduction in the duty on steel billets to bring a lower price and thus reduce wages.

When the bloody struggle was over the union was destroyed. The Carnegie slave pens in later years emerged as the United States Steel Corporation with an anti-union policy and unionism in the whole industry has declined to less than 10,000 members.

Henderson Forced Into Peace With the Machinists Union

WASHINGTON, (FP)—Vice-President Coolidge of the International Association of Machinists announces the signing of an agreement by Vice-President F. D. Lauderbach of the union with W. K. Henderson of Shreveport, La., head of the W. K. Henderson Iron Co., whereby the Henderson shops are to be unionized. Henderson, during the 1922 railroad shop strike, repaired locomotives for the Missouri Pacific and the Texas Pacific lines. Over his shop door he placed a big sign announcing that his was a shop which did not employ any union men. That sign will now disappear. His conversion may be due in part to the nationwide publication, recently, of a picture of his anti-union sign.

Henderson made an agreement comprising 3 points: He agreed that the Henderson Iron Co. recognized the official organization of the American Federation of Labor and would not in future discriminate against employees joining such unions. He agreed that the company would from time to time meet representatives of these unions and grant wages and conditions as good as those granted by competitors in nearby regions. He agreed to urge all his employees to join the recognized unions.

Henderson is expected to invite the spokesmen of organized labor to speak, at intervals, over his station to the people of the Gulf states, on the need for and the advantages to be derived from trade union expansion in the South.

(By a New Leader Correspondent) SHREVEPORT, La.—The reported agreement between W. K. Henderson and the machinists union calls for more light. A few facts concerning Mr. Henderson's connections with his iron works and radio station:

During the shopmen's strike of 1921 the Henderson Iron Works contracted to do quite a bit of railroad repair work for the roads entering Shreveport and went so far as to erect a new plant near their lines. His men struck. He then set out to "bust" the union and erected large signs on his shop reading, "This plant is strictly open shop and will be run as such, recognizing no creed as to race, religion or affiliation." Whether or not he was able to continue his railroad venture successfully I cannot say; however he later became a great leader in making the open shop town, even forcing a barber shop on his property to be run by non union barbers.

For the past few years Henderson has evidently been unsuccessful with his iron works and it is now in the hands of the receiver. In the meanwhile he directs his efforts to his radio station KWVKH. His MMM (Minute Men Merchants Ass'n.) is dedicated to the task of putting the chain stores off the map and incidentally collecting twelve dollars per head from every small store owner in the Southwest. (Apparently they don't think so much of this "Rugged Individualism" after all.) Well, his opposition to organized labor has been quite a fly in Henderson's ointment and we now witness him trying to square things, and incidentally get a few more members in his association. From this it may readily be seen that this move is merely for his personal interests and after it has served its purpose he may well go back at the same old game.

While we all welcome any moves that lead to solidarity of labor there is little in this case to be welcomed. To enter on a personal discussion of Mr. Henderson would be just another long, sordid and uninteresting subject. His beliefs are the most reactionary and greedy imaginable.

THERE IS. You will find a surprisingly lucid exposition of the whole subject in the great book

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE
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N. Y. Socialists State Policy On Campaigning

Immediate Demands And Fundamental Socialist Criticism Should Be Stated Concurrently, Delegates Decide

THE co-relation in campaigning and in literature between the statement of Socialist immediate demands and the fundamental Socialist criticism of capitalism is provided for in a statement of policy on immediate demands adopted at the New York City Socialist convention held two weeks ago. The statement was recommended for unanimous approval by a committee on policy and practice appointed by the convention. When submitted to the delegates by Algernon Lee on behalf of the committee it was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Immediate Demands

"The Socialist party aims at a basic reconstruction of society which will eliminate private control of the means of production, put an end to the exploitation of man by man, and thoroughly democratize our economic and social as well as our political life. This aim ought always to be borne in mind and unequivocally stated, and all the party's acts and utterances ought to harmonize with it.

"The party does not count upon a collapse of capitalism to bring the opportunity for this reconstruction; it expects the change to be accomplished rather through the normal development of the capitalist system and of working-class consciousness within it. The party does not hold that the working classes have nothing to lose or gain within the existing order nor does it hold that partial betterment of economic, social, and political conditions will postpone the realization of the Socialist ideal. On the contrary, it holds that there are possibilities of improvement under capitalism, which are valuable on their own account; yet some of these possibilities are in the process of socialization; and that in struggling for them and winning them the working classes gain in understanding, self-reliance, and capacity for organized action, which are necessary for the building of the new society.

"It is not a question of whether the party should concern itself with immediate demands or with the ultimate aim. The question is whether immediate measures it should support, and in what manner it should support them, so that its more far-reaching purposes shall at the same time be advanced.

"The party holds that the dominant conflict in modern society is between the wage-earning class and the capitalist class. It cannot, however, count all who are not working people as constituting one reactionary mass. It recognizes that there are conflicts even within the capitalist class; still more important, that there are classes which are neither capitalist nor proletarian; and finally, that many individuals outside the capitalist class are able to feel and act with the workers even against the interest of their respective classes. It appeals primarily to the working class, but it welcomes recruits from other classes as well. It represents primarily the interests of the working class; but it can and should cooperate with non-proletarian and non-socialist groups in so far as their aims and interests coincide with working class interests and with the Socialist aim.

"In order to determine what immediate measures we should support, in order to learn how to advocate them effectively, and in order to judge when, how, and to what extent we may safely and advantageously cooperate with non-Socialist groups, we need not only a firm grasp of general principles, but also accurate, definite, and intimate knowledge concerning such measures and all the conditions that at-

fect them. As means of meeting this need, the convention urges:

"1. That the executive committee make every effort to provide for the adequate financing of our Municipal Research Bureau.

"2. That the Research Bureau undertake a series of thorough studies on the more important municipal issues, such as those of transit and other public utilities, housing, public health and education.

"3. That the work of this bureau be coordinated with that of the Socialist research agencies, including the Research Department of the Rand School.

"4. That the Committee on Public Affairs, Research and Publicity work out methods whereby our campaigners and other spokesmen may deal with current and local issues in such a way as to make our exposure of evils and advocacy of reforms efficient for its immediate purpose and also conducive to the understanding of our basic principles and aims.

"5. That the Committee on Public Affairs, on Trade Unions, on Education and Branch Activities, and on Literature and Propaganda, confer with the party press and with the Rand School, work out the most practical ways to put the results of the research studies in usable form into the hands of the party membership, and to put large numbers of the party members really to study Socialist principles and policies through guided readings, classes, discussion groups, and institutes."

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union Enjoins Boss

Reversing the usual procedure on labor injunction cases, local 66 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, composed of embroidery workers on women's garments, Wednesday obtained an order from Supreme Court Justice Phoenix Ingraham restraining the Advance Art Embroidery Company, 3 West 30th Street, from hiring other than members of the union.

The order signed by Justice Ingraham in Part One of the Supreme Court on the application of Louis Waldman, counsel for the union, enjoins the company, "1. From employing any person or persons in their manufacturing establishment or establishments other than members in good standing of the plaintiff, Bonnaz, Singer and Hand Embroiders' Union, Local 66, in accordance with the terms of the contract. 2. From discharging or laying off of, and withholding of work from any employees, members of the plaintiff union during the existence of the contract annexed to the complaint. 3. From refusing to divide the work during the existence of the contract annexed to the complaint herein, substantially equally among all their employees, members of the plaintiff union."

Mr. Waldman and Nathan Riesel, secretary-treasurer of the union, contended that the company has ignored terms of a contract reached between the union and the company in Sept. of 1920. On April 29th, Supreme Court Justice Frankenthaler issued a temporary injunction against the company based on complaints made by Mr. Riesel, Leon Mat-tab, business agent of the union, and several employees of the company. Justice Ingraham made the previous order permanent.

MINNEAPOLIS.—(FP)—Over loud and boisterous protests of the American Legion and several civic organizations, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union has obtained the city auditor for a protest meeting on unemployment April 23

Jager Record Promises Hot Fight In Jersey

Socialist Senatorial Nominee One of Most Vigorous Speakers In The Party

HENRY JAGER, who has been nominated by New Jersey Socialists for U. S. Senator, has been active in the labor movement for 37 years. He was born in Rumania in 1879, grew up in New York City, and was active in the Socialist Labor Party till the year 1917 when he joined the Socialist Party of which he is still a member.

Jager is a powerful speaker and has been a familiar figure at open air meetings for many years. His voice has a carrying quality possessed by few speakers which is also supported by a robust physique which enables him to endure the most arduous speaking campaigns.

Jager was general manager of the paper-box workers from 1918 to 1920 in Greater New York. Elected to the New York legislature in 1920, he was seated in 1921 and served during the 1921 session until two weeks before the end of the session, when he was ousted on the ground of non-residence. The report on the findings on this question was divided. The subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which tried the case, was divided. Two claimed that he was a non-resident, two more uncertain, and one, John Block, was certain of his residence in New York.

Three of the five recommended that Jager retain his seat. After a fight that lasted ten weeks he was ousted by a majority of two. He is now the state organizer of the Socialist Party of New Jersey. Jager is also a graduate of the New York Law School, but never took the bar examination because he did not like the practice of law.

During his activity in the Socialist movement Jager was always available at strike meetings and addressed members of almost every union in Greater New York. He is particularly known for his services in behalf of the A. C. W. A. I. L. G. W. U. International Fancy Pocketbook Workers Union, International Furriers Union, International Jewelry Workers Union, International Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, Hebrew Butchers Union, Laundry Workers Union, International Cloth and Cap Makers Union, etc. Jager has also served the Workmen's Circle, Y. C. L. Y. P. S. L., and other fraternal and charitable organizations.

