

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

More Lynch Law in the South—The Way Out in India—  
The Future of the Supreme Court—Non-Partisan  
Politics in New York—Whalen's Latest Literary  
Effort—Feeding the Jobless

### 14 HOURS IN A SOUTHERN "ATHENS"

SHERMAN, Texas, has a population of slightly more than 16,000, 95% of whom are whites. The town has two denominational colleges, 27 churches and a Y. W. C. A. with a large membership.



Thus a newspaper despatch describes the "Athens" of Texas which for 14 hours was under the dominion of a mob which resorted to every form of bestial cruelty in its efforts to lynch a Negro who was already in charge of officers of the law. It succeeded in burning the Negro to death and the courthouse with him. It destroyed a considerable part of the Negro quarter of the town. In no part of the civilized world but America would such a thing have been possible. It is somewhat to the credit of Texas that the Governor has put the town under martial law and that there have been actually arrests of the alleged leaders of the mob. Whether they will be convicted remains to be seen. A mob such as this, while it is raging, can only be met with force and sternness. Future mobs are likely to be discouraged by severe punishment. But the question of mobs, the crowd psychology which lies behind them, and the special cultural and economical circumstances which make them possible in America, demand investigation. What have Sherman's good citizens to say? Will they carry out the proposal of a clergyman that the Negroes be recompensed for the damage done to their property? The United States has no rightful place in any civilized community of nations unless it can stop this sort of thing.

### BRITAIN'S BELATED INDIAN STATEMENT

THE British Government has at last announced a date for the publication of the Simon report on India next month, and for some sort of conference supposedly and very vaguely looking to "eventual" home rule, to be held in London in October. We submit that this does not meet the requirements of the present situation or the British Labor Party's official promise of cooperation towards self-government in its election program. Gandhi and the Congress leaders would have accepted such a conference when it was suggested last November if as an earnest of good faith there had been amnesty for political prisoners and some assurance that the conference could work out a program of Dominion home rule and not merely discuss reform. The conservative viceroy gave no such assurances and in no degree mitigated the lot of imprisoned political offenders or lightened repressive rules. So precious time was lost. Now the cry is, "Anarchy and rioting must first be put down." Thus are the energies of a Labor Government diverted from its proper functions into a preservation of imperialism. There is a man in Britain, C. F. Andrews by name, who even now has so much confidence in the Indian leaders and people that he might be the negotiator of an honorable peace. Another admirable negotiator would be Finner Brockway, whose clear-out statement in the N. Y. Evening Post of May 14 ought to command the respect of American Socialists. If to use him or to try to apply his spirit meant the downfall of the Labor Government, it might at least mean the salvation of the Socialist ideal which is worth many months of power or seeming power in office for a party whose main preoccupation must be to pull Tory chestnuts out of the Indian fire. Let it be said at once that the America which hangs on to the Philippines, or the America of Sherman, Texas, has no right to give the British any advice. But we who are Socialists have a right to plead with our comrades for the sake of a common cause.

### PARKER'S DEFEAT AND THE FUTURE OF THE SUPREME COURT

THOROUGHLY satisfactory was the defeat of Judge Parker for the Supreme Court. And honor enough there was in it for all concerned, for the A. F. of L. and other labor bodies, for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other Negro organizations, for the Socialist Party and all progressive citizens. But let us see where it leads us. First, it was a negative rather than a positive thing. Judge Parker was defeated but Mr. Owen Roberts will probably be confirmed. He is an able lawyer who did a good job on the oil cases. He has no specific bad decisions to his discredit, for he has not been a judge. But he is a Philadelphia conservative with a corporation point of view. That isn't good enough.

Again, to defeat Judge Parker is not of itself to curb the dangerous powers of the court to legislate its social and economic prejudices into judge-made law, more unchanging than the laws of Medes and Persians. One of the most imperative duties of labor and all progressive citizens is to abridge the power of the Supreme Court. That will probably be harder to do by non-partisan action than it was to defeat Judge Parker shortly before election by non-partisan action. Non-partisan action in general is better at defeating bad laws than passing good laws. What we need is a program which includes a curb on the power of the Supreme Court. And a program is what is lacking in what passes for progressivism in Washington.

### N. Y. LABOR'S DEMANDS

JUST what happens to labor programs under a non-partisan scheme is illustrated by the failure of the excellent program of the New York State Federation of Labor. It offered thirteen demands. On seven it got exactly nothing. On six it got somewhere from 1 to possibly 50 per cent of what it asked. This is true of most important measures as its injunction bill, and its genuinely Socialistic demand for "State ownership and development of public waters and energy therefrom and distribution of procured electric light, heat, and power to homes, farms and workshops at cost." All labor got on this latter demand was a commission to consider development of power resources on the St. Lawrence. Herbert N. Merrill, Socialist state secretary and a good labor man, has made a summary of this situation which is worth reading in full.

### FIRST FRUITS OF THE TARIFF

OUR tariff of abominations, even before it is a law, has cost America heavy increases in "countervailing" duties on at least \$225,000,000 of our exports to Canada which is our best customer. At the same time duties are lowered to Britain. This will likely still further stimulate American corporations to open branches in Canada which will compete with American labor in the world market. Such is the price we pay for tariff which at best may help one worker out of fifty. And this tariff is a bipartisan product. The Democrats who denounced it all worked for it on the things they were interested in. Copeland, of New York, worked for more increases in rates than Reed or Sir. H. H. By log-rolling are our tariffs made.

### MR. WHALEN'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

EIGHT months ago New York's one and only Grover Whalen said that he had gangsters on the run and that there were no really organized gangs in New York. Now he says gangs are a national menace. That's part of his boasted progress. Actually Whalen has regulated traffic, uniformed his department and made a lot of noise. On the very day his report appeared in the papers, Congressman LaGuardia on the basis of some excellent work done by a reporter for the Evening Graphic, showed in Congress that Whalen's precious Russian documents were almost certainly forgeries. He hasn't even these as a poor excuse for what harm he has done to civil liberties and for his failure to break up the vicious alliance of politicians, racketeers and gangsters, which are the enemies of public decency in New York as in other American cities.

### NEW EXHIBITS ON THE "NEW" TAMMANY

JUDGE VAUSE of Brooklyn is under fire for \$250,000 in illegal fees, most of it in connection with a pier lease from the city to the United American Lines. This transaction was not discovered by any city authority but by the Federal district attorney.

The Board of Standards and Appeals is at last under investigation charged with selling permits for garages and the like. Charges against it were made during the last campaign and have been pressed by newspapers, not by the Walker administration.

Former Chief Probation Officer Cooley, a man who enjoyed an excellent reputation in his field, is under indictment and his department under investigation. The clues that led to this action were in the hands of, or available to, the Mayor and judges of

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# NEW LEADER

With Which  
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THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. X.—No. 15

Published Weekly at  
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1930

Entered as Second-Class Matter, January  
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,  
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year . . . . . \$2.00  
Three Months . . . . . .75  
Six Months . . . . . 1.00

## A.C.W. Gains 15,000; Meets In Toronto

Union Records Great Achievements in Many Fields—Phila. Victory Inspires Delegates

By Gertrude Weil Klein

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

TORONTO.—The Ninth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Hundreds of workers—tailors, pressers, operators, cutters, men and women from all over the country—taking possession, temporarily, at least, of the most beautiful hotel in the British Empire, the Royal York of Toronto. Big men with bowed shoulders—pressers; slender men with long fingers—tailors; stocky men who have sat long hours at the machine; girls from Kentucky and Rochester and Toronto—young, for the most part, and thrilled and thrilling. Music and flowers and a long stretch of greenward lake fronting the hotel.

The Convention itself an amazing recapitulation of achievement, when seen in perspective. Working day by day in the machinery, as the routine of organization work, they cannot always get the viewpoint, the feel of forward movement that the Convention gives. One must be biased and cynical indeed, not to become a bit heady and exhilarated with it all. One must think very hard and determinedly of the dark spots, of severe unemployment which has gripped the whole industry, of internecine warfare that occasionally threatens to rock certain sections of the organization, of dishonest men and corrupt men and self-seeking men who are willing to wreck the union, built at such tremendous cost, in order to satisfy their own ambitions or their own grudge—I say, one must think of these dark spots to keep from going shamelessly and hopelessly, sentimental. And when one does think of them, it is only for a moment. They are immediately dissipated by the knowledge that such things cannot be wholly avoided in any organization so large and powerful as the Amalgamated, and that in the Amalgamated they are at an almost irreducible minimum and that they are not countenanced by the overwhelming rank and file nor by the men at the helm of the organization.

### Independent Politics Urged

They say that this is not the most exciting Amalgamated Convention. They talk about Boston in 1900 and Chicago in 1924 and Rochester way back in '16. There may have been more fireworks, more of the spectacular in other conventions, but from one angle this Convention is highly exciting. It is held in a city which is part of a country where labor political action is as important as labor industrial action, and the spirit of Ramsay MacDonald and the English Labor Party dominates the imagination. Participating in the opening of the Convention and offering the delegates the freedom of the city, was James Simpson the Controller of the city of Toronto, elected on the Labor Party ticket. In the course of his talk, wherein he recounted incidentally that in Toronto, the firemen, the street-cleaners and other city employees are labor unionists, Mr. Simpson urged the importance of labor political action.

"Of course we have here," said Mr. Simpson, "The policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, and until the United States gets away from this policy, it will be hard for us to get away from it. You must take the lead in the political field. You may fight with one arm, but the enemy fights with two."

Also participating in the opening of the Convention was one of the Labor members of Parliament, James Woodworth, who described graphically the strategic position which their small group held in forcing through certain labor measures. "For a while we held the balance of power," said Mr. Woodworth, and we said to the two parties—"What are you going to do about old age pensions?" and by throwing our votes to the party which promised its support to the old age pension measure, we pushed it through. The same thing is going to happen on the unemployment question, which will be a prime issue in the coming election. The Labor Party will again be in a strategic position, the two old parties being evenly balanced."

This may not be as exciting as the revolution, or it may be much more exciting, as you look at it. Certainly the potentialities are exciting enough.

However, it is rather unreasonable to measure a convention by the excitement it engenders. The

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## California, Maryland Socialists Nominate Women for Governor

Mrs. Crane-Gartz Heads Ticket in Western State—Upton Sinclair For Lieutenant Governor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES.—The convention of California Socialists meetings here over the week-end by nominating a woman for governor. The convention enthusiastically put forward Mrs. Kate Crane-Gartz as the party's standard bearer in the state. Upton Sinclair, world famous Socialist novelist, was nominated lieutenant governor.

The convention was opened by State Chairman Cameron H. King of San Francisco under the most promising set of circumstances. The party in California has been growing for a decade. The phenomenal growth of the party in Los Angeles and nearby territory was the most inspiring of a series of events that made the convention an encouraging one. Reports came also of the marked resurgence of Socialist spirit in San Francisco which offers ground fully as fertile as Los Angeles for party growth. Nor was party progress reported only from these two cities. Branches have just been organized in Long Branch and San Bernardino. Socialist interests dots the entire state and the naming of Mrs. Crane-Gartz and Sinclair promise a campaign which will mean much for Socialism in California.

## 2,800 Taxi Drivers Strike In New York

Six of Eight Big Garages Tied Up—Thomas, Claessens Address Men at Meetings

By Joe Feiden

NEW YORK taxi cab drivers, victimized for many years by a ruthless anti-labor policy, are lifting their heads in determined revolt. More than 2,800 hackmen are out. The total may soon be 4,000. More than that, they are winning new garages daily. A union has been set up, called the Hackmen's Protective Union, which seeks affiliation with the American Federation of Labor through the teamsters' international. The enthusiasm of the strikers is high and the men are determined to go on to victory.

On May 2, 3,000 drivers of the Butler Street, Brooklyn, garage of the Motor Cab Transportation System, walked out. The strike was brought about by the company replacing the regular manager with a man said to have come from Chicago, who treated the men oppressively. The McKibben Street garage, having had trouble of a similar nature, went out on a sympathy strike. The Hooper and Middleton Street garages went out shortly after. The real cause of the strike, though, is much deeper than its immediate cause. It is the result of conditions existing at all the garages since the company came into existence.

Since the company began business it has used a system whereby the average bookings for the night were computed and all drivers whose bookings were much below the average were "laid off" the next day. This resulted in many of the drivers "ghost riding" or "riding their tips," which means that a driver who was afraid of losing his job would drive the cab with the meter registering and pay for the bookings out of his earnings. This created ill-will among the drivers against the company. There were many other abuses, such as making the men pay for equipment damaged or stolen while they were at work.

When the Brooklyn garages went on strike the men organized a union and are now demanding the elimination of the almost unbearable conditions and the recognition of the union, known as the Hackmen's Protective Union. During the first few days of the strike men from the Communist "Trade Union Unity League" attempted to speak to the men, but were all but "kicked out."

Wednesday evening, August 7, August Claessens spoke to the men and was very favorably received. Thursday the strikers invited Norman Thomas to speak. The Socialist leader addressed the strikers again Monday.

On Saturday, representatives of the company asked the men to

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Elizabeth Gilman Will Make Race In Maryland, Hagerstown Convention Decides

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HAGERSTOWN, Md.—Miss Elizabeth Gilman, of Baltimore, daughter of the late Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, first president of Johns Hopkins University, Sunday was unanimously chosen as their candidate for Governor by Maryland Socialists in convention here.