1,000 Honor Panken On His 50th Birthday

Labor Organizations and Socialists Praise His Long Record of Service

NEARLY a thousand friends of Jacob Panken attended the testimonial dinner given him in the evening of May Day at Beethoven Hall in East Fifth street. It was one of the largest of such affairs in many years and speaker after speaker representing various trade unions, the Socialist Party, educational and fraternal organizations, paid tribute to Panken's services to the labor movement for so many years.

Abraham Shipiloff of the Pocketbook Workers served as Toastmaster. The central table became so loaded with floral tributes that the flowers had to be removed to accommodate the speakers, among whom were Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; Morris Kaufman of the Fur Workers; Benjamin Schlegel of the International Ladies Garment Workers; M. Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades; Joseph Weinberg of the Workmen's Circle; James Oneal of The New Leader; Judge Caffery, Mrs. Panken and Judge Panken.

Each speaker was in a reminiscent mood, recalling the problems and struggles with which Panken had been identified and commend-

War Resisters League To Hold Conference On 'Militant Pacifism'

American War Resisters will hold the first of a series of annual conferences on "Militant Pacifist Tactics" at the Hudson Guild Farm, Netcong, N. J., the weekend of May 9th to 11th. Among the hills and lakes of northern New Jersey, American men and women determined to end war will, while waiting on the slow action of governments and naval conferences, plan their own campaign to outlaw this evil.

"Non-Violence as a Social Weapon," discussed by Devere Allen, editor of "The World Tomorrow," "How to Save Our Youth from Being Militarized in School and College," by Tucker P. Smith, Secretary of the Committee Against Military Training in Education, are key-note questions of the conference. The Rev. Leon Rosser Land of the Bronx Free Fellowship will put the challenge of "Anti-War Tactics—Moderate or Militant."

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Women's Peace Union, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, are among the groups that have answered the call to the Netcong Conference issued by the War Resisters League, whose secretary is Jessie Wallace Hughan, of 171 West 11th street, New York. This League is affiliated with a world group known as the War Resisters International which has branches in 40 countries and whose spokesman, A. Fenner Brockway, the well-known English M. P., lately toured the U. S. Heywood Brown of the "Telegram" and "Nation," Nevins Sayre, A. J. Must, Rev. E. B. Chaffee, Dr. Henry Neumann of the Brooklyn Eth-

Rand Meeting for New Party Members Here

The Education Committee of the Socialist Party is broadcasting a call to all new members to meet at the Rand School on May 14, at 8.30 p. m. The purpose of the meeting is to have a good time and to get acquainted. Norman Thomas, William Karlin, and Bela Low will welcome the new members.

To Debate On Socialist Attitude to Prohibition

The vexing question of Prohibition, with its Socialist implications, if any, will be thrashed out at a debate between Samuel H. Friedman and Theodore Shapiro, Friday night, May 10, at the Rand School. The subject for debate is "Resolved, That Socialists should support Prohibition as a national policy," and the proceeds will go to the Socialist Sunday School.

Comrade Shapiro is an active Brooklyn Socialist, who is a frequent lecturer and candidate of the party. Comrade Friedman likewise is active and is known as one of those who led the fight at the last Socialist state convention against the adoption of a light wine and beer plank.

ERIE, Pa.—(F.P.)—Unionists are planning to establish a weekly paper, the Erie Labor News. The Central Labor Union has approved the project.

Conference On Radical Youth This Saturday

Several Young Peoples Groups to Take Part in Discussion at Rand School

AN INSTITUTE on the problems of radical youth will be held at the Rand School of Social Science Saturday, May 10, 2:30 p. m. The general theme will be "Squaring Up Radicalism With the Social Order."

The following organizations will participate: Young Circle League, Young People's Socialist League, Pioneer Youth, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Poale Zion Young People's Section, the Community Church and the Rand School.

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Barbara Wootton who has taken a leading part in workers' education in England. The program of the conference is as follows:

"Conference One. 'Youth and the Job.'"

"Finding a Job. 1. What kind of a job? 2. Unemployment Agencies. 3. Financial Security vs. Radical Activity."

"On the Job. 1. The task of Radical Youth in the Shop. 2. The task of Radical Youth in the Office. 3. The task of Radical Youth in the Professions."

"Out of a Job. 1. Psychological Effect. 2. Unemployment and the Social Order. 3. Compromise or Adjustment."

The speakers are to be Jules Umansky, Helen Pickenback, Henry Rosner, Walter Ludwig, Louis Stanley, Barbara Wootton, Director of Tutorial Classes, University of London. There will be a discussion from the floor.

700 Attend May Day Rally in Wash., D.C.

(By a New Leader Correspondent) Washington, D. C.—Socialists and their sympathizers of Washington, D. C., chiefly members of the Workmen's Circle Branch No. 92 and the Ladies Auxiliary of same branch, in all about two hundred, celebrated May first at a meeting Wednesday night at the Playhouse, 1814 N. St., N. W. August Classens, organizer of the Socialist Party of New York, was the speaker of the evening, and an appropriate musical program was rendered by Miss Sophie Snyder, pianist, Miss Ray Falkin, soprano, and Miss Minnie Clipper, violinist.

Resolutions were adopted demanding from Congress on behalf of the above named organization full and unrestricted suffrage for both local and national representation in governmental bodies, as well as for candidates for President and Vice-President. Adequate legislation for the establishment of a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance and old age pensions. A resolution was also adopted and committee selected to personally convey to Mother Jones the appreciation of those present of her untiring efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes.

Penitentiaries And Radicalism

NO WONDER Director Kerwin of the Federal arbitration service switched Charles G. Wood, red-baiting commissioner, back to Massachusetts after the publication of his *Reds and Lost Wages*, (Harper Brothers). The doughty commissioner, formerly a small town publisher in the Bay State, had been browsing in wide fields in the past few years, much to the embarrassment of the conciliation service. He first attracted national attention by denouncing the leaders of the Loray mill strike in Gastonia in 1929, to the huge satisfaction of southern mill owners profiting from the 12-hour night shift for women. His hand was next seen in the humiliating company union agreement that sent the Elizabethton rayon workers back to work in the mills of eastern Tennessee. Since then Wood has been active in Brooklyn advising shoe bosses to break their contracts with a left wing shoe workers union.

Reds and Lost Wages will bring Comm. Wood into the arms of Freddie Marvin and his racketeering N. Y. City Chamber of Commerce and all the other pluperfect patriots who make their living out of defending the Stars and Stripes against imminent overthrow by The Menace, i.e., the Communists. In fact, shortly before his exit, under orders from New York, Wood had publicly approved Police Commissioner Whalen's efforts to solve the unemployment problem by giving employers names of radical workers which his secret service men in the police department were supposed to have uncovered in Red lairs and haunts.

Wood is a good Class 3-C professional patriot. His ignorance of Communism is matched only by his belief in penitentiaries and deportation ships as the cure for radicals. As such he is not a very dangerous enemy of the Reds; his official actions indeed make up some of their best propaganda, as when he hounded Ellen Dawson, textile union organizer, through the Passaic, Gastonia and New Bedford mills, until a federal judge was obliged to reprimand him from the bench for trying to deport a young girl whose main crime was her effectiveness as an organizer.

Comm. Wood has worked out a theory of strike prevention and settlement in his book that serves very well in small situations where strikes are caused by misunderstandings or small demands. "Strikes and lockouts," in Wood's estimation, "are by-products of conditions of employment." Naturally "by-product" strikes can be settled by mutual accommodation. But just where do Wood and his theory fit in when strikes are not "by-products" but great industrial upheavals such as the railroad and mine strikes of 1921-22, or the elemental uprisings of oppressed workers in Lawrence, New Bedford, Passaic, or Gastonia? There the technique worked out for settling by-product strikes such as occur in small industries and plants is as futile as Wood's book.

Wood's fundamental thesis is that Communism is illegal and should be suppressed. Perhaps the crowning idiosyncy of this exposition of the Red menace is the astonishing discovery that "every activity of the Communist movement radiates from headquarters of the Workers International Relief in New York." Despite a careful audit of W. I. R. books, sent to all contributors, Wood maintains that "no body knows" how much money it handles. "Its executives," he adds crushingly, "do not hold membership in any club affiliated with the advertising clubs of the world whose slogan is 'Honesty in Advertising.'"

A dull, stupid, shoddy book such as Wood's is noteworthy chiefly for the fact that it can be published by such a reputable firm as Harper's. Who selects Harper books on labor anyway? Certainly it is hardly worth more than 15 minutes perusal by any worker.

HARVEY O'CONNOR.

Two New Pamphlets

THE League for Industrial Democracy has just published two new pamphlets. The first, "How America Lives," by Harry W. Laidler, is beyond doubt one of the best handbooks of economic and social facts available in America. No one who presumes to discuss intelligently the conditions of industrial life in America should be without this easily readable and well documented brochure.

The rosy claims of the prosperity singers fade badly against the array of proved facts presented by Dr. Laidler, who has an international reputation as an economist. Besides being the executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, the author is the president of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Save for the small group of organized skilled laborers, the American workers are living below the poverty line. Their income is scarcely more than half what the U. S. Department of Labor has declared the minimum budget on which a family may be supported in decency and health. Unemployment is an ever threatening problem, steadily growing more acute through the displacement of even the most skilled by machines. Child labor, however, abounds to the extent of more than a million and a half in the midst of adult unemployment. Employers' carelessness and greed for profits results in 25,000 deaths annually through industrial accidents, and the crippling of thousands of others.

Yet in the face of dire poverty, Dr. Laidler points to a 270% increase in military expenditures on behalf of the overlords of business seeking foreign conquest.

The competitive wastes of capitalism, believes the author, results in our economic machinery functioning at only half capacity. "It is our belief that industry must be reorganized on a basis of service if these evils are to be eliminated from present day society."

The other pamphlet is, "One Billion Wild Horses," The Challenge of the Machine, by Stuart Chase, which shows that thanks to modern science the world has its disposal more than one billion horsepower of mechanical energy. But how to control all these one billion symbolic horses—many of them running wild—the world has not yet learned. The machines are not yet the obedient servant of humanity.

Sometimes it is a ruthless competitor with men for jobs. It wastefully gobbles up the valuable natural resources of oil, coal and forests to the impoverishment of the future. Uncontrolled, the machine, has spread a blighting ugliness and drabness over most industrial centers. Trained for war, the machine has the power of wholesale human destruction.

On the other hand, believes Stuart Chase, the machine is potentially the greatest force for human liberation. What it needs is intelligent control for the service of the whole community and not for the profit of a privileged few. The engineer who today works for the absentee stockholder must work instead for society. Together with the manual worker and the consumer he will control democratically the industrial life of the world. Then, and not before, will the machine become definitely man's servant and not his master.

M. L.

Our Weekly Foreign Letter

Dr. Seipel's Retirement

American Reaction Shifts From Political Fascism To Attack on Workers' Social Legislation

By Benedict Kautsky
(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

TO THE general surprise of political circles in Austria, a letter was made public a few days ago in which Dr. Seipel informed the managing committee of the Christian Social Party of his resignation as chairman of that party. It might look as if it doesn't make much difference who leads the ruling party in such a small country as Austria. Nevertheless, it seems apropos to examine this news a little more closely, because Austria, through its geographical location and through its internal political development, has for a considerable time been a burning point in European politics.

Austria lies between the two allied States of Europe in which Fascism is most highly developed—Italy and Hungary. On the other hand it lies between the two States that sustain the Little Entente and consequently are the defenders of French interests in Eastern Europe—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. This position has caused both Italy and Czechoslovakia to try to bring Austria within the sphere of their political interests. Italy has done the most along this line, not being satisfied with dominating Austria politically, but also wishing to penetrate Austria in a capitalist sense.

These efforts began years ago. At the end of 1922 when the Austrian National Bank was founded as a new bank of issue after the stabilization of the currency Italian capital participated in its organization to a material extent. The Banca Commerciale Italiana, with the consent of the Government of some Austrian States that were pro-Fascist politically, tried to obtain influence over the development of water power. Important branches of the Austrian timber and saw-mill industry, the most weighty export industry of Austria, are passing more and more into the hands of Italian capital, especially in the South.

But the Peace Treaty of 1918 left a painful impression upon German Austria. German Southern Tyrol, because of alleged strategic reasons, was annexed by Italy, although the population was 100 per cent. German and today, if it had a chance to express its desire, would unanimously ask to return to its Fatherland. The first Italian Governments after the World War took this sentiment into account and tried to carry out the obligations to protect minorities placed upon them by the Peace Treaty through broad autonomy in the local administration, through freedom in the use of the German language, etc. Since Fascism has come into power in Italy it not only oppresses its own proletariat, but also proceeds still more drastically, if possible, against the foreign language minorities, Slovenes as well as Germans.

All German Austria, without party distinctions, has felt this outraging of a weak, defenseless minority like a blow in its own face. Austria, as a small nation, naturally could not dream of waging the campaign for Southern Tyrol with other than moral weap-

Dr. Kautsky Austrian Correspondent of Leader

WITH this issue, Dr. Benedict Kautsky joins with Emil Vandervelde as a member of The New Leader's staff of foreign correspondents. As announced last week, Vandervelde will write monthly articles for The New Leader dealing with political, Socialist and labor developments in France and Belgium. Dr. Kautsky will cover a similar field in Austria.



Dr. Benedict Kautsky

Dr. Kautsky is the youngest son of Karl Kautsky, the foremost living scholar of Marxist Socialism. As the elder Kautsky has written The New Leader, Dr. Kautsky "is not a youngster, but very ripe in politics." In 1918, Otto Bauer, then minister of foreign affairs in Austria, appointed Dr. Kautsky secretary of the Austrian foreign office. Later he became a councillor in the Vienna Council, the central body of the Austrian trade unions. In this capacity, Dr. Kautsky played a leading role in the fortunes of the Austrian trade union movement. Dr. Kautsky's competence as a journalist is acknowledged by both the Socialist party and the trade unions in Austria. Included in his literary achievements is the collaboration with Karl Kautsky on a popular edition of Marx' "Capital."

With Vandervelde and Kautsky on the foreign staff of The New Leader, our readers will be assured of a feature unique in Socialist and labor journalism. Well known Socialist journalists in England and Germany, whose names will be announced shortly, will round out The New Leader's staff of European correspondents.

ons. But this is just what Fascism feels most deeply, for obvious reasons. Therefore, when Dr. Seipel in 1927, when he was Federal Chancellor, referred in a very guarded way in the Austrian Parliament to the complete suppression of instruction in the German use of the German language, the restrictions upon the churches and other reprisals being resorted to by Italy against the Germans in Southern Tyrol. Mussolini replied with a speech in the Italian Parliament which was entirely beyond the usual diplomatic limits and also was calculated to hamper all Austria's efforts to obtain a foreign loan.

At that time it was not quite apparent in Austria why Seipel, who had always been counted politically as rather friendly to Fascism, had ventured to make this attack in the sphere of foreign politics. Since then things have been cleared up.

In order to understand this occurrence it is necessary always to remember that Seipel is a Catholic priest and always is in close touch with the Vatican. His attack upon the Fascist Government in Italy is understandable when we take into account the clash of interests then still obtaining between the Pope and Mussolini. Southern Tyrol played an important part in the dickering over the conditions which were to bring the end of the conflict and Seipel's speech was undoubtedly an attempt to support the Papal policy against Mussolini.

In the meantime the situation has changed materially. Not only did the Pope make his peace with Mussolini, but Seipel followed him. Today Seipel is the leader of the pro-Fascist policy of the Heimwehr (the armed irregular forces of the Austrian reaction) which not only wants to organize Austria as a Fascist State, but also strives for an alliance with Italy and Hungary in order to form a bridge between the two countries.

particularly in the mines and iron and steel industry, to create yellow (company) unions with the aid of the Heimwehr and break the control of the trade unions. Through all kinds of terrorism hundreds of workers were forced into the Heimwehr and those who refused to yield to this pressure and would not sell their convictions were discharged, something that in the Austrian steel and iron industry, meant being driven from home, because the industrialists own the dwellings. At the end of August, 1929, in a little Styrian town where the Social Democratic organization was about to celebrate its tenth anniversary, there was a cowardly attack by heavily-armed Heimwehr men upon the joyous crowd of workers among who in there were women and children. The attack cost the lives of three workers and the wounding of many more. At the same time, however, the few members of the Republican Schutzbund (defense league), which forms the force opposed by the Social Democracy against the Heimwehr, showed that they knew how to defend themselves, even without arms and against materially greater numbers. Ever since this clash, the Heimwehr has avoided contact with the Republican Schutzbund and thus a heavy damper has been placed upon the lust for violent revolution on the part of the Heimwehr.

In the meantime, however, the activities of the Heimwehr had affected the economic field. The Bodencreditanstalt, a famous bank more than sixty years old and the outstanding bank in the days of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, had allied itself with the Christian Social political group. This alliance consisted in the bank's liquidating all had Christian Social businesses in order to prevent the exposure of Christian Social politicians who had got into rotten banking and industrial speculations. In return the bank received all kinds of favors from the State in the form of deposits at low interest rates, or subventions to its allied companies, of preference in putting through Government financial transactions, etc.

The part the bank had to play in the winding up of so many poor businesses finally resulted, however, in its being able to keep its head above water only with great difficulty and through obtaining a big credit from the National Bank of Issue. Its connection with the Christian Social Party and the favors it was receiving from the Heimwehr had become so well known that, with the growth of the Heimwehr movement, the public considered it safer to withdraw its deposits from the bank. Although there wasn't a regular run, the bank's liquid funds became so low that on Sept. 30, 1929, it asked another extraordinary credit from the National Bank and when this was refused it had to announce that it was compelled to close its doors.

This news caused general consternation in the camp of the Government. Without this, the political situation had become so acute already that the existing

Government was not able to handle it any longer and had to be displaced by a Schober Government. Schober, who had been Federal Chancellor once before, in Vienna enjoys the confidence of most of the bourgeois parties. His first official act was to make the threatening collapse of the Bodencreditanstalt more endurable by bringing about its fusion with the greatest Austrian bank, the Kreditanstalt, controlled by the Rothschilds, within twenty-four hours. In this way it was possible to satisfy in full all the creditors of the Bodencreditanstalt and to limit the damage to pretty heavy losses for the stockholders. Nevertheless, the insolvency of the Bodencreditanstalt was a hard blow to the already weak Austrian industry and this fearfully large number of unemployed workers during the Winter months—more than 300,000 out of a total of about 800,000 in industry and commerce—although of course the effects of the international crisis are still very apparent.