In accepting the nomination Miss Gilman stated she felt highly honored by her party and that naming her as a candidate for the highest office in the state afforded her an opportunity to render "service to the party."

Long Active in Party Miss Gilman long has been identified with the party and was actively engaged in social relief work during the miners' strike in West Virginia and at the time of the Western Maryland Railway strike some years ago.

She is a member of the State Committee of the Socialist Party, director of the Open Forum, of Baltimore; chairman of the finance committee of the Women's City Club, Baltimore; member of the board of governors of the College Club of Baltimore, and also chairman of the committee on international relations of the College Club.

Others nominated on the ticket were: For Attorney-General, William A. Toole, of Baltimore.

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## Garden Opera To Be Big Party Get-together

'Samson and Delilah' to Be Heard Saturday Evening, May 24th—Tickets Out

MEMBERS of the Socialist Party in New York City will have a city-wide reunion as a result of the seating arrangements for the performance of "Samson and Delilah" to be given at Madison Square Garden, May 24, part of the profits of which will go to the Socialist Party treasury.

Tickets just mailed to party members have been apportioned so that the members of each branch will have one or more rows specifically reserved. It is estimated between 3,000 and 4,000 of the audience will be from the ranks of the party, other organizations participating in the affair supplying the rest. The large attendance enabled the party to make tickets available to members at popular prices.

Eleonore de Cisneros, whose fame on the stage extends over two continents, and who has just returned to the United States after a four years' sojourn in Europe, where she sang in the principal opera houses, including the famous "Teatro Alla Scala" at Milan, will play the leading role of Delilah. Saint-Saens has praised her conception as a great interpretative creation.

Starting with her will be Fortuna de Angelis, well known dramatic tenor, who will sing Samson. Mario Vallo, of the San Carlo Opera Company, will sing the High Priest. An all star cast will play the supporting roles, and the orchestra will include over 200 pieces.

In a letter addressed to the

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## 700 Receive Food Daily At N. Y. Socialist Kitchen

ABOUT 700 jobless workers each day enter the Emergency Kitchen set up by the Women's Section of the Socialist Party at 55 West 25th street. Here they are provided with food between periods of search for employment.

Among the visitors to the kitchen this week was Mrs. Norman Thomas, who helped in serving the jobless men and also left a substantial contribution. Other financial aid has come from sympathizers who read stories in the daily papers of what the Socialist women are doing.

Another visitor this week was Heywood Brown, noted columnist of the New York Telegram. In his column on Thursday Mr. Brown wrote the following regarding the Emergency Kitchen:

"When public announcement was made the other day that bread-

## Census Job Data False, Senior Says

Employment Questions Not Asked of 2,000 in Cleveland, Socialist Secretary Declares—Begins Investigation

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Are the Republicans in control of the census machinery trying to conceal the extent of unemployment in this country by having enumerators neglect the unemployment schedules? Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of America, in a statement issued here Monday, asks the question in view of recent discoveries by the Socialist party. Evidence that this is happening in a large Cleveland, Ohio, district, is cited as well as the fact that in another district a census worker has been discharged, but not prosecuted, for having falsified schedules in almost 2,000 instances.

"One of the most important projects now under way is the taking of a federal census of the unemployed," Mr. Senior declared. "For the first time since 1900, the American people stand a chance of knowing the basic facts about unemployment and thus be better able to deal with the problem."

"Reports have reached the national headquarters of the Socialist party, however, that would indicate that either through purposeful neglect of the questions on the unemployment schedule or through gross negligence, the ends that might be served by the census are being endangered."

### Locals Asked To Investigate

"The executive secretary of the party has asked over 1,000 local Socialist organizations to investigate the taking of the census in their localities and report at once any irregularities such as have been reported from Cleveland, Ohio."

"Joseph Martinek, editor of a local labor paper, has reported that he was asked only one question in regard to employment, 'What is your occupation?' Obviously this does not cover the situation, since a man may be a machinist, carpenter, or blacksmith, and not be at work. Considerable inquiry developed the fact that many of the paper's readers and the members of the South Side community in Cleveland had also been asked only one question.

"Complaint was made to the local census office, which scouted the idea that such a thing could happen. Three weeks later a schedule containing over 2,000 names was turned in without a single report of unemployment. When examined, it was discovered that no questions on this and other subjects were asked at all. The enumerator has been discharged, although a prison term is the legal penalty for falsifying census returns."

### Urges Early Publication

"These happenings, coupled with the attempts of the Hoover administration to gloss over the gravity of the unemployment problem, give rise to a number of questions. Is this a policy followed by the census bureau for the purpose of cutting down the number of unemployed reported and thus giving a rosy picture of the American scene, or is it simply the desire on the part of the Republican job holders who comprise most of the census force to help Hoover and his administration defeat the rising tide of Democratic and Socialist sentiment?"

"Is the census going to serve some real scientific purpose, or is it only a straw vote that can be manipulated for political purposes?"

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## Nonpartisan Action Divides Workers In Penn. Primaries

A. F. of L. Endorses Owen J. Roberts For Supreme Court

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—(FP) —The only statement issued as a result of the sessions of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor which have just been concluded in Washington, was one from President Green, announcing that no opposition would be raised against Owen Roberts, nominated to the Supreme Court, from Federation sources.

"Such information as we have been able to secure," said Green, "leads to the conclusion that Mr. Roberts is eminently fitted to serve as a member of the Supreme Court. His experience and training have been in a field where he has had wide opportunity to understand the problems which grow out of human relations in industry and those profound economic and social problems which so vitally affect human relationships."

"Labor insists that men appointed to such a high and exalted position as the Supreme Court of the United States shall be able, qualified, fair and just. We ask that in decisions affecting the lives, well-being and liberties of the people righteousness and justice shall characterize all decisions."

## Slump, Tariff Parker Beset Hoover's Peace

Employment Report On April New Blow—Red Probe Seen As Attempt At Red Herring

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—(FP) —So bad is the outlook for a return to normal industrial activity this year, and so heavy a blow has the Hoover majority in the House dealt industry through its bloated tariff bill which has brought reprisals from abroad, that the Hoover administration now fears that it will lose the House, as well as the Senate, in the November elections. Employment is in a desperate plight. Canada, threatened by the Grundy tariff, has struck back at American steel mills. Other countries are reducing their American purchases. American foreign trade shrank \$290,000,000 in the first three months of this year. The only country whose trade with the United States increased was the Soviet Union. All the rest reduced their contribution to employment in American factories and mills.

"The employment situation existing throughout the country in April cannot be described as satisfactory," is the reluctant confession of the U. S. Employment Service. "While the major industries were in operation, curtailed schedules continued in many, necessarily affecting a large number of workers. . . There was no real improvement in the iron and steel industry, and the anticipated upward trend in operations and employment in these mills did not materialize. This situation was largely true in the automobile industry, which continued on a curtailed basis in a number of instances."

### Hoover In Bad Way

More than a thousand economists joined in a plea to Hoover to veto the Grundy tariff, if Congress dared pass it. They pointed to the certainty of deepening the business slump if this billion-dollar burden is heaped on the existing load which the consumers must carry. They pointed to the need for better trade relations with all countries, in order that American export trade may improve. But the tariff lobbyists laughed, and assured everyone that Hoover would sign any tariff bill that came to him. They said that if he did not, the tariff-fed manufacturers would defeat him in 1932.

Hoover, worried sick by the rejection of his injunction judge, Parker, for the Supreme Court, was finally persuaded to abandon his plan of denouncing the Senate and organized labor and the Negro organizations for their showing-up of Parker. He issued an announcement that prosperity was coming back—and next day Canada's government began the tariff war, and the stock market went to smash again. Claudius Huston, power trust lobbyist and manipulator of trust funds, refused to resign as

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Women's Trade Union League Permits Atterbury Money To Pay For Its Literature

## 'VICTORY' BUG BITES KENSINGTON MEN

One Aids Grundy, Another Pinchot, and Third Is For Secretary Davis

By Joseph Schwartz

PHILADELPHIA. — "PENNSYLVANIA WOMANHOOD MUST DEFEAT GRUNDY," is a beautiful leaflet drawn up by the Women's Trade Union League of Pennsylvania. The newspapers throughout the state quoted liberally from the text.

The Philadelphia Record, in the May 9th issue, quotes the League secretary as saying that 1,827,114 women voters in the state of Pennsylvania will be mailed a copy of the leaflet. The mailing and printing of the leaflet will cost between \$20,000 and \$30,000. Anyone familiar with the financial difficulties of the Women's Trade Union League chapters will realize that \$5,000 for a year's simple maintenance is more than an ambitious plan to realize. That the league is not paying for the printing of the leaflet or even the postage is obvious. Anyone acquainted with political labor in this state can see the Vare money-bags behind this move.

The Women's Trade Union League is not the only labor organization that is being "taken over" by the Vare-Atterbury crew. A local weekly newspaper that boasts of being the only labor paper endorsed by the Central Labor Union, is wrapped up in an anti-Grundy crusade. The sheet in the last few issues has carried very little of labor news and much (much too much) about Grundy. This paper is receiving free distribution in working class districts. Just how a poor struggling labor paper can be freely distributed by the thousands is no mystery. It is part of a labor racket that has been an ulcer in the trade-union movement too many years.

The textile unions in Kensington have placed trade union candidates for legislative office in the Republican primary. The Northeast Progressive League, which is the political organization of the textile groups, is sponsoring the campaign.

The labor office seekers are pledged to participate in the primary with the object of developing labor party sentiment for the general election. They have completely forgotten their pledge and the purpose of the League. The candidates have been bitten by the victory bug and are using the available forces for their own purpose.

One of the candidates has lined up with the Pinchot-Grundy forces in the hope of securing his victory. Another has arranged to have Pinchot speak at an open air rally under the auspices of the Northeast Progressive League. A third is spending considerable time issuing anti-Grundy releases through the Brown-Davis headquarters. He has also addressed a radio audience that many believe was paid for by Vare people. A fourth candidate has arranged for a Brown-Davis speaker.

This has resulted in considerable dissension and confusion and has aroused suspicion. None has acted by instruction of the League meetings. Meetings of this organization, which were held weekly, have been postponed until after the primary. This shift eliminated progressives from possible interference with the net projects of the dominant group.

The prevailing feeling in labor circles is chaotic. While the State Federation has found it advisable to support the Atterbury candidates, trade-unions and individual members to a considerable extent are not going along. Pinchot has a large following. Grundy managed to secure some support; so with Davis. If the various elements (including Socialists and labor party folks) were intelligently organized the Brown-Davis labor leaders would not be riding so comfortably.

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## Thomas Hits Detroit Radio Censorship

Letter to Couzens Urges Law to Prevent Religious and Political Discrimination

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
 "STATION WJR, which calls itself the 'good will' station, on Sunday from January 12 to March 9 inclusive broadcasted a series of sermons by the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin under the auspices of the Radio League of the Little Flower. These sermons have since been published as delivered under the title 'Christ or the Red Serpent.' Father Coughlin's enterprise seems to be connected with raising funds for the tower of the Crucifix of Tolerance which he wants to build. For this laudable purpose, over a good will station, he has indulged in serious misrepresentation of the nature of Socialism and the Socialist Party and hopeless confusion of it with Communism. He has attacked me by name," Mr. Thomas' letter said.

Opposes Censorship  
 "But this letter is not about Father Coughlin with whom I am in correspondence which may perhaps have satisfactory results. It is rather about Station WJR which refused me an opportunity to reply to these attacks. It did, indeed, permit me to speak on the usual financial terms one Sunday afternoon, but it forced the Socialist representative in Detroit to accept as a condition of getting the use of the station an extraordinary provision in which 'Mr. Thomas and our organization (the Socialist Party) agree not to enter into any direct controversy with any other organization or individual; specifically we agree to make no reply to Father Coughlin or the Catholic Church.' This contract was signed by John F. Patt for the station.

"Our remonstrance to Mr. Patt had no result. Nor has my correspondence with the Radio Commission given me any clear indication whether or not the Commission has the power under the present law to deal with such gross discrimination as this contract implied. Hence, I raise the question with you both as regards the adequacy of the present law and the possibility of more adequate protection for individuals and organizations thus misrepresented over the radio.

"I need hardly tell you that it is not enough that we have the right to sue for slander or are protected by a provision against obscene language. The radio is a public utility. It is under far greater obligation than a magazine or newspaper to permit reply to attacks that may be made upon individuals or organizations because it enjoys the use by public license of wave lengths that cannot be privately owned. Yet no responsible newspaper would have treated the Socialist Party as did Station WJR, the so-called good will station.

"As I understand the present law or the Commission's interpretation of the present law, my only recourse would be to prove that public interest because of this discrimination. I think there ought to be a specific clause in the law which would simplify the matter by specifically condemning such a discriminatory contract as was signed by Father Coughlin. The matter is more serious, I think, than the attitude of one station. From time to time I have been in receipt of complaints of attacks similar to Father Coughlin's where no opportunity has been allowed by radio companies for reply.

"I am aware that this whole field is difficult and the last thing I want to do is to establish censorship in the air. I think there ought to be a way without establishing censorship."