The longer the Schober Government lasted at the helm, the more it showed itself to be a purely bourgeois Government systematically trying to undermine the strength of the Social Democracy. It is true that it uses other methods than those of Seipel and the Heimwehr. While the latter are eager for violence, Schober endeavors to get closer to his goal through altering laws bit by bit by Parliamentary action. Thus, over the determined resistance of the Social Democracy, a trade union law has been enacted which makes the "closed shop" illegal and handicaps trade union propaganda work. It is admitted that the next step will be a blow at the unemployment insurance, aimed especially at excluding the seasonal workers from its protection. An attack is also being planned upon the tax receipts of Vienna, whose Socialist majority naturally is a thorn in the eye of the bourgeoisie.

Schober's position has been materially strengthened by substantial successes in foreign politics. At The Hague he was able to win the freeing of Austria from the burden of reparations, the collection of which was, indeed, economically impossible and which therefore had been suspended since 1926, but which still existed on paper and consequently seriously interfered with Austria's financial liberty of action. The prerequisite for this was the wiping out of the tension between Austria and Italy, which was completely effected without Schober having been obliged to sacrifice Austria's interests. This has cleared the road for a foreign loan for Austria, which will be placed upon the great international money markets as soon as the German reparation loan is out of the way.

Today Schober undoubtedly has the majority of the Austrian bourgeoisie back of him, even if he often is greatly handicapped in his policy by Seipel, who has some of his followers in Schober's Cabinet. The Christian Social Party is recognizing more and more the danger of the Seipel methods and is turning more and more to the ways of Schober. The Heimwehr has lost much of its drawing power after the failure of its attacks. In particular the funds so liberally placed at its disposal last year by the banks and the industrialists are now flowing much less freely.

All this has materially weakened Seipel's position and his retirement is merely the expression of this weakening. His retirement is being accompanied by a process of dissolution in the Heimwehr, whose organization seems to be splitting into several sections. As yet the line of development is not quite ascertainable. It is possible that Seipel, by freeing himself from the Christian Social Party, is aiming at greater independence in directing the Heimwehr; possibly his retirement is merely preliminary to his withdrawal from Austrian politics altogether. It has often been rumored that he is to be called to Rome to accept a high Church position.

For Austria's working people, however, this political change merely signifies a shifting of the field of battle. In place of preparing for civil war and for violent resistance to Fascism, now comes the struggle on the trade union and economic field which, naturally, is very difficult to wage under the present fearful economic conditions. But the Austrian proletariat, as so often before in its history, will know how to defend itself.

(On April 23, some time after Seipel's resignation, a Vienna dispatch reported that the managing committee of the Christian Social Party had decided to ask him to reconsider his act and remain at the head of the party. It was thought that Seipel would heed this plea, but definite information as to his action since then is lacking.)

The Chatter Box

HOT days these be for anything but vagrancy. And yet Leon Trotsky has boisterously my time from idle wandering and spring fancy with his autobiography, "My Life." These six hundred pages of fairly well told self-revelation have done much to my evenings of the last week and little to alter what opinions regarding the man. I have long ago formed and so often voiced in this space.

Trotsky proves quite conclusively that a born journalist has no business in politics as an actual participant.

Journalist he is to his boot tops. The story of his childhood, the incipencies of his early training for revolution, and even his development as an actual revolutionary prior to the war are all done with competent talent and carry-over interest.

But no sooner does he become an official with powers to perform actuality, than all the petty ingredients of character and self bounce up and all around with impish trickeries.

Suddenly we find another small man blown great in size by circumstance, mirroring himself and his every deed in that tricky mirror, called History. Throughout the book, we find a leit-motif thrumming. . . "and how would this or that I do, look in history. . ."

Beginning with 1914 his narration builds up a crudely designed case against Stalin and his group, purporting to show how even in that murky dawn, the Georgian peasant had devious and devilish designs upon the historic greatness and undeniably finer stature of Leon the Non-parrel. . .

Always and always again, he keeps reiterating how much Lenin loved, trusted, admired and hounded with Leon against those "coarse, envious, and low-browed Stalinists." Always and always again, the fell conspiracies of Stalin against Trotsky's fame and power are exposed. . . Finally the whole fabric of his narration grows tender with too much stretching of the same pattern, and wide rents let the light in on a much self-patted egotist, who for all his doubtless courage and talents as a rebel, has not learned the great lesson of humility. There is so much of Leon Trotsky in those six hundred pages of print and phrase, that one receives only a hazy outline of the Russian episode.

Whatever Stalin and his section of Russia's present ruling class may be in personality, so little comes out of the Kremlin these days in human interest piffle, and so much is being accomplished constructively all over that wide domain, that I for one, wouldn't swap a regiment of strutting Trotsky's for one Stalin.

Now, Leon Trotsky may sock back with this. . . "Aha, you bourgeois Ebbitt radical. . . just because I took a swipe at your Socialist leaders in America, and called Morris Hillquit a successful leader of successful dentists and professionals. . . you show your low prejudice against my work. . ."

Indeed, old boy, your calling Hillquit names only puts you on that low level of politicians where the average Communists descend. They attempt to destroy with venom what they cannot conquer with reason. Calling all of us names, and then spitting so viciously at Stalin convinces us beyond further argument, that your present fall from grace is the direct result of the poetic judgment. . . wherein great pride cometh before a fall.

But enough of this. Pity you will not have. Admonition I will not give. There is an aristocracy about your carriage throughout the entire adventure which belies your oft-quoted love for the proletariat. There is so little about the workers in your narrative. All you are taken up with is your rhetorical paragraphing in this radical journal and that. How you showed up Bukharin, and made a monkey out of Kautsky in this article or that, in this journal or the other, on that day and in that year.

There isn't one bit of acknowledgement or appreciation for what circumstance beyond any human clairvoyance did to accomplish the Russian Revolution. This we know here, however. . . without the war and the gigantic genius of Lenin, the revolution would have failed. Without you and dozens like you, all that happened would have transpired just the same.

I used to place you in a sort of hallowed niche. I even associated you with Lenin as the twin saint. That was before I learned who you really were. There is one moment of self-effacement in your book. How it happened I cannot understand. You really admit that your loudly lauded work in organizing the Red Army was really effected by a fortunate choice of underlings. Your personal exposure under fire, you mention with a faintly disguised braggadocio. As a matter of fact that was one of the few really genuine things you did. Since you are no physical coward. . . And it was quite logical that you would lead your own men without fear of bullet or shell.

But when it came to stepping down from your pet theories, and playing along with your political comrades on a "give and take" basis you stopped miserably. Either they would do as you ordered, or they were betraying the revolution.

This business of being infallible as God is so stupid.

I'm terribly sorry to have allowed so much animus to creep into a review of a book. But Trotsky has left me so little of impersonal material to judge, and so much of himself, that no other procedure is possible. Fortunately he cannot say that this was influenced by my relationship to Moscow, or to Union Square. I lay no pretense to great knowledge of what is transpiring in Russia. All I have for the entire matter is a fervent hope that the great adventure will succeed. . . that out of all this pain and stress and cruel circumstance a real Socialist nation will emerge, powerful enough to stand on its own, and be the shining example of all the rest of the world to follow.

Its present policies of dictatorship, repression of free speech and press, imprisonment of Social Democrats and the grim persecution of all dissenters are grievous and deplorable. Its stupid participation in the "Third International" is criminal.

With all that, Russia is their land, and the government is their government. . . and the workers of Russia see a way out. . . soon. Their errors, their sins, are mine to condemn. . . and the suffering they have visited upon my comrades is mine for protest with every fibre of my being. Yet I cannot pass judgment or execute any punishment on them therefor. They have sacrificed, and continue to sacrifice personal comfort, the best years of their lives, and life itself for their land and its people. . . according to their lights. We who sit here in America are not called upon to contribute anything but our good-will. And even that is hardly ever accepted with any grace from them.

As far as Russia herself is concerned, we would do best to remember that the American Communists are just a lot of little Trotskys, hard blowers, self-puffed with self-importance, intolerant to any opinion save their own, and just a little bit too infatuated with History.

And like him they keep calling everybody names, dirty, vicious names. As for Russia, let her build on and on while Trotsky sells "His Life. . ."

S. A. de Witt

Dane Socialists Bar Admirals and Generals As Armament Advisors

By a New Leader Correspondent
COPENHAGEN.—Powerless as they are against the rising tide of anti-militarism in Denmark, the Danish Conservatives are resorting to one ridiculous manoeuvre after the other. The latest is the proposal that the Lower House should set up a Commission of 16 members to report to the Diet on the international position of Denmark and on the commitments of the country as a member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Kellogg Pact. Besides the eight members of this Commission to be elected by the Diet itself, and the chairman to be appointed by the Foreign Minister, the Conservatives had the bright idea of suggesting that three members be selected from among the ambassadors and that, in addition, the General Commander-in-Chief, the Vice-Admiral and two members of the Faculty of Law of the University should also be made members of the Commission. In debate in the Lower House April 3rd, it was pointed out how completely superfluous was a suggestion of the kind. Aising Andersen, Secretary of the Danish Social-Democratic Party, undoubtedly voiced the opinion of the great majority of the Diet when he declared that the Social-Democratic Movement would most emphatically oppose having the guidance of admirals, generals and professors as to the policies to be adopted by the political parties.

Socialists of Japan Gain Votes But Lose Seats in General Election

By S. Magi
LONDON.—The February election in Japan was the second since the workers of Japan became fully entitled to manhood suffrage. The result was not at all favorable to the Socialist and Labor Parties. Our number in the house of Representatives was reduced from eight at the last election in 1928 to five this year. The political fronts of the Labor and Socialist parties were not united, but split up into several parties.

We have three main political labor parties. Although Communism is illegal, the Labor and Agricultural Workers' party, the "Rodonminto," is definitely right wing Communist whose strategy does not fully justify armed revolution as a method of securing political power. It is difficult to say how far this party recognizes the principle of Parliamentarism. But inasmuch as the left wing of the Communist group attacks this right wing party as a traitor to the proletarian movement, this section will in future tend to draw nearer to the Socialist party. The People's Party (Taishuto) is an intermediate party between the Socialists and Communists. This party corresponds in some respects to the I. L. P. in Great Britain, but is organizationally independent of the other parties. The third group is a Socialist group, the Social-Democratic Party. It is based on the Socialist principles for the promotion of social reform and political emancipation through Parliamentary and democratic methods; internationally it is very much in favor of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Office, and

and did not return a member to the House of Representatives.

Though the Socialist Party gained 31,182 votes as compared with the last General Election, they lost 3 seats in the House of Representatives. This was due entirely to the failure to distribute satisfactorily the candidates in one constituency. Japan does not have her election system on the single member constituency but has semi-proportional representation in rather small areas. Very often 3 or 5 candidates will be elected from one constituency. The two Socialist Labor Parties consulted together as to the distribution of their candidates. They did not reach a satisfactory arrangement.

The Socialist International Information Bureau that the Social-Democratic Party nominated 32 candidates. The People's Party nominated 23 candidates. The Communists nominated 13 candidates. The other proletarian parties nominated 25 candidates in all. The two bourgeois parties, the Minseitō and the Seiyukai, nominated 357 and 305 candidates respectively. They secured 273 and 174 returns, and 5,570,376 and 3,923,789 votes respectively. Thirty-nine out of a total of ninety-three Labor candidates opposed each other in 22 constituencies. In some cases, two, three or four Labor candidates were in opposition in the same constituency. In the Fourth Section of the Osaka Prefecture six Labor candidates fought against each other, the result being general and complete defeat. Nine out of the 22 constituencies where labor candidates opposed each other were most promising, and if only one Labor candidate had been nominated he would certainly have been elected.

Seven Seats Divided
The votes cast for the labor parties compare favorably with those cast in the Election in 1928, and show an increase of 31,182. The total number of votes cast for the Labor Party this year was 502,313, which is equivalent to 10 per cent. of the votes obtained by the Government Party, and is about 4½ per cent. of the total number of votes cast at the Election.

Out of the five members returned to the House of Representatives, the Social-Democratic Party secured two seats with 170,386 votes. The People's Party also secured two seats with 165,548 votes. The other Socialist parties between them gain 88,081 votes

Movie of Simple Folk at 55th Street Theatre

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE WRONG FEW

"LOST SHEEP" By Belford For-

rest, Selwyn Theatre.

THE sad plight of a clergyman and his family is the merry theme of "Lost Sheep," which springs with friendly humor out of a most ingenious setting. For this henpecked country vicar, called to London, comes with his wife and three dear daughters, finds the chapel house, being altered, must seek temporary quarters, and is lodged with his innocent family in a beautiful mansion—that till the night before had been a house of shame! Naturally, the old customers of the house had not been sent letters with changed address; the "duchess" and her girls had been asked to leave, rather suddenly; and when the vicar and his wife leave for the church reception, visitors drop in on the startled girls.

Life is not like that; but there is no regulation requiring strict resemblance of the drama and life; there is a much more frequently obeyed expectation demanding that the hero and heroine fall at once in love. Of course, it is the hero's first visit to a house of this sort; and Rhoda, the vicar's youngest daughter, forgives him his tipsiness, while Eric's one thought is to take her from this house of shame. When Eric's father, the Church of England minister, making the same mistake, comes to drive out the new "duchess," the vicar's wife hears him in bewilderment that grows to hysterical fury, with all the skill of Cissie Loftus adding to our delight in the misunderstanding.

The acting, indeed, is one of the chief reinforcements of this warm weather comedy. Ferdinand Gottschalk, as the henpecked vicar, is a delightful picture of pompous helplessness. Sidney Fox, scarce old enough to be more than a new-comer, is a personality of pleasing promise, well cast as sweetheart to Rex O'Malley, the minister's son for a moment straying. As his genial misleader, Harry McNaughton is top hole, as he might say, "Lost Sheep" has probably found a lasting home.

COCTEAU—BAD AND GOOD
SOPHOCLES' "ANTIGONE" and "Le Boeuf sur le toit," by Jean Cocteau. The American Laboratory Theatre.

Cocteau's version of the "Antigone" is as poorly translated, directed, and acted, as his pantomime is effectively and charmingly presented in its foibles. There are moments in the Greek tragedy that make one think Cocteau is burlesquing, though the general intent is serious. The guards, for instance, or the high, weak voice of the man chosen to play the king. It is queer direction, too, that has Creon refer to "Ismaeyan" while Antigone calls the same person "Ismeeny." Translation that says "bottomless hole" for pit or abyss, that says "seize" instead of "take" the prisoners, when the guards merely march before and behind, completes the flat impression, etc., etc.

Cocteau's pantomime on prohibition redeems the program. Its extravagances are well caught, and the costumes and movement make it continuously entertaining. The American Laboratory Theatre announces a program of experiments for next season; may the pantomime be earnest of their quality.

At the Little Carnegie

Play House
Little Carnegie Playhouse at 146 West 57th street, one of the town's "little cinemas" and attracting to itself an increasing number of devotees of its subdued lighting and intimate charm, announces Elinor Glyn's "Such Men Are Dangerous" for the four days commencing Saturday, May 10. Warner Baxter, Hedda Hopper and Catherine Dale have the leading roles in this modern society romance which was directed by the late Kenneth Hawks.

At the Strand Theatre



H. B. Warner seems to be one of the busiest actors in pictures. He is appearing in pictures in "Wedding Rings," which has its first Broadway showing at the Strand Theatre.

Sponsors Costume Ball



Jack Mason, well known creator of unique entertainment, is the sponsor of the Continental Ball which will be held at the Madison Square Garden on May 17.

Jack Mason, Impresario, Sponsor of The Continental Costume Ball

When Jack Mason, impresario of the Continental Costume Ball, first threw his lot in with those promoters of public amusement known as "impresarios," he little knew that he would be invading the immortal Rickard's arena one day.

For the height of a showman's ambition is to one day be able to put on the grandest affair that his imagination can conceive. For such a display only the largest auditorium would, naturally, suffice. And in New York that means Madison Square Garden.

From his first upturn venture at Bryant Hall, Jack Mason has gone a long way. His personal rise from small time vaudeville to legitimate drama and stock acting parallels his achievements as promoter.

Still a youngster, even among the prodigies of Broadway, he is about to put over an affair that would give many a hardened showman sleepless nights of worry. The Continental Costume Ball, to be held at Madison Square Garden, May 17th, judging by the initial progress made will be still another triumph for Jack Mason.

"All Quiet On the Western Front" Settles Down for Run

Following its sensational successful premier, Universal's picturization of Remarque's literary epic of the World War, "All Quiet on the Western Front," has settled down for a Spring and Summer run at the Central theatre, where it is destined to become the Mecca of book enthusiasts from near and far. Long lines at the box office characterize every performance.

Setting down does not involve suggestions of quiet in this instance, for the noisy booming of artillery and the scream of bursting shells are ever present reminders that this film production is 100% sound. This circumstance, and the speed and volume of action, especially as regards the great ensembles, offers strong appeal to film fans who may never have turned a page of the famous book, which broke all records in many lands, including this country.

Large parties presenting strange contrasts in character and personnel are booking far ahead for special nights. They range from student organizations to American Legion posts, German societies and pacific organizations opposing militarism and war, illustrating forcibly the diversity of appeal centering in Remarque's book and its transcription to the screen.

Metropolitan Opera Choral School Concert May 21

The Choral School of the Metropolitan Opera Company, which will give its first public concert in Town Hall Wednesday evening, May 21, under the direction of Edoardo Petri, will sing the Sanctus from a Requiem Mass by Ildebrando Pizzetti.

This work by the composer of "Fra Gherardo," accentuating the Greek mode, was written in 1926 for double male chorus. It was performed once in this country, three years ago, by the Schola Cantorum under Kurt Schindler. Mr. Petri, with the approval of Mr. Pizzetti, will use the boys' chorus in the last few measures. The Di Lasso madrigal, "Quand mon mari," is dated Antwerp, the medieval name of Antwerp, 1564. It is taken from the First Book of Songs in Four Parts and will be sung in the original Old French text.

Socialists Working to Make Opera at Garden On May 24 a Success

With several successful ventures during the last few months to its credit, indicating that the Socialist party is rapidly gaining the confidence of an ever larger number of people, the Socialist organization of New York City is now bending all its efforts towards making a success of its next venture, which will be an opera to be staged at Madison Square Garden on May 24.

Under an arrangement made with the management of the Garden a large share of the profits derived from the sale of tickets will go to the Socialist party to enable it to continue an intensive literature and propaganda campaign during the summer, preparatory to the coming state campaign. As a result, Socialist branches have elected committees that will make a special effort to insure the making of a maximum profit.