## Cleveland G. O. P. Propose \$2,000 Bribe To Socialist

Offer to Willert Is Exposed at Socialist Convention—Full Ticket Is Named

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
 CLEVELAND.—A bribe of \$2,000 was refused and denounced at the membership convention of the Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County held last Monday evening in Cleveland. John G. Willert, one of the most active Socialists in the county reported that members of the Republican Party had offered him a bribe of \$2,000 if he would run in the 21st Congressional district against Robert Crosser, present representative, a Democrat.

The plan was to have Willert run in that district instead of in one in which he lives so as to divide the votes that Crosser received at the last election and get a Republican in Congress instead. Noah Mandelkorn, chairman of the convention, aptly voiced the sentiment of the comrades. He said, "It is an insult to the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party never has nor even will help to get a candidate belonging to one of the two old parties into office."

The Republican Party is out to "get" Congressman Crosser because he is one of a few independent representatives. But regardless of his liberality, the Party will put up a strong fight to get a Socialist in Congress from this district—one who will not follow the so-called progressives but one who will lead in introducing social legislation in favor of the working class.

The following members were elected to represent the Party on the ballot in the fall election: Max Epstein, M. Weintraub, Joseph Jouch, state senators; Robert Wuffie, Edna Hastings, Louis Kunz, Anton Berezin, Joseph Martinek, John Ruhimaki, John G. Willert, state legislatures; Charles Hochenbrauch, Representative of 21st District; Harry E. Schreiber, County Sheriff; Noah Mandelkorn, County Commissioner; Mrs. Rebecca Yellen, County Treasurer; Moses Benjamin, County Prosecutor; Mrs. Jennie L. Harvey, County Auditor; Charles C. Sprague, County clerk.

A committee of five was also elected to fill vacancies. The five are I. Axelrod, John Krehel, J. Backerman, John Willert, and Noah Mandelkorn.

## Pa. Socialists Summoned to Reading Meet

Old Party Campaign Shows Compelling Need To Place Fighting In Field

By Arthur G. McDowell

PITTSBURG, Pa.,—While Pennsylvania Socialists quietly complete plans for the state conference of the party at Reading on May 31st, the loudest and funniest political campaign ever staged by capitalism in its masquerade of Democracy draws to a close in the Keystone State. With that irresistibly laugh-provoking clown James Davis dressed as a friend and champion of labor the campaign would deserve honorable place in the annals of political farce on the basis of this single feature, if the added attraction of the oil and gas millionaire Phillips' one-legged race for governor on the Prohibition issue was not included.

Most thinking people, however, are chiefly aghast at the remarkable hybrid produced in the campaign of former Gov. Pinchot standing for office on a platform made of liberal and labor reform planks supported unofficially by an alliance with the arch-reactionary industrial master Grundy who was an important supporter of Pinchot's in the successful campaign of 1922. Of Pinchot's sincerity there can be little doubt; it is only his intelligence that stands condemned.

From this diversion, although, as in Pinchot's case, sometimes pathetic spectacle the Pennsylvania Socialist Party is called upon to turn its face toward the May 31st conference of the general Party membership and to the difficult and challenging tasks that lay beyond. The Reading conference will not only be a rallying point for the years political campaign and planning but mark the beginning of the construction of a powerful, disciplined and militant party organization that will be qualified to pioneer in working class leadership in the crucial years ahead.

The establishment of a monthly Party bulletin, the employment and use of a permanent state organizer, the closing of our ranks among the language federations through young peoples work, these are only a few of the immediate and pressing objectives. Throughout the commonwealth (so-called in mockery under such a system as ours) the rank and file of the membership of the Socialist Party are urged to put forth a real effort to be at Reading and take part.

LET US REMEMBER, we may well be working under the penalty of approaching a crisis unprepared. Let our bungling and blind capitalist rulers stage such another "disarmament" conference as this last and we shall be well on our way toward the suicide of our wherein the dictatorship of that same bunch of bunglers will be established, absolute and rough-shod. We must organize, build, think, in order that the masses of

## Pacifists Urged To Conduct a "War on War"

Devere Allen Urges Aggressive Campaign Against Violence—Three-day Conference Held

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
 NETCONG, New Jersey.—A ceaseless battle for peace rather than negative pacifism which confines itself to refusing to take part in wars was urged as the guiding principle of pacifism, in the three-day conference on "Militant Pacifism" held here last week-end. Devere Allen, editor of The World Tomorrow, sounded this keynote on the second day of the conference, which was organized by the War Resisters' League.

The conference was opened Friday evening, with a message from Rev. John Haynes Holmes, chairman of the League. "The individual must have nothing to do henceforth under any conditions with the momentous crime of war," Holmes wrote. Other messages were received from Heywood Brown, Dr. John Howard Lathrop, Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, and others.

"The Kellogg Peace Pact puts leading governments of the earth for the first time in history on the side of the pacifists," said Rev. Leon Rosser Land, in opening the discussion of the evening. "War has been theoretically outlawed as a method for settling disputes. From this time forth, the militarists and not the pacifists are on the defensive. We must keep this in mind when we consider anti-war tactics. War is a common enemy of mankind and unless the nations of the earth live up to the ideals of the Kellogg Peace Pact civilization and the possibly humanity is doomed."

The second day of the conference opened with a discussion of military training in high schools and colleges. "Military training in American schools and colleges is creating an extra-curricular activity in to which young people go for personal reasons," declared Tucker P. Smith, executive secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education. "The Cadet Corps become social fraternities in which the boys and girls have personal contact with military men and military-minded civilian allies. The result is a set of unconscious attitudes, prejudices, and personal attachments which play quite as important a part in the future thinking and acting of these students as any deliberate beliefs which they may learn or be taught in the experience. . . . This popularized playing soldier is a much more dangerous form of militarism than any realistic preparations for war."

The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of the War Resisters' International. This discussion was led by John Nevins Sayre and Helen E. Russell of the Youth section, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Declaring that "pacifism today is neither evasion of the struggle for social justice nor a withdrawal from world problems," Mr. Allen, chairman of the Pacifist Action Committee, pointed to the increasing tendency among pacifists to regard their task as that of promoting social progress by non-violent means.

"Among many the pacifist is still regarded as one who abhors the clash and contest of right with wrong, and who retires to an ivory tower in order to save his soul from evil. Never in the past was all pacifism so negative and useless. When the red wave of war swept across Ireland in 1798 the Quakers were in the thick of the fighting, ministering to the wounded and sometimes braving execution rather than be informers. When Francis Deak and won constitutional liberty in the last century, he was grappling with tyranny instead of fleeing from it. The number of authenticated cases in history where pacifist methods have won victories for human freedom are more numerous than generally realized."

"There have been, however, certain justifications for the popular misconception of the pacifist. There have been plenty of pacifists who have compromised when war finally came and joined lamely in this fight. There have been those, and we still have them, who, whose motto is that of waitful watching; they are ready to speak for pacifism and suffer for it in wartime, but they can see no reason for doing anything to make it vital now. The trouble here of course is that there are more kinds of struggle than war. It is our obligation as pacifists to prove our mettle by waging ceaseless peace. There is a great place for non-violent resistance; we need also non-violent, hateless attack."

Following Mr. Allen's address Saturday evening, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, secretary of the War Resisters' League, said: "A negative platform is just what a great movement can and should be built upon. I am proud to belong to the anti-militarist

movement, the No more War movement, the War Resistance movement, with the tremendous negative principle that all these terms imply. I am convinced that the negative principle is not only the most powerful and the most psychologically sound, but also the most wisely conservative principle that can animate a great popular cause."

The third day opened with a discussion of cooperation of pacifist organizations in their work in the United States. The speakers were Miss Katherine D. Blake of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Devere Allen, chairman of the Pacifist Action Committee and vice chairman of the War Resisters' League; Joseph B. Matthews, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Mrs. Ida Palmer of the Women's Peace Union.

"The militarists have called the pacifists timidous. It is time for them to realize that they are the fearful ones—only the pacifists have courage," Miss Blake said.

At the Sunday afternoon session, "Labor Socialism and War Resistance" was the subject of the discussion, led by Joseph Jablonow, vice president of the Teachers Union. Mr. Jablonow told of the attitude of American labor and the Socialists toward war and preparation for war. He told how "those who labor have it in their power to stop war. Enlightened self-interest should lead them to see that they are the losers in all wars, and in a more real sense than is usually conveyed in the statement that there are no victors in any war. The vast majority of those whose lives are snuffed out in battles and in other forms of violence that have their origin in war are men who are conscripted from the factories and workshops."

High spots of the conference included a cablegram sent by the conference to the British Premier, which read:

"Sharing your desire for justice and the peace of the world, we implore you to exert your great influence for the release of Gandhi as the first step in the friendly adjustment of the crisis in India."

The conference also went on record praising Senator Lynn J. Frazier for his resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to abolish the army and navy.

## Miss Gilman Leads Maryland Socialists

(Continued from Page One)

Comptroller, Charles L. Meyers, of Cumberland. Clerk of the Court of Appeals, Mr. Smiley.

The convention adopted resolutions favoring a referendum on the liquor question and the Canadian system of liquor distribution.

Urges State Bay Bridge  
 Other resolutions demanded that the state build and operate the Chesapeake Bay bridge, that the United States Government give better treatment to the Indians and petitioning the Governor of California to pardon Thomas Moody and Warren F. Billings.

Approximately fifty delegates attended. Telegrams from Norman Thomas and Clarence Senior, national secretary, were received.

Speaking of the policies for which she stood in international, federal and state affairs, Miss Gilman remarked that although she did overseas work during the World War for two years, her attitude had undergone a change and she is "absolutely for peace in international affairs."

In the federal field she sets public ownership and democratic control of great industries as a major aim and is strongly opposed to the "grabbing of power resources by private ownership."

Unemployment and old-age insurance and mothers' pensions were numbered among state aims, and she said she believed them proper subjects for federal action. She also would have a skilled engineer watch all state power matters, to the end that there would be no future action such as letting the Conowingo power development go to Pennsylvania, she asserted.

## Red Flag Floats Over University of Chicago Three Hours May Day

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The news has just leaked out, after attempts at suppression, that the red flag floated for almost two hours from the main flagstaff of the University of Chicago on May Day. The college has an active Socialist club.

That's how New York City is governed and that's the price it pays for re-electing Walker. Just for good measure let me add that not from within but from certain labor unions and the Daily Mirror there is coming a strong and wholesome demand for reform of procedure in the State Bureau of Workmen's Compensation. Well, it's something that some citizens are awake.

## Rand School to Celebrate End Of 24th Year

Closing Exercises Will Be Held Saturday, May 24th, in the Debs Auditorium

The Rand School announces the celebration of the close of the 24th season of its activities to be held Saturday, May 24, at 8 p. m. in the Debs Auditorium, at 7 East 15th street.

For the first time the school is issuing certificates to students who have satisfactorily completed the two-year evening course. The school announces that it has had 134 students on free scholarships this year in the workers' training course, the most important phase of its activities. These workers' training course students came from the following organizations:

Carpenters' Union, Typographical Union, Workmen's Circle, Upholsters' Union, Socialist Party, Furriers' Union, Young Circle League, Bricklayers' Union, Neckwear Makers' Union, United Textile Workers, United Hatters' Union, Millinery Workers' Union, International Pocket Book Workers' Union, Iron and Bronze Workers' Union, Elevator Operators' Union, Structural Iron Workers, Auto Mechanics' Union, Dental Laboratory Workers, International Jewelry Workers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Brotherhood of Painters, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Verband International Arbeiter Ring of the Workmen's Circle, Friends of the German Republic, Young People's Socialist League, International Electrical Workers' Union, Suit Case and Bag Makers' Union.

The school invites all its friends in the labor movement to participate in the celebration which will include a few short addresses by students and faculty, and by Paul Porter, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, to be followed by an entertainment, dancing and refreshments.

Free tickets can be obtained by communicating with the office of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

## Slump, Tariff, Parker Disturb Hoover Peace

(Continued from Page One)

national chairman of the Republican party. The administration was being attacked on the one hand for its defense of the power grabbers and on the other for its naval parity treaty. Something must be done quickly to divert the people's attention. An inspiration! Do the Mitchell Palmer trick! Let the House order an investigation of Communist activities!

Chairman Snell of the House Rules Committee told The Federated Press, May 13, that Matthew Woll and Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation had asked him to bring about such an investigation. Snell's resolution, based on the Fish resolution of Mar. 5 which gave Woll, as the authority for charges that Moscow had sent \$1,000,000 to be used to overthrow the American government, proposes a dragnet investigation of the Soviet trade organization in this country as well as all other Soviet and Communist enterprises and groups in the United States.

It is known at the capital that manufacturers who are filling orders for machinery to be sold to the Soviet Union are opposed to this interference with trade. They assume that Russian orders will be shifted to England. But the G.O.P. must have a witch-hunting show, in the hope of warding off that storm of defeat in November.

Woll and Easley will be quoted by the administration as being the inspiration for this adventure, if it turns out a wild goose chase. Woll has frequently been quoted by anti-union spokesmen like Sen. Reed of Pennsylvania as demanding the Grundy tariff, on behalf of "labor." Now the cry is that Soviet trade with the United States be put on the defensive before a political committee that dare not acquit the accused. If the present drift continues, the Amtorg buying agents may be driven from America. The effect on employment, in a depression already serious, can be foreseen.

## St. Paul Labor Elects Three Councilmen

ST. PAUL.—(FP)—The city election was a disappointment to labor optimists because their candidate for mayor, James M. Clancy, lost out by about 10,000 votes out of about 67,000 votes cast. But the labor voters re-elected Controller William F. Scott and Councilman Irving C. Pearce and also put in Clyde R. May. The net result under the commission plan is to give the laborites three and the capitalists three voices in the local government.

There are practically no hair-raising contests within the Farmer-Labor party for state and federal posts of importance in the primary June 16, but a good showing is considered important for its effect on the hesitating voter in the fall elections.

## Whalen "Red" Letters Shown To Be Forged

La Guardia Reveals "Russian Documents" Were Printed in New York City

WASHINGTON (FP).—Proof that the "red plot" documents given to the press in New York May 2 by Police Commissioner Whalen, and purporting to be letters from the Communist International office in Moscow, were fabricated on letterheads printed in New York, was given to the House on Monday, May 12, by Rep. LaGuardia. He produced letterheads printed in a small shop on East Tenth Street, New York City, some four and a half months ago, and showed that the minor defects in the printing were identical, under the microscope, with those on the letterheads of the Whalen documents. He read a statement from the printer in New York, from whom a stranger had ordered this Russian-language job, and he demanded that Whalen be brought back before the House immigration committee, where on May 9 Whalen had refused to discuss the genuineness of the papers.

LaGuardia explained that a reporter for a New York tabloid newspaper had discovered the printer; that the managing editor of this paper went to Whalen's house with the request that comparison be made between the letterhead of the Whalen documents and the product of the print shop. Whalen refused to see him or compare the two samples of printing. Yet Whalen proceeded to Washington later to speak in secret session to the House committee, which expected him to tell why he thought his documents were authentic. This he refused to do.

"Gold Brick" Bought  
 Amtorg, said LaGuardia to the House, is a New York corporation which does \$120,000,000 to \$150,000,000 of business with the Soviet Union in a year. The Whalen documents were issued to prove that Amtorg was a center of Communist propaganda in this country. In the name of fair play he demanded that the immigration committee which had given prominence to Whalen's charges should now examine the evidence that the charges were based on forged papers.

Rep. Jenkins of Ohio, in the same immigration committee, said he was sure the committee would make the examination suggested by LaGuardia. Rep. Sabath of Illinois, a member of the rules committee, asked that his committee also be given a copy of the letter heads and the Whalen documents. He pointed out that the rules committee had voted to recommend a resolution of investigation of Communist propaganda. Chairman Snell of the rules committee looked at LaGuardia's evidence and later said that his report of the inquiry resolution would be delayed.

"The Police Commission of New York," remarked LaGuardia, "has bought a gold brick."

## Tie Vote on Labor Party By R.I. Unions

Questionnaire Sent Out To Locals When State-Meeting Is Reached at Federation Convention

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
 PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Constant rebuffs by members of the legislature when representatives of trade unions endeavored to obtain needed legislation is responsible for the decision to send a questionnaire to Rhode Island unions to ascertain whether they want a labor party.

"We were insulted at the State House," said the president of the State Federation of Labor. In spite of this treatment, the older delegates urged that the unions act on the basis of the old slogan, "Elect your friends and defeat your enemies." They had nothing new to offer in support of the old policy and they could not deny that the labor organizations of the state were treated as aliens at the State Capitol.

What will be the outcome of the question to be put before the local unions cannot be predicted but it is certain that there is much dissatisfaction with the barren results of the old political policy in recent years.

At the recent convention of the State Federation of Labor, where the motion to send the questionnaire was carried, another important proposal was considered. This was a resolution to hold a state meeting of labor representatives in August to consider plans for organizing a labor party. This proposal received exactly half of the votes of the delegates. As it failed of a majority, it was then decided to send the questionnaire. However, the vote on the defeated proposal indicates how widespread is dissatisfaction with the political action that has been followed by the Rhode Island unions for so many years.

## "Samson" Performance To Be Party Re-Union

(Continued from Page One)

members receiving tickets, Jacob Panken has called attention to the necessity of making this affair a financial success, if the party's activities are not to be curtailed on the eve of a political campaign.

"Your attendance will not only provide the party with the funds it requires to continue its work," Panken states in his appeal to the party members, "but you will also have an opportunity to see an unusual presentation of a famous opera at popular prices. The arrangement the party has made should insure a handsome return to the party if all party members will help make this event successful."

Panken requests any who do not wish to accept the tickets to return them not later than May 20, since the party will have to pay for tickets not returned. Tickets have already been placed on sale in various parts of the city. In a few days additional agencies will be established to take care of sections not already provided for. Tickets can now be obtained at the following places: Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street; Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway; Finnish Socialist Hall, 2055 Fifth avenue, corner 127th street; Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street; Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street.

Committees have been named by various branches to visit party members and sympathizers in an effort to swell the ticket sales. Branches will receive a share of the proceeds. The gain to the party will come from the advance sale of tickets at stations established by the party, and all party members are requested to purchase at the places named.

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**Timely Topics**  
 (Continued from Page One)  
 General Sessions, did not nothing. The judges did not even hear Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Klein who made the charges. Yet on the basis of these charges I urged the New York Telegram to take up the investigation which led to Grand Jury action.  
 That's how New York City is governed and that's the price it pays for re-electing Walker. Just for good measure let me add that not from within but from certain labor unions and the Daily Mirror there is coming a strong and wholesome demand for reform of procedure in the State Bureau of Workmen's Compensation. Well, it's something that some citizens are awake.

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## 22 Wage Cuts During April Are Reported

Number of Increases During Month Drops To 32—Slump Found Most Serious In History

THE great stock market panic and industrial depression of 1929-30 will go down in the annals of economics as the worst shock to the industrial system since the panic of 1921-22. This is the conclusion to be gained from the careful analysis of the current "Hoover prosperity" by the economists of Labor Bureau, Inc.

Item by item, these economists have gone over the indices to industrial activity. The drop in building for example was "larger than in 1923 and in 1920-21." In the accumulation of stocks—which buyers can't buy because they have no jobs—the current depression equals that of the disastrous post-war deflation. Stocks bulging the wholesale warehouses and retail shelves are measured now at 158, compared with 120 last June, a rise of about 30%.

**Drop Came Quicker**  
The actual volume of department stores also fell at least as severely in this depression as in any other," states the Labor Bureau. "The drop was much faster this time than at any of the others. It occurred in from three to five or six months. That undoubtedly made the shock more severe. We are assuming, in saying this, that the bottom has already been reached and that we are on the upgrade, or at least that things will get no worse. If this assumption is mistaken, then the present depression may take as long to reach bottom as the previous ones, but it also may be more severe in the size of the fall."

Commenting on the "wage truce" which Pres. Hoover claimed had been agreed to by leading industrialists, Labor Bureau tabulates a list of 22 separate wage cuts in industries ranging from building trades, lumbering, textiles to hostelry workers and steel workers. The U. S. department of labor reported a total of no less than 74 establishments cutting the wages of 13,000 workers; this figure is admittedly fragmentary.

**Wage Increases Fewer**  
Even more ominous were the continued wage cuts reported to Labor Bureau in April together with a drastic decline in wage increases. Against 66, 64, and 116 increases granted in the first three months of 1930, April limped in with but 32. There were 25 wage cuts in April, 26 in March, 23 in February and nine in January. Discussing the wage "advances," the Labor Bureau points out that "it is inconceivable to grant a wage increase and yet have the individual wage earner receive a smaller pay envelope at the end of the week because of the shorter time worked. The conservative policy of manufacturers who are restricting output so as to avoid surplus inventories, a policy which receives such approbation in the current financial reviews and which is advocated as the sort of sound business strategy which will prevent acute general break in commodity prices, is inevitably resulting in reduced earning power for the workers."

Wages of factory workers dropped 4% between April of last year and this year. The heaviest losses were felt in men's clothing, hardware, brass, bronze and copper products, furniture, machine tools, st. and collars, woolen, worsted and cotton goods factories. Wage increases in the 12-month period "were less in volume and restricted to a few isolated industries in which a smaller number of workers are normally engaged."

In the same period the number of jobs declined 12% only paper and printing, of 12 groups, reported more jobs, and it was a fraction of one per cent. Autos slumped 19.5%, metal products 16½%, lumber 13%, textiles 9%.

## Bright and Cannon to Debate A. F. L. Policies

The policies and tactics of the American Federation of Labor will be the subject of a debate between Joseph D. Cannon of the International Jewelry Workers Union and Leonard Bright, business manager of Labor Age, at the People's House Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, Friday evening, May 23. Joseph Cannon will uphold the affirmative of the proposition "That the workers should support the present policies and tactics of the American Federation of Labor," and Leonard Bright will take the negative position. The debaters are both Socialists who have held positions of leadership in the union field, and are, therefore, well qualified to present both sides of the question at issue. An admission of 25 cents will be charged, the proceeds going to Labor Age and the Socialist Sunday Schools of New York.

## Brookwood Graduates 36 Workers For Work In Union Movement

Maurer Again Heads Board of Directors of Labor College—Kennedy Joins Board

By Helen G. Norton  
KATONAH, N. Y. (FP)—At least one graduating class in the United States got through Commencement Day without being assured that beyond the Alps lies Italy, or that they were now embarking upon life's great adventure, fully equipped to rise high in the scale of personal success. The graduates were no stuffy caps and gowns; they had no class pins and wore no daisy chains, they worried over no final exams and hoisted no mules onto the roof of the dean's house by way of expressing their sorrow at leaving school.

This unusual graduation took place at Brookwood Labor College when 36 industrial workers, having completed intensive one- and two-year courses in workers' education, prepared to go back to the labor movement to apply the added knowledge and training they had acquired.

The Brookwood graduates, the eight such groups to go out from Brookwood, represent 16 trades and come from 14 states and Canada. They include machinists from Detroit, Cleveland and Youngstown; a longshoreman from Houston, and a laundry worker from Seattle; textile workers from seven states; a steel worker and his wife from Warren, Ohio; needle trades workers from New York, Philadelphia and Boston; a carpenter, a furrier, and a radio worker from New York, and railway clerks from Boston and Montreal. Except those from unorganized centers, they are all trade union members.

**Muste's Parting Message**  
Commencement speakers included Prof. Paul Douglas of the economics department, Swarthmore College; Arturo Giovannitti, labor poet and president of the Italian Chamber of Labor; Pres. A. J. Kennedy of the Amalgamated Lithographers and member of the Brookwood board of directors; A. J. Muste, head of the school, and representatives from the two classes—Vivian Garth of Chicago

## A. C. W. Gains 15,000 Members In Two Years

(Continued from Page One)  
events of the past two years, the prospects for the future, the personalities in the foreground of the organization, the color and texture of the rank and file of the organization, these loom large and important.

President Sidney Hillman, gratifyingly devoid of showmanship, gave a clear and workmanlike account of the last two Amalgamated years. Simply and unobtrusively, almost casually, as though it were just part of the job which he precisely how he regards it—he told of the complete unionization of that notorious open-shop market—Philadelphia; of the extension of unemployment insurance to other cities in the Amalgamated camp; of the defeat of the David Adler firm in Milwaukee and the forging of this new weapon as a result of a strike—a union controlled and operated factory; told how the Hart Schaffner and Marx workers of Chicago agreed to give up 1500 garments a week for a year to the Milwaukee factory so that the Milwaukee workers might win their struggle, told of the housecleaning that was needed and effectively carried out in one city—a steward giving an account of his office.

**Philadelphia Is High-Spot**  
Philadelphia, of course, was the high-light of the Convention. "The Philly union ain't what it used to be, ain't what it used to be, the Philly union ain't what it used to be," the Philadelphia delegation sang over and over again; and they meant it. Here was spirit and enthusiasm and inspiration unalloyed, unwearied, with no trace of cynicism or sophistication. It will be interesting to see the Philadelphia union ten or fifteen years from now. It was not born at such terrific personal suffering and sacrifice as were some of the older locals. Philadelphia practically had the union handed to it on a platter. Millions of dollars were spent in the organization campaign, waged by an organization with prestige and power. New York alone raised \$100,000.00 for Philadelphia. Only a person acquainted with the condition of the New York tailors during the last three extremely poor seasons—poorer than at any time since 1915, it is said—can appreciate what this means. Whether this difference in origin will change the development of the Philadelphia psychology remains to be seen.

The Convention is just beginning. There is much to be said, much to be done, much to be enjoyed. Tomorrow the New York delegation will present Judge Panken with a bouquet of fifty red gamates arriving with every train. Greeting them are the officers of the various city Joint Boards. Hyman Blumberg, business manager of New York, witty, incisive, always mentally a jump or two ahead of everybody. His

and August Danielsson. A challenge to the graduates was thrown down by A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty, who said: "Young people who set out to work in the labor movement of America have the toughest assignment in the world. Intelligence of high order, sound knowledge of industrial and economic conditions, energy, courage and patience are required. Most of all, there is need for idealism—an idealism not built on sickly sentimentality, but which can bind you to a cause and make you hold on in the face of opposition, misunderstanding and defeat."

"If you belong to those in whose hearts the fire of labor idealism burns, there is a place for you in the army of labor, and at the points where the fighting will be the hardest and progress the slowest and tangible results the smallest in the years just ahead. As you try to organize the unorganized in steel, automobiles, textiles, oil, and the electrical industries, as you promote the movement for social insurance, as you try to build a labor party, as you combat militarism and imperialism, as you try to develop a creative labor psychology among the American workers, you will have your share in building the commonwealth of justice, equality and fraternity of which humanity has dreamed through the centuries."