The opera to be rendered is "Samson and Delilah." It is the celebrated Biblical opera which has stirred and captivated music lovers throughout the world. Rendered in the Madison Square Garden, a company of 200 has been engaged to execute the performance. Heading the cast will be Eleanor de Cisneros, world famous contralto, whose rendition of "Delilah" before audiences in all the leading cities of the world has given her international fame. There will be a corps de ballet, and an augmented orchestra, recruited from the Metropolitan Opera House.

Popular prices have been set for tickets, so that workers and their families may have an opportunity of witnessing this performance. Tickets are on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, the Socialist party, at the same address, and in a few days will be on sale at many Socialist institutions throughout the city.

"Wedding Rings" At Strand Theatre

"Wedding Rings," a drama of the love of two sisters for the same man, will be the attraction at Warner Bros. New York Strand Theatre beginning Friday (May 9). This is a Vitaphone production of "The Dark Swan," Ernest Pascal's best seller.

Lois Wilson and H. B. Warner are co-featured in this picture. Miss Wilson has the role of the self-sacrificing Cornelia Quinn. Olive Borden plays the part of the selfish, jazz-mad Eva Quinn, to whom love is a toy and marriage a refuge. Others in the cast are Hallam Cooley, James Ford, Eileen Manning and Kathleen Williams. William Beaudine directed.

Hippodrome Presents "Soldiers and Women" Chas. Bennington Heads Vaude.
"Soldiers and Women," the first of the group of Columbia Pictures that will be presented at the RKO Theatre, will have its premiere showing at the Hippodrome this Saturday, May 10th. Aileen Pringle and Grant Withers head a fine cast that includes Helen Johnson, a delightful new screen personality and beauty. The action takes place at a U. S. Marine Post in Haiti, affording a colorful background for this interesting drama, produced by Harry Cohn and directed by Edward Sloman.

On the vaudeville half of the show, Charles Bennington and His New York Newsboys Harmonica Band, Eddie Foley and Lea Leture, the Wilson Brothers, Four Peaches and a Jay, Jack La Vier and the Victoria Six, provide the entertainment.

WHOOPS MY DEAR!
New York's Wildest and Funniest Party

Continental Costume Ball

Madison Square Garden, Saturday Night, May 17.

Music RUDY VALLEE'S by VAGABONDS

TICKETS AT GARDEN BOX OFFICE AND AGENCIES

IT'S A WOW!

Wanted—SINGERS to learn the rudiments of music: piano key-board harmony and principles of accompanying.

NAT D. KANE, teacher of piano and theory, offers this special course for beginner students. Start now. Studio, 160 W. 73rd Street. End. 5788.

"BIGGEST LAUGH IN YEARS."

—Dartford, Eve. World

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JUNE MOON

By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

Broadhurst WEST 44TH ST. Evenings at 8:40

All priced seats at Box Office. Tickets for "June Moon" will never be sold at cut rate. Orchestra \$2; Balcony \$1 to \$2.50. No Tax.

The Show Girl in Person



The blond and vivacious Alice White makes her second "Show Girl" picture, now in its second week at the Winter Garden Theatre, a lively affair, that sparkles with laughs and wide cracks.

Gilbert Miller's Plans 55th Street's New Film

When Gilbert Miller left for Europe the other day, it may have been partly to look over the theatrical offerings of the continent; but a goodly selection of these he has already garnered for next season's presentation. There is, lastly gathered, "Etienne," from the French of Jacques Deval, which Mr. Miller will produce in London and here. This play deals with a modern Telemachus, who goes to bring back his wandering father, while faithful mother waits. But more interesting things happen to this modern son than Homer had for Ulysses' lad.

"The Dreyfus Affair," finally caught into a successful drama, the season's sensation in Berlin, and the work of Hans J. Rehfsch and William Herzog, brings Jean Jaures, Zola, Anatole France, Clemenceau, and others who played parts in the famous case, onto the stage.

Another interesting item in the Gilbert Miller news is the arrangement for the coming to America of Max Pallenberg and his wife, Fritz Masary, stars of the German stage, who will appear in a series of plays in German, including "Lilom," "The First Mrs. Tanqueray," "Grumpy," Moliere's "Le Malade Imaginaire," "Constance," "Famille Schmeck," and "Piscator's" well known production, "Schweyk."

Also on the schedule from this producer are "One, Two, Three," by Ferenc Molnar, "Marius," by Marcel Pagnol, author of "Topaze," and "The Weaker Sex," by Edouard Bourdet, whose "The Captive" will still be remembered.

Last but not least, the producing staff of Gilbert Miller has taken on one Chester Erskin, whom those who have seen "Subway Express," "Harlem," or "The Last Mile," will not forget. Sounds like a good year for, and from Gilbert Miller.

"Gold Braid" Coming to The Masque Theatre

Louis A. Saffen announces that "Gold Braid," the play by Ann Shelby, which is laid in an army post in Camp Malabang, Philippine Islands, will open next Tuesday night, May 13th, at the Masque Theatre.

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

Hotel Universe

A New Play by PHILIP BARRY

Martin Beck Theatre

15th Street West of Broadway

Even. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

A MONTH IN THE COUNTRY

By IVAN TURGENEV

GUILD THEATRE

32nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY

Even. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

The Apple Cart

Bernard Shaw's Political Extravaganza

ALVIN THEATRE

32nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY

Even. 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

"King of Jazz" Reigns at Roxy

The all-talking, all-singing, all-technicolor musical extravaganza, "King of Jazz," produced by Universal, starring Paul Whiteman and His Orchestra, had its Broadway premiere at the Roxy last Friday, where Paul Whiteman and his musical disciples appeared in person, and gave blasé New York a treat for the eyes and ears.

John Murray Anderson, of Broadway fame, well known for his Greenwich Village follies, was given carte blanche by Carl Laemmle for the making of the picture, and has turned out a magnificent production, including some of the largest and most beautiful scenes the camera has ever shot. The picture consists of eight musical spectacles, between which are interspersed innumerable specialties and comedy acts and blackouts, all devised and directed by Anderson. Paul Whiteman and his band, who provide music throughout the picture, also appear in a variety of numbers, and are assisted by an array of stars featuring such names as John Boles, Laura La Plante, Jeannette Loff, Glen Tryon, Nerna Kennedy, Kathryn Crawford, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

The musical score by Ferde Grofe, is unusually tuneful, and was arranged by James Dietrich. Lyricists who wrote special music for the production are Mabel Wayne, Milton Ager and Jack Yellen.

Universal considers "King of Jazz," the most spectacular and ambitious production it has ever made. We consider it a gorgeous extravaganza that should please everybody.

Hall Johnson Choir To Give Two Concerts

On Sunday evening, May 18, at the Mansfield Theatre, the Hall Johnson Negro choir, with the collaboration and assistance of Laurence Rivers, and "The Green Pastures" choir will appear in a recital of the characteristic music of the Negro race.

A decided novelty will be a group of original compositions by the conductor, Hall Johnson, which will be heard in recital for the first time, and there is also a group of settings of "Songs from the South" including "Dixie."

None of the songs heard in "The Green Pastures" will be performed at the concert, and most of the numbers are "first times" for the choir.

A different program is to be presented in a second recital on the evening of May 25.

CIVIC REPERTORY

14th St., 6th Ave., Even. 8:30

50c, \$1, \$1.50, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director

Mon. Eve., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Tues. Eve., "The Living Corpse" (Tolstoy); Wed. Eve., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Thurs. Mat., "The Grudge Song" (Sierra); Thurs. Eve., "The Open Door" (Sutro); and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero); Fri. Eve., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Sat. Mat., "Peter Pan" (Barrie); Sat. Eve., "Inheritors" (Glaswell)

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MIDNIGHT PICTURES

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His Majesty "The King of Jazz" Remains at Roxy



The likeable Paul Whiteman, who has scored heavily in John Murray Anderson's spectacular revue "The King of Jazz" remains another week at the Roxy, where he dispenses joy to his legion of followers, and continues breaking house records.

Edward Blatt's New Season

Edward A. Blatt, producer of "Subway Express," has formed a partnership with M. J. Nicholas. The new firm plans to do many plays and promises that their first joint offering will be a revue which they tentatively have called the "New Yorker." They are now selecting sketches and doing the other necessary work to get this revue under way with a premiere performance promised for mid July.

Sidney Kingsley, an actor now employed in "Subway Express" at the Republic Theatre, has sold the firm a new comedy that is promised early production. New plays are solicited, with a promise that they will be read quickly.

Eddie Blatt, as his friends call him, is the youngest producer in the theatrical game. He was more or less responsible for bringing to light the talents of Chester Erskin, that dynamic young director who has made such a name for himself.

A different program is to be presented in a second recital on the evening of May 25.

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Celebrities Make Personal Appearance at Winter Garden

J. P. McEvoy, noted author, came down from his summer home at Woodstock, N. Y. yesterday as the guest of honor of the Winter Garden Theatre, where his "Show Girl in Hollywood" is the current feature. He was introduced to the audience.

"WEDDING RINGS"

with

LOIS WILSON

H. B. WARNER

OLIVE BORDEN

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
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NEW LEADER

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

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6 SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1930

Words, Words, Words

DEAR MR. HOOVER:

In your recent address you state that any action taken in relation to the breakdown of the industrial system "must adhere steadfastly to the very bones of our economic system." You add that "progress must come from individual initiative; and in time of stress it must be mobilized through cooperative action." Having said that capitalism took another downward plunge.