At the Brookwood Labor College annual meeting, J. C. Kennedy, director of studies, was elected to the board of directors by the faculty group. Otherwise the board is unchanged. It includes:

Labor directors: James H. Maurer, president of board and Reading city councilman; vice president Abraham Lefkowitz of the American Federation of Teachers; Fannie Cohn, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers; Editor Phil Ziegler of the Railway Clerk; President A. J. Kennedy of the Amalgamated Lithographers. Graduate directors: Mary Gof, White Goods Workers Union; George Creech, Upholstery Workers Union. Faculty directors: A. J. Muste, Josephine Colby, Dave Sappos, Clinton J. Golden and J. C. Kennedy.

side partner, Sidney Rissman, drafted from the Chicago organization, jovial and hearty, always; Frank Rosenblum, scholarly and practical, also of Chicago; sensitive, idealistic Joseph Schlossberg; steady and devoted Abraham Miller. There must be others, but these, at the present moment give the impression of being every- at once, looking after the comfort of the delegates and friends of the Convention.

## 2,800 Taxi Drivers Strike in New York

(Continued from Page One)  
go back to work promising to arbitrate while the men were at work. The men refused. Later in the afternoon a group of policemen led by a captain entered the hall and lined up the men for searching. Not even a pen-knife was found. The police did not take the men near all the garages. At the Hooper Street garage the police searched all men sitting in a restaurant on the corner, but also found nothing.

The company says that they are not opposed to organization, if they can control the organization. In other words, they want to organize a company union. The men refused the offer.

Friday morning the men of the Thirtieth Street garage walked out. Tuesday morning the men of the 134th Street garage also joined, leaving only two of the eight garages operating. The other garages are expected to walk out within a day or two. This strike involves 2,000 cars and over 4,000 men.

1. Recognition of the union. This is a positive demand and the most important issue.  
2. Men to be judged, not by any one night's bookings, but over a longer period, and then a man is not to be dismissed except for a good cause, the organization to be the final judge.  
3. More mechanics. Recently the company cut down the mechanical force to save expenses. This resulted in men who pull in for service having to wait hours before they can go to work again, resulting in a great loss of time to the driver. The mechanics are overworked, especially when in the summer they will have to work over hot motors.  
4. The right to establish garage stewards to receive complaints in case of unfair treatment.  
5. All men active in this strike to be taken back to work without discrimination.

During the strike there has been no violence, despite the fact that six pickets were arrested and charged with threatening to "bump off" the non-strikers. They are held in \$200 bail each. The charge is absolutely false.

SUMMER BOARDERS on farm in hills of Delaware County; delightful scenery, commodious house with all improvements, home cooking, reasonable rates. Write Mrs. Arthur E. Ganss, Scotch Mountain, Del., N. Y.

## Legislature Scorned Bills Of N.Y. Labor

Check-up Shows Small Concessions Given to Demands of State Federation of Labor

By Herbert A. Merrill  
(New Leader Correspondent)  
ALBANY.—In meeting the arguments of those who are opposed to independent political action of the workers it is important to know what the organized labor movement wanted from the 1930 State Legislature in New York and what it got.

There were thirteen distinct proposals in the main legislative program of the New York State Federation of Labor for 1930 as adopted in State Convention August 21, 1929, and set forth in a bulletin of the State Federation of Labor issued August 31, 1929. It is the purpose of this article to consider these thirteen proposals in detail, setting forth each proposal in the language of the August 31st bulletin, and stating what was done in connection with the proposal by the Legislature.

**Injunction Bill**  
(1) "your committee," declares the bulletin, "recommends that our original injunction relief bill as introduced in the 1929 session be again introduced in the Legislature of 1930 as the chief legislative demand of organized labor of New York State, and that its enactment be sought in the form in which it is thus prepared."

This original injunction bill provided that no injunction could be granted in an industrial dispute without a hearing of both parties concerned. It further provided that no penalty for violation of such injunction could be imposed without trial by jury.

What labor got this year was a bill that provides that the court or judge may not enjoin a defendant "only upon such notice as the court or judge in its or his discretion may direct."

(2) "Providing for establishing an Exclusive State Insurance Fund as the only carrier of Workmen's Compensation Insurance in this state, except such insurance as is supplied for public employees from public funds."

Labor got no consideration on this proposal.

(3) "Amending Workmen's Compensation Law so as to provide that all workers disabled by diseases contracted or caused by their employment shall be compensated in the same manner as if disabled by accidental injury and increasing the maximum of weekly payments to \$25 in all cases."

All labor got on account of this was the inclusion under the Compensation Law of four new groups of occupational diseases.

(4) "Amending state anti-monopoly law by inserting the declaration that 'the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce' within the meaning of the law."

This proposal, originally fathered by Samuel Gompers, and laid before the State Legislature at every session for the last 15 or 20 years, was turned down flat as usual.

(5) "Amending State Constitution so as to enable voters to initiate amendments by petition for immediate submission to referendum without intervention of Legislature."

Another annual proposal of labor turned down in 1930.  
(6) "Restoration of direct primary nomination of candidates for state offices, State and district judges and United States Senators."

Nothing done on this.  
(7) "State ownership and development of public waters and energy therefrom, and distribution of produced electric light, heat and power to homes, farms and workshops at cost."

This truly "Socialist" proposal was only considered to the extent of creating a commission to investigate and recommend a plan for the development of the power resources of the St. Lawrence River. No State Legislature has committed itself to the public distribution of electricity, much less that of 1930.

(8) "Increasing the number of safety inspectors employed by the State Department of Labor to inspect workshops, machinery, underground and surface construction and electrical installation and power wires, so as to diminish the hazard of accidental injury to workers."

Nothing done by Legislature, but lump sum appropriated for Labor Department may enable a few more inspectors to be put on, or may not.

**Child Labor Ignored**  
(9) "Ratification by the Legislature of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution to enable Congress to enact a national child labor law."

Absolutely nothing doing on this.  
(10) "Restoration to municipalities of control and regulation of fares of street railways and bus companies and other public service utilities."

Utterly disregarded by 1930 Legislature.  
(11) "Providing by law that any improvement of construction work for which public moneys are whol-

ly or partly expended shall be subject to the eight-hour and prevailing rate of wages sections of the Labor Law."

The 1930 Legislature passed, and the Governor signed bill providing that all grade-crossing elimination work come under these provisions of the Labor Law.

**Shorter Work Week**  
(12) "Enactments of amendments to existing compromise 48 hour-week law for employed women and minors (interpreted by court decision to mean from 49½ to 52 hours a week) so as to establish a genuine 48 hour-a-week law as recommended by Governor Roosevelt."

This proposal rejected. A bill sponsored by the Women's Trade Union League to insure Saturday half-holiday for women was adopted.  
(13) "Regulation of private fee-collecting employment agencies so as to end the abuse of shipping workers to points where there is no employment fitted for them, and to abolish extortionate fees and corrupt collusion with persons engaging workers temporarily."

Nothing done. Bills died in committee.

## Conn. Fight For Pensions Is Organized

Bill to Be Presented to State Legislature Discussed at New Haven Session

NEW HAVEN, Conn. (FP).—A vigorous drive for an old age pension law was launched when about 45 delegates, representing the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, religious, fraternal, educational and social service agencies, met in Hotel Garde to discuss how to introduce this measure in the 1931 Connecticut Legislature.

A proposed old age pension bill was presented to the delegates for consideration by Sec. John P. Egan of the State Federation who was elected permanent chairman of the pension backers. This measure provides for \$9 as maximum relief, a 65 age limit for both men and women, and requires American citizenship and residence in the country 20 years and in the state 15 years immediately preceding date of application. The bill also requires applicants not to have been in the penitentiary for ten years prior to application. Old folks with relatives legally responsible for their support are denied relief.

**Proposed Bill Debated**  
This proposed measure drew vigorous fire from the Socialist and progressive laborers present. Sec. Martin F. Plunkett of the state Socialist party condemned the measure as one which tries to exclude as many workers as possible. He pleaded for a bill that would be as inclusive as possible. Fred Cederholm of Bridgeport, member of the Conference for Progressive Political Labor Action, cited the clause denying pension to those having served a penitentiary sentence as practically excluding the best and most unselfish workers in the ranks of organized labor. "Many workers during labor disputes," he said, "get sentences of over a year which land them into the penitentiary, and yet we know they are not criminals. They are jailed because they serve the working man too well. Shall we, then, deny them relief?"

Jasper McLevy, another progressive laborite, told those present not to be too much concerned with legal technicalities. "Make the bill something the workers can get enthusiastic about," he said, "and the pressure brought to bear on the politicians will straighten out all technicalities." Walter E. Davis also spoke.  
**To Re-Draft Measure**  
Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, was called upon by Chairman Egan to give his views on the proposed measure. Epstein related from his experience what he thought can be accomplished in an initial effort. He suggested modifying certain sections to make the bill more inclusive.

After this lively discussion a committee was appointed to re-draft the proposed bill in an attempt to get a measure that could have the solid backing of all interested elements.

Egan announced the possible hostility of the manufacturers to any such measure. The delegates were optimistic, however, of final success if a united front were established. The group is to meet again within six weeks.

## Workmen's Circle English Branches To Meet May 18

A general membership meeting of English speaking branches will be held Sunday, May 18, 2 o'clock at the Rand School, August Claessens and Louis Waldman will address the conference. The members of the Young Circle League in Workmen's Circle Branches have also been invited. Refreshments will be served.

## Ohio Districts Join with New Miners' Union

Lewis Forces Try Repression In Ohio, Illinois and Kansas—Operators Aid Them

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The struggle within the coal miners' ranks brought more clashes during the past ten days. In Ohio a meeting of the new union was prevented by its opponents. In Kansas the John L. Lewis faction appears to be working through the operators by having miners sign "allegiance slips" in order to obtain work. In Illinois a panic-stricken hall proprietor refused to open his hall for a meeting of the new union at Westville. The meeting had been scheduled to be held in the auditorium of the High School but the authorities learning that cars of Lewis men were to come from Franklin County, where Adolph Germer was assaulted a few weeks ago permission for the use of the auditorium was revoked.

Germer was scheduled to speak in Ohio at a meeting in Bridgeport but the hall was invaded by rowdies. Officials here charge that this affair was directed by Van A. Bittner and Patrick Fagan, both employed by John L. Lewis. Drunk and half-crazed men paraded around the hall, shouting at the top of their voices. Allen S. Haywood of District 12, Germer, and Frank A. Bender, president of the Ohio miners, who were to speak, decided to abandon the hall meeting.

It is believed that the rowdies were aided by the Communist National Miners' Union which has also served the conservatives in southern Illinois. Before giving up the meeting Germer and Bender agreed to share time with Lewis speakers but this offer to debate the issues was refused. The parade and hooting followed. Pleas for fair play proved futile. Having called off the meeting of the new union the president of the Communist union took the floor and his statements were greeted with cheers.

Despite these methods Germer and other union officials are going ahead with their organization campaign in Ohio. Meetings have been arranged in other mining towns and three Ohio sub-districts have applied for charters. Under the old organization the wages of miners have declined to \$3.60 and \$5.00 per day.

In Illinois, Alexander Howat, George Mercer and Peter Agnessen had been invited by board member Peter Markunos to speak in Westville. Having been denied access to two halls, Markunos, at the head of 300 miners on foot and in automobiles, led the three speakers to a field that he owns on the hard road three miles out of town. There while men and women sat in cars along the road and others stood expectantly by, Mercer reared his rank form up on a hay-rick and from that eminence he preached the gospel of re-organization. The crowd was tickled with the fine fighting spirit shown by Mercer and when Howat took his place the applause was enthusiastic. Howat spoke for more than an hour, outlining the policies of the new movement, and he was followed by Agnessen.

After the meeting, a miner who had been threatened by a Lewis man said: "I don't wonder John L. Lewis doesn't want those men to speak. They are telling the truth and the truth hurts him."

Westville is the location of two mines owned by the United States Steel Corporation. At a speech which he made there just after the Springfield Convention, Oscar Ameringer, editor of The Illinois Miner, openly charged that Lewis was being assisted in his union-wrecking efforts by the steel trust interests.

In District 14, Kansas, Alexander Howat, president of the re-organized union, and Henry Allai, appointed by Lewis as provisional president, have been carrying on a debate in circulars addressed to the miners and statements to the press. Allai got mired in a bog by saying that Howat was afraid to pull a strike. The miners of Kansas and Missouri remember that Howat went to jail for them in a fight against the Kansas law which conscripted labor for private employers.

What has added bitterness to the Kansas struggle is the cooperation between the Lewis provisional union with the operators. The "allegiance slips" which miners are asked to sign before getting employment is a method of coercing coal-diggers away from the re-organized union. Miners of ten large strip mines have elected a committee of eleven to present this grievance to the operators.

Despite the fact that in a referendum of 1,891 to 52 support the re-organized miners' union, the Kansas operators a few weeks ago decided to check off dues for the "provisional" organization of Lewis. This action and their handing out of "allegiance slips" to coal-diggers, which is denounced as the "yellow dog plan," will not help the old organization. Kansas miners remember that this "loyalty" game was played by Lewis and the operators when Howat and Jerry went to jail for fighting the Kansas industry's conscription law nearly ten years ago.