We are puzzled. So are you. Even you must admit that we have adhered to the system and yet it has brought the breakdown. How much more must we adhere to it before it will right itself?

You get a handsome salary with board and all expenses and we can understand how you can broadcast a lot of words that provide no jobs and that fill no empty stomachs. The performance costs you nothing and you draw your salary just the same, but it appears to us that if you stood on the headline you would not thus talk.

Take a sample from the bulk. Here is a man who has walked the streets for weeks looking for work. There are children at home in need of food. You tell him that "progress must come from individual initiative." He has tried it for weeks and months. His initiative sends him in search of a job. He makes no "progress." If you think he has not exhausted his initiative have your agents question him in the headline. If you think of some other employment of his initiative, tell him about it. He would be glad to know. So would millions like him.

But you send him words, words, words, that butter no parsnips and provide him no job. Intelligent people are getting tired of endless drivel. What do you say, Mr. Hoover? What about JOBS, JOBS, JOBS?

Economists Protest

OVER a thousand American economists urge the President to veto the tariff bill. It is the first time in our history that this has occurred. This measure is so glaringly a tonic made for the enjoyment of the capitalist class and goes so far in writing the interests of this class into law that the economists recoil from it. In framing it Democratic and Republican members of Congress have acted as chosen agents of leading capitalists in their states and districts. If Mr. Woll and his tariff league have cooperated they have simply served as allies of this capitalist class.

Aside from the fact that the bill will enhance the cost of living for the workers, swell the money bags of big exploiters and invite retaliation by other nations, it reveals its authors as incompetent representatives of class rule. This is what gives conservative economists alarm. The great majority of them accept capitalist property as the basis of the social order. So do the authors and supporters of the bill.

But here is a measure that is no more intelligent than the Fugitive Slave Bill enacted for southern planters and to be enforced chiefly in the North. It is stupidity which may recoil upon the exploiters and their political agents. Conservative economists know that if the owners of capitalist property are to govern their agents must display a little common sense. Slave property lost because of its arrogance and stupidity. Capitalist property is taking the same course.

Some people are known to drug themselves before committing suicide. Our ruling classes are reaching for an opiate in this tariff bill.

Explaining "Education"

OBJECTION having been made on religious grounds to a text book by professors Hayes and Moon entitled "Modern History," it is finally excluded from the public schools on economic and political grounds masked as "Americanism." Acting Superintendent Campbell said:

"The general attitude of the book on economic and social problems . . . might easily

give to children the impression that many, if not all, of the cries raised against the capitalists of the present economic structure are true . . . particularly in the light of endeavors now being made by radical agencies to persuade our children that the present economic system justifies defiance to constituted authority."

In other words, criticism of capitalists in a text book cannot be squared with "Americanism." Well, that is frankness at least. We at least know that the owners of industry do not have to own the schools as well as their factories in order to dictate what shall be taught. The politicians who run the school system will take care that our exploiters are treated with the respect due to "superiors."

When Mr. Campbell adds that the authors offend by also saying that there is no "real equality of opportunity" today we also understand. We hope that the "educator" will go down to the breadlines to convince the jobless of the sin of the authors. From this sector of "equality" he should move on to the members of trade unions and inform them that a giant corporation in law is recognized as a "person," that a tubercular girl in a sweatshop in law is also such a "person," and that each is "equal before the law." Then add that it is a sin to criticize the first "person" in a text book.

So "education" and "Americanism" are both stamped with a dollar mark. We understand you, gentlemen, for the kept poodles that you are.

The Jobless Specialists

WHITE-COLLAR executives who have earned salaries ranging from \$10,000 to \$50,000 per year are being displaced by corporation mergers. The special task of one New York employment agency is finding jobs for them. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, declares that there are similar agencies in other cities and that from 15 to 30 such men can be found haunting these agencies any hour of the day.

Mr. Klein is very much concerned about the effect of unemployment on this class. He emphasizes various phases of the tragedy. Here is a man with special training, having enjoyed a good salary for many years suddenly hurled into idleness. Continued unemployment or employment in a lower occupation "at a salary that is only a fraction of what he once enjoyed—he is apt to be a rather embittered, resentful man." This is especially true if he is on the "twilight side" of middle age for he is likely to be oppressed by the feeling that he has been "beaten by life."

We submit that this mood on the part of many men who had enjoyed good incomes would be dangerous to the whole capitalist system. The high salaried specialist bears the same relation to our ruling capitalist class that fighting chiefs bore to the ruling feudal class. To turn the specialists adrift as they do workers who are displaced by machines is a dangerous policy for our ruling classes. For this reason Mr. Klein urges establishment of a central agency to help unemployed specialists to find a place in the capitalist scheme of things.

This may help some but it does not provide for the whole displaced class any more than employment agencies help all unemployed wage workers. Capitalism has no solution. The specialists should make recruits for the Socialist movement.

IN A NUTSHELL

Science is more hopeful of perfecting poison gas than of curing cancer.—John Galsworthy.

Senator Fess declared that Socialism is back of this opposition to Judge Parker. We 'fess up and are thankful for the tribute.

The power of wealth is enslaving humanity. Instead of ruling humanity through the pocket we should, by organized effort, create more wealth and distribute it so that all should enjoy that wealth.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

New Jersey manufacturers last week declared against old age pensions as "paternalistic" and drank to old age tariffs for the capitalist class.

God give us men . . . then teach us not to use them as cannon fodder.—Thomas Jay.

More big mergers are ahead in public utilities which involve billions of dollars in New York State. We never eat pork, until we have fattened the pig and these pigs are being prepared for a Socialist dinner.

The worker still touches his hat to the man who touches his pocket. The young plutocrat drives his motor over a proletarian and apologizes to his lady friend for causing a jolt.—Dr. Furse.

"La Nacion" of Argentina declares that our imperialism is as "brutal as other countries." We are a Scar Face Al to our Latin-American neighbors.

By itself, capital is inert. It is dead labor which can revive only by sucking, vampire-like, the blood of living labor, and which lives and thrives with all the more vigor the more blood it absorbs.—Karl Marx.

One of Hoover's official associates wrote him that the appointment of Parker would be a "master political stroke." No, the court is not in politics. It is a drawing room of gentlemen suspended between earth and sky, where politicians and exploiters cannot enter.

The pending tariff bill carries a tax on hides but one animal it does not touch is the "yellow dog," the kept poodle of labor exploiters and judges.

Perhaps Mayor Walker has taken that vacation in order to have time to figure out how much of the salary grab he can give to charity.

Ruth Hanna McCormick spent \$250,000 to obtain a nomination for the U. S. Senate. In this nation of equality of opportunity every voter in Illinois knows that he had an equal chance to buy this article.

The 1930 Labor Year-Book

WITH the appearance of the American Labor Year Book for 1930 the eleventh volume of this useful annual is at hand. Besides the convention of the American Federation of Labor last year the conventions of 24 trade unions affiliated with it are given notice and the student of current trends in the labor movement will turn to these reports with considerable interest.

The material shows varying fortunes of the unions. A few have held their own in membership and some have even gained. Others reveal a situation that is far from satisfactory to the members and officers. The march of mass production and machinery that displaces labor is evident. Perhaps the most startling report is that relating to the Coopers. This union had 162 locals and 7,927 members in 1903 but last year the secretary reported 37 locals and 715 members. Prohibition was denounced and there is little doubt that the Volstead Act is largely responsible for the decline.

We also note that the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. estimates the number of "yellow dog" contracts in this country at 1,250,000. It is the metal trades that are especially affected by mass production and huge corporations and where unionism faces its greatest problem of organization. The following paragraph of the report on this problem is therefore of special interest:

"Unless our international organization can create a new basis upon a plan by which a united effort can be made to organize the workers in these mass production plants, it would appear that almost useless to attempt organization. . . . We are not making any progress. . . . under our present methods."

For years this stalemate in organization of the metal trades has continued because the international cannot agree on a plan of campaign and a method of distributing members among the cooperating unions. More's the pity.

One is tempted to dwell longer on this section of the book but space will not permit. We note that the Communist movement last year managed to shift back to the period of its origin in 1919 through "splits" so that there are now four organizations. The reader who cares to ascertain the world-shaking "issues" that divide them will find enough excerpts here to follow the fight.

Other sections are devoted to Strikes and Lockouts, Labor Politics, Labor Legislation, Court Decisions Affecting Labor, Civil Liberties, Workers' Education, Cooperation, International Relations of Labor, Labor Abroad, New Books and Pamphlets published last year, and an International Directory which gives the head offices of the Labor Unions, Labor Political Parties, Workers' Education Movement, and Cooperative Labor Legislation and Defense organizations.

All the information presented is drawn from reliable sources. It is a factual survey that is presented without any attempt at editorial comment. No more useful volume is to be had for those who are interested in the various phases of the labor movement. Those who speak or write, as well as those who are engaged in any capacity in the labor movement, cannot afford to be without the American Labor Year Book. The editor, Nathan Fine, has done a creditable job, and this volume measures up to the others in the series.

J. O.

In the Labor Papers

A. F. OF L. MUST CHANGE

"The old order changeth and institutions must adapt themselves to such changes if they would live and function. The American Federation of Labor was organized 50 years ago and has undergone practically no organic change in that long period. In the meantime far-reaching changes in the industry have taken place which throw the labor movement out of step with conditions."

Many serious minded students forecast changes in the structure and authority of the A. F. of L. During the next few years the test of efficiency will be made; and unless results can be shown a new form must supercede the present one.