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## FORUMS AND LECTURES

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Tuesday, May 20th, at 8:30 P. M.  
**MORRIS HILLQUIT** will speak on "OUR CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER"  
Admission, Members, 50c Non-Members, 75c  
Weekly notices mailed on request  
To The Group: "... what, at last, a civilized club, in an uncivilized country, they tell me, prodigious."—GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

**THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP**  
Aure Masonic Temple, 1501 Boston Rd. (Near East 172nd St., Bronx)  
Sunday Evening, May 18, 1930  
8 P. M.—DR. CURTIS W. REES on "An American's Impression of India."  
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(As in former years, the Socialist Party will hold its 1930 picnic in Ulmer Park.)

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# CAPITALISM FORGES ITS CHAIN GANG

The choice in industry is no longer one of skill, but one of perfect mechanical machines. This is as true where the worker is concerned as it is with machinery. The making of "robots,"—automatic men with neither heart nor brain,—has become a science. The editor of The New Leader, in this article, traces the process. The mechanization of labor raises the entire problem of the future of the workingman. Will it mean freedom and happiness? Or will it mean slavery and misery? This article offers an answer to these questions.

By James Oneal

THE less time and labor employed in producing an article the better for mankind. Is this true? That depends. If the factories and machines for producing the article are the property of a class the proprietors are likely to receive the benefits of the saved time and the increased product. That is why new machines are introduced; that is why the human being as a worker is studied by experts.

This study of the productive capacity of the wage worker has become a profession. Just as chemists have studied various ores and have aided in extracting everything from them that can be marketed for a profit; just as the biologist, bones, blood and entrails of a hog are transformed into wearing apparel, brushes, gloves, dyes and other commodities, so the wage worker is regarded as a pig or a lump of ore.

Figuratively speaking, here is a clod of human ferment which we call a human being. He cannot employ himself and must sell himself to the owners of industry. The buyers are few and the sellers are many. The buyers want a good article and they want to extract all that they can from this human ferment.

Chemists, technicians, psychologists and other specialists are called in. They have their instructions. They must carry on experiments to ascertain how that ferment can be used to produce the utmost values. There must be no waste of time and energy. This human pulp is found in large quantities in the market and there is no need of worrying over the supply. Now then, get busy. The Human Machine Dissected.

Put this Thing to work at machines with other Things. Observe each step and every motion of the arms. Be careful that

the stop watch is in order as the time to make each motion is to be recorded on a chart. How many motions a minute are required to shear this ton of sheet iron or to wrap this bolt of cloth? How many useless motions have been employed and how many can be eliminated?

Having analyzed the lump of ferment along these lines and obtained a permanent record on a chart, the experts turn to other methods. What about the muscular exertion, the posture of the Thing, the bench or floor upon which it sits or stands? Time, monotony and fatigue are explored and the data gathered are placed in a diagram. There it is studied and the relation of each factor to the other is analyzed as a part of the general examination.

The Thing we call the wage worker has already been subdivided on charts and diagrams into a hundred or more motions, emotions, reactions and stimuli but the experts want to know still more about it. This is an age of science and as we have exhausted the possibilities of the pig and the ore so we must ex-

haust the possibilities of this human ferment.

The psychologist observes the mental state of the Thing, the nervous response to the experiments, the influence of incentive, of work periods and of personal habits in the daily routine. Transferred to a chart and reduced to decimal fractions, the information is studied in relation to the other facts that have been assembled.

How Much Can He Stand?

The physician must also play his part. What of the strain which the speeding-up imposes? Will the Thing be able to stand it long and, if so, how long? What of the illumination, ventilation and temperature of the work place? What is the bearing of all the data on hygiene? A week or more of study and the physician emerges from the laboratory with an order diagram which is added to all the others.

Plant and machine experts are also on the job to survey tools, machines and location of equipment. How rearrange the plant organization to make this Thing ooze more values into the pockets of the owners? Imposing tables of figures with recommendations are added to the other reports.

Having assembled and analyzed all this information, certain conclusions are reached regarding the Thing. The ultimate of what can be extracted from it has been ascertained and each gang must live up to expectations. If one fails it is a cull. Like a bad piece of ore it cannot be used and it is turned out into the market where it was purchased in the first place. Another Thing is substituted and it falls into the lock step of the plant routine.

We are not yet through with this lump of living ferment. Its life history must be explored be-

fore it is purchased. Does it want a place in the lock step? Here is a form to fill out. There are blank spaces. Fill in with age and nationality, whether citizen or foreign born; record your parentage and whether married or single; if married, how many children; who last purchased you in the market and why were you released; do you belong to the union or expect to belong; if other buyers can give you references, record names and addresses; what purchase price do you expect, and so on till all qualifications are listed in detail.

A purchase is made. The lump of ferment ambles through the office, punches a time clock, receives a number, and a card index records the various phases of the job task from day to day. The pace is swift and God help the one who lags behind the gang. At the end of the month the charts and diagrams record with deadly accuracy whether this piece of ferment should be discarded for a fresh piece awaiting examination in the office.

A Robot Gospel  
This is not fiction. It is American industry. Add to it those enterprises that rule out ferment that has reached the age of 45. Add the company union, anti-union, and "yellow dog" industries. The total is the modern treadmill worked out on this continent, the monstrous capitalism that has grown like a upas tree and that today overshadows the lives of millions of wage workers.

The charting, indexing and analysis now have their text book in Hugo Diemer's "Wage-Payment Plans That Reduced Production Costs" and published by the McGraw Hill Book Company. It is appalling.

Is this the thing for which farmers and mechanics froze at

Valley Forge? Is it for this that they died at Gettysburg? Is this the boasted "individualism" and "Americanism" shrined in presidential messages, in editorials, radio broadcasts, and Congressional speeches?

It is. We turn to the variety of instruction forms worked out by slave owners for their plantation overseers before the Civil War. These overseers were generally semi-literate. They also were in charge of Things, clods of human ferment worked in gangs and under a discipline intended to get the most out of the Things. Food must be apportioned, so much to adults and to children, so much to house slaves and field hands. The job task must reach a certain maximum. At a certain hour all must be in the field and all must be in cabins at a certain hour at night. Punishment should not exceed so many lashes and 24 hours must elapse between one punishment and another. Get the most out of this Thing, but do not exhaust it by overwork as it is property like the cattle in the field. As one lord of the lash put it, the good overseer is one who is "able to discern what a hand is capable of doing, and is never attempting to make him do more."

It is this slave standard of efficiency in an acute form that has been applied to modern industry. Labor is reduced to a Thing and if the modern gang task saps the workman's vitality at the age of 40 or 45 he can be turned adrift and a fresh Thing can be purchased in the market. That is the disadvantage of not being the permanent property of the capitalist buyer.

"Not a Commodity"  
Ah, but the Clayton Act says "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article

of commerce."

Wise law, sacred law! There it is for all men to read. Not a "commodity." Not an "article of commerce."

The Thing on the slave plantation who could read might also get the same comfort by reading the sacred Constitution. Nowhere could he find the words "slave" or "slavery." The fundamental law referred to "persons."

Constitutions and laws have a way of ignoring the real world. While capitalism has reduced wage workers to Things the law says that they are not Things. But we are what the circumstances make us, not what a Federal statute says we are.

Twenty-five years ago Albion W. Small of Chicago University even then saw what was happening. If a notable address he said: "We are getting into the thralls of one of the most relentless systems of economic oligarchy that the world has ever known. The march of human progress is being reduced to marking time in capitalism's chain gang."

In the great industries today wage work is gang work and wage workers are simply Things that are purchased as commodities and consumed like raw materials under a discipline that saps them of the maximum of vitality. Human labor loses its manhood in this grinding mechanism. It even lacks that protective feature which properly in labor gave the Negro slave.

This revolting system is a challenge to the workers and their heirs. It is a robotizing of human beings and another generation of it is likely to create a race of dull and witless workers, without hope, and without the will to conquer the monstrous thing that enslaves them.

The Socialist forecast of the



Robot on the Job

possibility of machine-slavery even under the forms of political democracy is being realized. Socialism with its aim of mastering industry so that it will serve all is the hope of the working class. The future happiness and welfare of the working masses depends

upon their awakening to the enslaving tendencies of the present.

To avert servitude to capitalism is the task to which this and the next generation must be devoted. It is a race between Capitalism and Socialism and the hope is that the latter will win.

## N. Y. Socialists Back Demands Of Typo Union

### Party Offers All Possible Assistance in Fight for 5-Day Week

PRINTERS seeking a five-day work week from the publishers will have the whole-hearted support of the local Socialist movement, officials of Typographical Union No. 6, have just been informed by Max Lewis, executive secretary of the city Socialist organization.

In a letter addressed to Leon H. Broun, president of "Big Six," Lewis transmitted the text of a resolution adopted at the recent city convention of the Socialist Party, pledging the Socialists to work for the achievement of the printers' aims. The facilities of the Socialist organization, including the use of speakers, meeting halls, and the Socialist press were offered to the printers.

The resolution adopted at the convention follows:

"Whereas, The New York union of newspaper printers are demanding a five-day work week in common with millions of their fellow workers in the United States in other callings; and

"Whereas, the five-day week will reduce the unemployment in the printing industry and lower the mortality in this nerve racking occupation where the product is often gotten out under high pressure; Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the City Convention of the Socialist Party is on the side of the newspaper workers in their struggle for a five-day week and not only extends its moral support but such other assistance as lies within its power."

At the same time, Lewis transmitted to Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, the text of a resolution adopted by the convention calling upon the Director of

the Census to make figures relating to unemployment available as rapidly as other census figures are made public. These figures are being withheld, and it is reported that they will be kept in "cold storage" until after the congressional elections. Senator Wagner is requested to bring the matter to the attention of the Director of the Census, and to insist that these unemployment statistics be published as soon as they are obtained.

The resolution reads as follows: "Whereas it is reported that the Census Bureau has decided to tabulate the results of the unemployment quiz after the population statistics are compiled, which will probably be some time in 1931; and

"Whereas, These figures regarding unemployment to be of any value should be made public immediately; Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we denounce this proposition to delay the returns regarding unemployment until after the 1930 elections and demand that the Census Bureau release the out-of-work figures at the earliest possible date, just as the population figures of various cities are already being published."

Lewis also communicated the demand of the convention that Judge Parker be not confirmed as a member of the United States Supreme Court to both Senators Wagner and Copeland. This was the second request the Senators received from the local Socialist organization, the first having been sent by Lewis in the name of the City Executive Committee shortly after Parker's name was sent to the Senate.

### Youth Institute Has Permanent Organization

The Youth Institute held at the Rand School on May 10 turned out to be a very lively affair. The difficulties that face radical youth in the different trades and professions were discussed with great interest. It was decided to set up a permanent organization representing six youth organizations to arrange for similar gatherings next year.

## Thomas, Broun, Crosswaith Talk In Harlem Next Sunday

HOW the unemployment problem, which affects all workers and their families, hits with particular and special force the Negro workers, and how the Negro workers can organize to overcome their special difficulties will be the subject on which famous speakers and students of economic conditions will speak at a mass meeting to be held on Sunday afternoon, May 25, at 4 o'clock, at the St. James Presbyterian Church, St. Nicholas Avenue and 141st street.

The meeting, which will be open to the public, and to which all those interested in helping solve the acute problem affecting the Negro workers and their families are invited, will be addressed by the following well-known speakers: Norman Thomas, who was the Socialist candidate for Mayor in the last municipal campaign, and who has actively espoused the

cause of the Negro workers in various ways; Heywood Broun, famous journalist, who has undertaken to help relieve the distress caused by unemployment; Rev. William Lloyd Jones, well-known clergyman, and Frank Crosswaith, prominent Socialist speaker and lecturer.

The subject is "Negro and Unemployment." Facts and figures to show how the unemployment problem has wrought havoc in the ranks of the Negro people, and how the problem can to some extent be solved immediately, will be presented. Rev. Ethelred Brown will act as chairman. Negro workers are asked to keep that date open, and call the meeting to the attention of their friends. A large meeting will impress upon the people of the city that in the discussion on unemployment the situation of the Negro ought to be taken into account.

## Some "Prosperous" Americans On the Bread-Line

### An Unemployed's Own Story

By Job-Seeker  
WHILE Republican leaders and financial experts have been busy issuing statements to the daily press with reference to alleged improvement in business conditions, the writer has had an opportunity to make an actual survey of the reflection of this purported prosperity in employment channels of New York City. Because his experiences stand out in such sharp contrast to the conditions which should be expected in a prosperous nation, he felt that a brief outline of the snags met by the job-hunter would be of interest to readers of The New Leader.

On April 13, with a very limited amount of funds in his pocket, the writer arrived in New York City from a Massachusetts city where he had lost his work, and where he had left his wife and two children. He registered at the William Sloane House YMCA in 34th street, and there learned that of the total registration of perhaps 400 young men, 150 were seeking work. The Sloane house maintains an "employment counsel," who, however, so far as could be learned, is able to do little in the line of actually giving the young men leads to positions.

In less than a week, it became apparent that work in the newspaper field was impossible to secure. It was reported, although not officially confirmed, that 100 men had been "laid off" by the New York World. In addition to these, the city is flooded with newspapermen from other cities, victims of the rapid growth of chains and the steadily increasing mergers of newspapers.