The A. F. of L. is firmly established upon a conservative foundation and will not change its form or course unless forced by economic conditions to make a departure. It is the belief that this is the force that will compel organization. At present the American Federation exercises a very restricted power, but takes the blame for the shortcomings of the entire labor movement. It must cease to be the goat; it must become the dominant force in progress and achievement.—Union Advocate of St. Paul.

"BACKLOGS OF LIBERTY" Freedom of speech and of petition are basic in building up free institutions. These rights alone make possible redress of grievances and secure justice. To deny them is to create opportunity for arbitrary treatment and advocates of revolutionary practices.

Even though the cause may be wrong, speakers should have the right to state their views under police protection until some overt act is committed. The way to the liberation of a minority movement is not to suppress them but to attack those sore spots in our social organization that furnish ammunition to revolutionaries. Repression and strong-arm tactics bring martyrdom which adds to the appeal of the revolutionaries.

To take away free speech and the right of petition diverts activities into secret channels with all the dangers of an outlaw institution. The great hope for progress is to keep open constitutional channels for revising policies and providing agencies for changing programs.—American Laborer.

India's "Open Conspiracy"

What Ghandi Wants

The Socialist Head of the Indian National Congress Outlines The Plan of Battle Against Imperialism

With the arrest of Ghandi in India, the revolts in that country have reached a critical point. The following article is timely for it states at once India's aspiration for freedom and the plan of battle behind the strategy of the forces of Indian freedom. The article is based on an address before the recent Indian National Congress delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru, its president. Nehru, a Socialist, is now serving a six-months term in prison for his activity in the revolt.

By Jawaharlal Nehru
President, Indian National Congress

THE whole world today is one vast question mark and every country and every people is in the melting pot. The age of faith, with the comfort and stability it brings, is past, and there is questioning about everything, however permanent or sacred it might have appeared to our forefathers. Everywhere there is doubt and restlessness and the foundations of the State and Society are in process of transformation. Old established ideas of liberty, justice, property and even the family are being attacked and the outcome hangs in the balance. We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labor and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

India today is a part of world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems, difficult and intricate, and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world.

What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom again? Do we want outsiders who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom? No majority can crush a determined minority, and no minority can be suf-

ficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in a legislature. Let us remember that in the world today almost everywhere, a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

The army of occupation holds our country in its iron grip and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare to raise their heads.

Can we cooperate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us? Can we cooperate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we cooperate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British Imperialism.

The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing. It cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be, what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed. So long as there is domination of one country over another or the exploitation of one class by another there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of Imperialism and capitalism peace can never come.

The weight of a great Empire is heavy to carry and long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the Commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues?

Necessity the Government has to rely on oppression and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its despicable and contemptible train of agents, provocateurs, informers and approvers.

We stand therefore today for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare. I hope, that India

submits no longer to any foreign domination. Today or tomorrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake to underrate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences, I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If today we fail and tomorrow brings no success, the day later will follow and bring achievement.

But we long for peace, and the hand of fellowship will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitation, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the States must be the people of those states including the rulers. We who claim self-determination cannot deny it to the people of our states.

India means the peasantry and labor and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we be successful in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it. We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause which is really the Country's cause.

Today the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the laborer who works on it; and industry's chief function is supposed to be able to produce millions. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

The methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralization in its train, and in our country especially, it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organized violence rules the world today and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we

have not the material or the training for organized violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice.

Any great movement for liberation today must necessarily be a mass movement and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organized revolt. Whether we have the non-cooperation of a decade ago or the modern industrial weapon of the general strike the basis is peaceful organization and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one, spontaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side.

The poverty-stricken people of India cannot agree to shoulder the burden of the wars fought by England to extend her domain or consolidate her position in India nor can they accept the many concessions lavishly bestowed without even proper compensation, on foreign exploiters.

We play for high stakes; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavor and from writing a noble page in our Country's long and splendid history.

We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and, it may be, death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

Open the Doors!

By Jacob Panken

SEVENTEENTH Century persecution against non-conformists, whether non-conformity was political or religious, gave impetus to the emigration from European shores resulting in the settling of the political and religious victims on the American Continent. They were refugees. Religion in the Seventeenth Century was a State affair. It was supported by the governments and in turn it controlled the governments so that religious persecution and intolerance was a political manifestation.

From the very beginning of the Seventeenth Century, America was the refuge for the politically persecuted. The politically persecuted, as well as the revolutionists, always found the door open to our shores and a ready welcome at the hands of our people.

Some of the greatest names in American history are those of political refugees admitted to our land. Carl Schurz, a general in the Civil War, a United States Senator and a member of the Cabinet, was a political refugee from Germany because of his revolutionary activities in 1848.

In American science, politics and literature, political refugees have left their names inscribed indelibly.

We have grown to power, to riches, to might because of the contributions made by the non-conformists who have come to our shores. The non-conformists, the progressives, the visionaries, the men who are always ahead of the unthinking, undreaming, unintelligent, are the persecuted by reactionary, autocratic and dictatorial governments.

We have shut our doors against political refugees. That does violence to our traditions and puts shame upon our history. Open the doors to the political refugees. We are not the agents of Mussolini; we are not the servants of a DeRivers; we are not the handmaidens of a King Alexander; we are not the police force for reactionary governments to stifle and destroy every act of dissent on the part of their nationals seeking a change for the better in their respective governments.

OPEN THE DOOR FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—(FP)—In this non-union center Machinery Lodge 420 reports crowded meetings due to the new policy of inviting speakers to union meetings. After the 40-minute address, members ask questions and discuss the speaker's topic.

Workers On the Sea

By Art Shields

ARTHUR WARNER has written a story of the work life of the sea that deserves a leading place in the library of any seamen's union local or any labor organization for that matter. His "Landlubber's Log" (Little, Brown & Co.) fascinates me more than any of Conrad's stories because I am more interested in the drama of the forecastle and the stoke-hole than in the moonings of the deck officer on his bridge.

This is no tale of shipwreck and piracy but a fascinating narrative of sailor's jobs. Leaving New York with just one penny in his pocket Warner worked his way around the world as an able seaman on tramp steamer and windjammer and as coal trimmer in the black gang. He tells about the work of his fellow workers; he lived in the stoke-hole and he hated the caste system of the sea that invests an often stupid officer with monarchical powers. He marched with the gang to the cabin with a "kid" of stinking food for the captain to smell.

This is one of the many vivid scenes that is realistic to the core. As pantry man on another British cargo boat I saw just such a delegation put the skipper to rout with the odor from the "black pan" containing a sample of the rotten chuck they were protesting against.

"The war-kr on this hooker is light, but the grub is lighter."

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True Humanism

By William Lea

THESE days when the term "humanism" is the battle-cry of critics who in the field of literature try to root out the flowers and weeds alike of recent planting, it is interesting to find one writer who takes the term in its full sense, of a genuine concern with human values in life. In "The New Humanism" (Ives Washburn, \$3), Leon Samson looks with critical eye upon many aspects of living. Occasional pungent statements lighten the forceful presentation.

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless lawyers rich. Just as our doctors pray for epidemics, so our lawyers are ever on the lookout for trouble." The importance of money is suggested with apt comparisons, and the role it played in the rise of the middle class suggestively if sketchily traced. The "superstition of sacrifice" is neatly pilloried, and Christianity from this Samson goes begging for the pale platitudes of Menckens' attack on religion.

The backbone of Samson's book, the spinal column of his reasoning—though limbs reach strongly out—is an attack on private ownership of property. This is delightfully fortified, at the close of the volume, by a series of quotations illustrating the communal life of "primitive" peoples, quoting Plato: "Hence in those days mankind was not very poor, nor was poverty the cause of difference among them; and rich they could not have been, having neither gold nor silver. . . . And the community which has neither poverty nor riches will always have the noblest principles; in it, there are no insults or injustices."—And quoting Darwin: "The perfect equality among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes, must for a long time retard their civilization." But more emphatic are the words I draw from the author himself: "The state is not, as Hegel would have it, 'The March of God in the World,' nor as the anarchists lament, 'The march of the Devil in the World.' The state is a civilized institution designed to guarantee property, to sanctify slavery and to insure the isolation of the private household from the affairs of the world. The state is the political paralysis of the people. It is because I am a zero that the state is an infinity. . . . The state dominates not only by force but also by fear and by fraud." The book ends with a hope that in some distant day, the worshipful, peasant adoration of the city and city culture—"civilization"—will pass, and permit a true perspective and a true civilization. But, though the author's goal lies in the future, he has an axe in hand, to destroy (and shovel handy, to build) in the wide field of the present.

Anaconda Cuts Wages, Announces Net Income Of \$69,000,000 in '29

BUTTE, Mont.—(FP)—Miners' wages in the Butte district, which one year ago were \$6 a day, dropped to \$5.25 on May 1. The recent wage cut of 25c announced by the Anaconda Copper Co. applies to its employees in mining, smelting, lumber and various other Montana industries. For the past four months they have been on a part time basis.

Reflecting the price of 18 cents a pound for copper that prevailed most of last year, the report of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and subsidiaries for 1929, issued Monday, showed a net income of \$69,115,728 after all taxes, depreciation and proportion accruing to minority interests and after charging off \$4,080,866 in discount and interest paid on bonds redeemed on August 1. These earnings were equal to \$8.29 a share on 8,828,063 shares outstanding at the end of the year, and compared with net earnings of \$24,174,780, or \$5.63 a share on 3,648,811 shares in 1928.