Thus, to keep himself from starvation, the seeker after work pledged himself to take any occupation available, stifling his pride. A round of the Sixth avenue agencies disclosed that one must deposit from \$5 to \$10 in cash before being sent to a prospective position. One victim of this system said to me that he had paid \$7 for a position which lasted him but four days, and for which his total remuneration was \$12, leaving only \$5 actually gained from his four days of toil. It was hinted, and apparently with good grounds, that the agencies are quite pleased to send a man to a job they know he cannot keep, since obviously the same job can thus be sold over and over again.

Just as a magnet attracts steel, so does a man without a job soon meet another, and there is an exchange of hard luck stories, and a concerted move in the search for money to keep the wolf from the figurative door. The first man I met in this fashion was a former restaurant manager who had lost his job, and who had loafed for several months, living a literal hand-to-mouth existence on funds advanced in small lots by friends, and on money he was able to secure on odd part-time jobs. For more than a week, he and I lived without knowing on any particular morning whether we would find a place to sleep when evening fell. We toured employment agencies until our feet were blistered, combining this activity with visits to various restaurants, hotels, etc., where private employ-

ment offices are maintained. On many nights, we "carried the banner," which is job-hunter's parlance for walking the streets without a place to sleep.

Eventually we heard of the work being done by Heywood Broun, and we trudged uptown to his apartment in 58th street, only to find that this had been moved downtown, to 29th street. A conglomeration of sorry looking men, down-and-out and hopeless, lounged about, while a nearest young man and a young woman assistant answered telephone calls and tried to place them. During a three-hour visit, one man was sent to a job—that was all there was to offer.

One morning, after we had used the subways for a lodging house, we sat in the waiting room at the Grand Central Terminal, waiting for the hour to arrive when we could renew the now hopeless job-hunt. A police officer, noting that my companion had nodded to sleep, approached with the usual question as to what train we were taking, and when we explained that we had no destination and no funds, referred us to the Travelers' Aid Society, where, under assumed names and addresses, we answered many questions and were finally dispatched to an institution downtown, where we were promised a room and meals until we found a job, with the assistance of the management.

Arriving, we were allowed to wash—and only a man who has ridden the subways for a couple of nights knows what a privilege that is! At 6 in the evening, we were given a wholesome meal, and a bed. No effort was made to help us look for a position, and we were looked upon with considerable disdain by the other inmates. We learned in a couple of days that it was a house maintained for released prisoners, so that they might have a home while hunting for a job. These jobs, let it be understood, were secured with surprising celerity and gave the lie to the general impression that a released prisoner with his \$5 gift from the state must return to crime because he cannot find work. How careful is the state to find work for its felons—and how careless of those who keep out of the toils of the law! On the third day we were asked to leave.

After varied experiences, which included a couple of days of cadging at a country club where the fee for 18 holes was \$1.25, and where a man was lucky if he made two rounds in a day; and another day distributing advertising from 6 a. m. to 7 p. m. for \$2.50, we finally joined the line at the soup kitchen maintained by the women's division of the Socialist party, in 25th street. We had walked by that line on several occasions, never before mustering sufficient courage to cast all pride to the winds and step in with the jobless.

We found, in the line of perhaps 500 men, that practically none of them were the professional "bums" who usually make up such a line. They were honest, hard-working toilers, principally laborers, strong, rugged, and willing to work. They were surprisingly cheerful. Patiently they waited their turn to take a ticket and go into the kitchen for soup and bread and coffee. Once they got into the line, however, they were like hungry wolves, devouring the food in rapid-fire time, and nearly all asking a second helping—among this latter class were included ourselves.

Still we hunt a job, and still we find the same old answer—"no vacancies today." The wonder is that hundreds of men in our position don't turn to crime—violent crime.

By Florence Robbins  
For the past few weeks I have been studying the bread line, at the Little Church Around the Corner.

Most of the men on the bread line are single and homeless; many are seasonal workers or unskilled laborers; most of them are American born; they have been out of work from two weeks to six months; there are very few "bums"; all ages are represented, from 16 to 70; the married men's families are broken up or are on the verge of breaking; only a small percentage understand the cause of the present depression; very few had more than a public school education; some have had a better education; all those we interviewed were most anxious to get cleaned up, to get work, and live decent lives.

Most of the men seemed anxious to speak. Several even wrote us long histories of their lives of their own accord, the most interesting being a man of 65, who had spent 20 years of his life in various prisons of this country. He relates atrocities committed by prison guards, whippings, starvation diet, chaining to the bars of his cell for 20 days and how one guard beat an inmate to death before his very eyes. Yes, he says, no wonder that he learned to hate mankind and began to steal, rob and despise work.

Another, a man of 39, is writing us a series of letters describing the campaign he secretly waged for his boss in 1918 against the effort being made by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others to organize the mill workers of the south. He describes how he watched each suspect, made friends of them and then uncovered them to the authorities. He was then a lad of 17 and knew no better. Later in life he tried to become a union man because he saw the injustice of unions, but time and again he was blackballed. He now says that Socialism is all right—after he had a meal at the Socialist Women's Section Dining Room at 15 West 25th street. Can we believe him?

Each interview is one drama after another. Any man of 29, a painter, decorator and somewhat of an artist, has been out of work for the past six weeks. He came to us in dirty, almost ragged clothes, very depressed. He has a little child six months old, motherless. The mother died at its birth. What should he do? The milk company refuses to give him any more milk for his baby. He owes three weeks rent for the little room he is occupying with his son. The baby will starve if nothing is done.

Then there was an old man, 65 years old, gray and wrinkled, dressed rather neatly, a hopeless look in his eyes. Yes, he has been out of work for four months. He had a little money and it is only lately that he had to sleep on the Bowers. Have we any work for him? The outside world thinks he is too old. There are so many younger men to take his job. We asked him would he care to go to the Welfare Island for a short rest as the guest of the city. No, no, he wants work. He can still work. He was sent to one of the missions for a short period of employment.

## Camp Tamiment Opens For Its Tenth Year



A view of the lake at Camp Tamiment

THE summers march. Vacation dreams and actualities are hung up on the filing walls of memory. Ten summers ago Tamiment was built by a group of Rand School friends on a spot in the Pennsylvania hills so remote from the dust and toil and noisy tumult of New York and Philadelphia streets that the still echo of enchantment could not hear itself in that indescribable babble of green on gold, blue of lake on white of cloudy depth.

And ten summers have added so much to the progress of this great summer organization of health and joy that today, on the brink of the tenth anniversary summer of the camp with its celebration and a Decoration Day special rate in honor of this event, preparations are now complete for the record crowd, both old and new campers, ever housed and fed and sported on this magic mountain top.

For factions and parties may swerve and change and bicker and alter, but the original need for Tamiment is present in more abundant vitality than ever before. Principles of economics and politics, liberal, radical, educational, active, may be debated in all the lecture halls of the land, but Tamiment stands open to all in a unanimity of purpose and design, tactic and fruition. It has dealt out health and radiant living and keen, swift laughter with a neutral benevolence. It has added to its equipment for sports, for social, theatrical and educational life to such an extent that its ten years represent so many years of new purpose and new need. And yet Tamiment is never the crowd that its total guest list might superficially lead one to assume. The "crowd" almost immediately splits into individual parties of acquaintance—ultimately if you will to numbers of two, but never, unless the will is overbearing, to one.

And the summers march. This summer Tamiment has built still further in anticipation of an influx of capacity lists due to the need for a vacation spot of complete satisfaction in the money class made necessary by the market slump and necessitating the closing of vacation spots catering to the higher prices. And Tamiment is ready right now. Its roads are cleared. New bungalows have been added. More comforts have been built in all over the hill whose bungalows one cannot see until the buses are sent

into the camp, so beautifully shaded and hidden are they by the perennial evergreens.

And the tenth anniversary special celebration Decoration Day price is already beginning to tax the new office force of the camp headquarters both here and in Philadelphia. A gala day and evening program, under the direction of Don Hartman, social director, will keep the guests busy every moment.

But one truth has blazoned forth out of the trace and track of ten years of camp growth—namely, that factions and opinions and political philosophies may come and go, be rejected and altered, be destroyed and banished but the summer ideal which inspired the original playground of thought and body and which is Tamiment, stands stronger, broader, clear and more certain than ever before on the eve of its worthy celebration. Leap may it wave!

### Hunter College Seniors Vote for Socialist Party

The senior class at the city college of the New York recently voted that their political preferences were as follows: Socialists, 164; Democrats, 122; Republicans, 74.

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## "How Are You Senator?"

I AM writing this on a train en route from Springfield, Illinois, to Chicago, and I have just received the crowning insult of my career.

A funny old duck with walrus whiskers, sitting next to me and trying to read this over my shoulder, has hailed me, "How are you, Senator?"

As everyone around the Rand School who prides himself on possessing a super sense of humor has been doing that since 1928 when I ran for Senator on the Party ticket, I imagined for a moment that I was back on that dear Fifteenth street.

When, however, I recollected by whereabouts, I glowered at this ancient and growled, "What do you mean, 'Senator'?" It then developed that he thought I was a Senator from Cook County in the Illinois State Legislature, God forbid!

You must know that they are having a special session of the Illinois legislature to find out how come the city of Chicago has done gone bust. If they ask us, we'd tell them one reason why the City of Chicago is bust is the delegation from Cook County to the special session of the Illinois legislature. The board, food and drink bill of this delegation alone, must be enough to keep the Chicago tax payers hustling for a year.

This idea of spending a lot of money to find out why haven't any money to spend, is dangerous. Let's hope it does not occur to the Socialist Party. We'd be in continuous session from January to December. And that would cost like anything.

We're looking forward to our arrival in Chicago, for we've asked Clarence Senior and his charming wife to meet us there and have dinner with us.

And right here we want to tell you boys and girls something confidential. We have in our National Secretary and his wife two of the finest personalities and most sincere Socialists that it has been our luck to have in charge of affairs for a long while back.

Now and then I hear some low moaning through gray beards over the fact that the Senior's are young. That should be the cause for the loudest sort of cheering. By all means, the Party should pay due reverence to its pioneers and I feel that I've done my bit in that respect. But the Socialist Party is no Home for Aged and Indignant Radicals. It is the dwelling-place of youth. Anyhow, Clarence doesn't exactly play with rattles. He has cut his wisdom teeth and knows his economic onions despite the talk of some who seem to think that he goes to his office on roller-skates.

I had a good close-up of the Seniors at work during the May Day celebrations at Chicago. Clarence's report of Chicago's May Day, which appeared in the last "New Leader" was far too modest. The Chicago crowd, especially the University of Chicago Socialists, put on meetings that would be a credit to the movement in its palmist 1912 days. When I saw some 400 youngsters at the meeting out at the University listening to "The Internationale" being played on a pipe-organ which was undoubtedly paid for by John D. Rockefeller, I got one of the few authentic kicks of my recent years. Even Clarence Darrow was stirred a bit out of his usual pessimism. He drew out, "The reason why most of you kids are here at college is that your folks don't want to have you around the house at your age." But he ended up by advising them all to be good kickers and join the Socialist Party and we love him more than ever.

This is a mighty snooty choo-choo train we are on. It has an observation car with a ladies' lounge on it and a Japanese gal serving tea. At least she wears a Japanese kimono, though on second glance I suspect her of coming from the Far East of Bloomington, Illinois.

In the observation car proper, you can hear the game between the Cubs and the Braves being broadcast, if you are that feeble-minded, or you can bury yourself in the last copy of "Liberty," which is the best burying-ground for dead brains I know of.

At first we felt a bit uncomfortable amid such luxurious surroundings but then we discovered that across the aisle from us was the President of District 12, United Mine Workers of America and we remembered that coal-diggers like to have their representatives travel in style. That is, within reason. They are not particularly keen about the magnificence with which \$12,000 per annum John L. Lewis swanks around. Neither do they think much of the "proletarian" pose affected by our Communist boy-friends. A happy medium is struck by most officials who for any great distances travel in Pullmans but avoid extra fare trains.

We are beginning to wonder where we have been all these past Mays. Never have we seen the countryside more exquisite. We drove up 165 miles under a Japanese lantern moon from Herrin last night. And around every bankrupt bank and shut-down coal-mine in southern Illinois, the trees stood in ghostly grandeur. It takes considerable moon too, to make Southern Illinois look good to us. Of course, much of the romance of that moonlit drive was lost owing to the fact that our sole companion was a hard-bitten coal-digger who told us all the way up what he had done to two blank blank scapes at Virden in '98. But you can't have everything in this world.

We wish that somehow we could get more literary in these columns from the Midwest. But when one's reading matter consists almost wholly of "The United Mine Workers' Journal," "Coal Age" and "The Illinois State Register," one somehow feels a bit out of touch with the world of belles lettres. Even that pet intellectual giant, Ellis Searles, editor of Mr. Lewis' private house organ, "The United Mine Workers' Journal," which so quaintly designates our bunch as "rats and scabs," fails to stir us to literary allusiveness.

However, all that will soon be remedied as we are once again homeward bound where anyone caught reading a book is not regarded as a bit queer.

Our last column, through a stroke of good luck for you and me alike, went astray and in its place Eddie Levinson thoughtfully inserted an article on penitentiaries. We want to assure our anxious friends that there was nothing significant in this. As a matter of fact during our entire stay in the coal-fields we have spent very little time in the penitentiary, unless you count our ten days in the Hotel Grand, Benton, Illinois.

So it's ho! for the Rand School and the Labor Temple and our other seditious hangouts where if you say, "How are you, Senator?" we will shoot you on sight, we being a bully boy fresh from the pits.

McAlister Coleman.

### CAPITALISM

Great fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em,  
And little fleas have lesser fleas, and so ad infinitum.  
And the great fleas themselves, in turn, have greater fleas to go on;  
While these again have greater still, and greater still, and so on.—De Morgan.

President Hoover is thinking of speeches in the West. Lay off of "prosperity" as a theme, Herb, or you will bring down the whole capitalist system.

## Our Weekly Foreign Letter

# The Balance-Sheet of Socialism

## Failure at London, Prospects of Minority Governments Ground for Grave Apprehension, Vandervelde Says

By Emil Vandervelde

(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

Brussels, May 7.

THE London Conference has ended as could have been expected. A rupture has been avoided. To save its face the Conference has reached a Five Power Agreement on questions such as the naval holiday for capital ships and the humanizing of submarine warfare; which by the way implies that the principal signatories of the Kellogg Pact possess the secret conviction that the "last war" is not behind but before us. On



the other hand, thanks to the Three Power Agreement—if we may anticipate the vote of the American Senate—the British Labor Government secures the substantial benefit of being able to reduce its naval expenditure by £60,000,000 to £70,000,000 by obtaining from Yankee megalomania satisfied by parity a partial renunciation of its gigantic plans for competition in armaments.

For the rest, unfortunately, there is nothing to be found. France (and one must say France, for with the sole exception of Leon Blum and a few others our comrades of the French Socialist Party have done very little to differentiate their attitude from that of the Government) France therefore stands irrevocably by the "absolute needs" of M. Tardieu.

In the United States of the two Americas, from Washington to Buenos Aires, the reaction of the workers remains weak over against the growing dominant power of neo-capitalism. Let us not undervalue, however, the importance, of better augury, of the Socialist progress in New York with Norman Thomas, and

Fascist Italy, more hysterical than ever, continues its theatrical demand for a parity which financially it would not be in a position to establish. The prospects for the General Disarmament Conference at Geneva have not been improved. On the contrary. In short, it appears only too clearly that although the effort of Social-Democracy has been able in ten years to force an ever so slightly satisfactory liquidation of the world war upon European public opinion and the governments it is still a long way from counting when it is a question of removing the threats of a new war.

In a general manner, moreover, the robust optimism which is one of the postulates of our Socialist faith is required in order to envisage without the gravest apprehension the political and social situation of the moment in Europe and the world.

Whether it is a question of Egypt, the Arab countries, India, China or Indo-China, it is too evident that if the domination of European imperialism is everywhere threatened and undermined and condemned sooner or later to disappear, the struggle of the "colored peoples" for liberation encounters and will encounter for a long time to come, because of their political immaturity, all the obstacles which come from themselves rather than from their masters.

There is certainly no comparison between the increased power of the Socialism of today and its relative weakness before the war. But who does not see that this power is encountering in all countries a resistance which is all the stronger as the ruling classes feel themselves to be threatened? In Great Britain the magnificent Labor victory of 1929 has been followed by difficult times. In France the successes of our friends in the by-elections weaken the Radicals but do not injure or hardly injure the parties of the Centre and the Right. In Germany Brüning has followed Müller as Poincaré has followed Herriot in France, and from the point of view of the Republic of the Government upon the Nationalists is far more disquieting than in a country in which the Third Republic will soon be 60 years old. In Poland the Colonels' Party continues to bully

the proletarian organizations. In Austria, in spite of the splendid Socialist defence, the Clerico-Fascist reaction is registering partial successes. In Spain and Lithuania the situation is still troubled. In Italy, Fascism—the mad dog of Europe—continues to reply upon its bayonets in spite of the increasing economic difficulties.

In short, if one throws a general glance over the front on which the fight of the working class is taking place one receives the impression of a trench war, of a war of position, in which, until decisive offensives sooner or later come, the forces balance each other, without either succeeding in securing the ascendancy. The leader of the German Populists said two months' ago that it is no longer possible to govern against and even without Social-Democracy. He was certainly right, and it seems that events must soon prove this. But let us not hide the fact that the converse is no less true. The truth is that almost everywhere the forces balance each other, that in this part of Europe which is not given up to dictators there will only be room for ten or perhaps twenty years for minority governments which are by definition weak, or coalition governments whose heterogeneity makes them weaker still.

In such conditions, to be in the Government—whatever this Government may be—is not an enviable situation for the parties and men concerned.

If they could utter all their thoughts with regard to this, Mr. Brüning in Germany, Mr. Tardieu in France, Mr. Jaspars in Belgium, Mr. Schober in Austria, would not speak, setting aside possible satisfactions and vanity, in any other manner than Müller, who

has just had this experience, or Ramsay MacDonald, who must find that political life was a fine thing when he was Leader of the Opposition.

In the countries where democracy has some reality, the strange, disparate bourgeois coalitions must reckon largely with a redoubtable Socialist opposition. On the other hand, when under the pressure of circumstances the Socialists are obliged to participate in the Government, in order to defend Republican institutions, check Fascist advances, or ward off monetary or financial catastrophes, they must reckon even more with bourgeois forces which are not all in the opposition. So much so that Henri de Man has been able to say without being too paradoxical that in almost all the countries of Europe since the war the Labor and Socialist parties—above all when they are in power—must carry on a policy of conservation and the bourgeois parties a policy of reform.

It will be said that these are not very cheering statements. Why make them on the 1st of May, on which for forty years past the workers have every year affirmed their faith and their hopes?

Because a great party like ours must draw up an exact balance of its successes and reverses: because to get over the deadlock it must realize that an immense effort is necessary. We have come from nothing. We have arrived at something. But we betide us if we loiter on the stages of the journey. Through the thickets and bogs, the ups and downs of daily politics, Social-Democracy must march with an ever-surer step towards its aim, an aim from which liberation and sovereignty of labor.

Not because of the profundity of the story, nor the perfection of the art portrayed therein... The turn thing just got in on my irascibility... It was uncommonly stupid... But hell's bells... Why just call it a lot of gutterish names... Why must all the movie theatres of the land be made so devilishly preposterous...? It seems to me there is no greater menace to the development of our national soul along the ways of beauty and sanity... than the Hollywoodized institution of the day.

Now understand me, I'm not setting forth here a plea for classics, for Dostoyevskian depth, or Slav seriousness in our theatre. Nor is there any intention here to hold forth on any kind of purity or style of entertainment. Nor will we go in for such stuff as tickles the jaded palates of the intelligentsia at those queer "different" theatres.

Nope... it is just this... stupidity is so international, so cosmic in its elements, that it really cannot hide itself under any particular guise and palm itself off as the characteristic of any particular nation.

Hollywood is the present First International for just plain crass, common, every-day dimness. The ukases it sends forth is the form of talkies, and "Incomparable Productions" grow more superb in their stark inanity each day and night.

Our only hope is that they will run out of their stock of plain stupidities and go in for madhouse blather... There is such a thing as an idiot going insane.

For instance they dish up a sexy sloop by that ancient mop-rag of the boudoirs, Elinor Glyn, in which a poor "winking goll" does the Cinderella stunt against the pie-eyed debutantes of Southampton, Long Island, for the polo-hardened palm of a poor millionaire boy, who is tied up in marriage with a woman who loves somebody else, and makes a bet with another woman that she can have this other woman's husband... and this intermingling with Scotch highballs, and some Sally in our Alley singing, and a close-up kiss and fade-out... is supposed to compensate us for the hard earned thirty cents we shell out to be entertained. Except for a few lonely maiden aunt domestics and some sentimental adolescents of the old school, the rest of us sit and snicker and yawn quite audibly.

No one is being fooled... or rather none, but a very few. We go out with a sense of having been gypped... good and plenty. "It's a racket," we say to ourselves... And then we go home and sleep the rough deal off, until the next week.

There is furthermore no intention on my part here to organize the long suffering movie-goers into a vast party of protest against the Gyps of Screenland.

There are vastly more important phases of our living under this grabby system to occupy that purpose and plan.

But there is something so wormily low and ugly about the movie racket... that all vehemence of feeling or color of profanity is beggared. It's like selling chalk and water for milk to blind babies, and making the tots take and like it.

Of course, the movie magnates will tell you in Uriah Heepish tones, "We give the dear public what it wants... They love to see fine interiors, the costumes of the upper classes, the beauty of their gardens... it is an escape from the drab reality of the common man's existence... It is a form of social work that we are performing... We are lifting the slums into a higher standard of living by showing them what architectural and natural glories exist outside of their daily ken..."

So far, I will agree with their contentions... But when they offer to our newspaper scandalized brains, all the personal filth and madness of life among the parasites and "upper classes", and excuse it on the ground that it creates a superiority complex and satisfaction among the poor by the opportunity that they have to observe their own hard and straitly virtuous lives in comparison to those who live so viciously in the higher spheres, (what!) I wish to demur, protest and yowl...

Everyone of us regular guys would just like to take a full swing of five closely cramped knuckles at the Pompeian massaged phiz of the hero, or the heroine for that matter, when for no reason at all they go oozing their silly sex appeal all over the silver sheet.

I think the best sort of a raspberry we movie-goers could invent without any resort to indecency, is to get up in our seats whenever the hero or the heroine comes lounging or strutting across the screen in full dress or negligee... and yell out with college cheering union... "What do you do for a living..."

There ought to be vagrancy laws against photo plays wherein the great mystery of "useful occupation" for the players is never revealed... So much for this week's harmless comment.

At least I have left India and the British Labor Party alone.

S. A. de Wit.

## The Chatter Box

### Musings In A May Garden

SEED has a way of testing all our fallacies... First there is the cold humidity of toil, And those who lounge in soft supremacies Of birth and inclination are not fit Nor clean enough to fashion with the soil.

Then there is the nature and the touch Of kindness for every thirsting root... And only those who feel another's want Will wait until the ripening of the fruit.

And surely there is always prayer for rain, And tempered sun, and just a blow of breeze... (While all the rest are bellowing for gain... Ask for the benediction of the trees...)

Then there is the patience requisite Before the barrenness is lost in flower... Those who cannot bide the blossoming out Can never know the glory of the hour When toil and seeding, tenderness and care Draw forth a bursting beauty to the air... And so it seems It follows with the manner of our dreams...

Sometimes, when my mind needs a rest, I argue with a Union Square Communist, or go to the neighborhood movies... And the frisky little bunch of cells and strings was so tired the other night... What with collections being zero-like in business, and my getting slammed all over the lot by the Anglophile comrades for my recent little note to Ramsay.

There being no Communists handy in the village, I went to the movies... Not so bad at first, what with the comics and the news, and the theme songs... but when the main feature came on, my brain stopped its process of relaxation...

Not because of the profundity of the story, nor the perfection of the art portrayed therein... The turn thing just got in on my irascibility... It was uncommonly stupid... But hell's bells... Why just call it a lot of gutterish names... Why must all the movie theatres of the land be made so devilishly preposterous...? It seems to me there is no greater menace to the development of our national soul along the ways of beauty and sanity... than the Hollywoodized institution of the day.

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There is furthermore no intention on my part here to organize the long suffering movie-goers into a vast party of protest against the Gyps of Screenland.

There are vastly more important phases of our living under this grabby system to occupy that purpose and plan.

But there is something so wormily low and ugly about the movie racket... that all vehemence of feeling or color of profanity is beggared. It's like selling chalk and water for milk to blind babies, and making the tots take and like it.

Of course, the movie magnates will tell you in Uriah Heepish tones, "We give the dear public what it wants... They love to see fine interiors, the costumes of the upper classes, the beauty of their gardens... it is an escape from the drab reality of the common man's existence... It is a form of social work that we are performing... We are lifting the slums into a higher standard of living by showing them what architectural and natural glories exist outside of their daily ken..."

So far, I will agree with their contentions... But when they offer to our newspaper scandalized brains, all the personal filth and madness of life among the parasites and "upper classes", and excuse it on the ground that it creates a superiority complex and satisfaction among the poor by the opportunity that they have to observe their own hard and straitly virtuous lives in comparison to those who live so viciously in the higher spheres, (what!) I wish to demur, protest and yowl...

Everyone of us regular guys would just like to take a full swing of five closely cramped knuckles at the Pompeian massaged phiz of the hero, or the heroine for that matter, when for no reason at all they go oozing their silly sex appeal all over the silver sheet.

I think the best sort of a raspberry we movie-goers could invent without any resort to indecency, is to get up in our seats whenever the hero or the heroine comes lounging or strutting across the screen in full dress or negligee... and yell out with college cheering union... "What do you do for a living..."

There ought to be vagrancy laws against photo plays wherein the great mystery of "useful occupation" for the players is never revealed... So much for this week's harmless comment.

At least I have left India and the British Labor Party alone.

S. A. de Wit.

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

### P. J. Troelstra, Dutch Veteran, Passes at 70

#### Great Figure in International Socialism Spent Recent Years of Illness Writing Memoirs

AMSTERDAM.—Dr. Pieter Troelstra, pioneer leader of the Dutch Socialist party, died here Monday night, May 12, following a prolonged illness.

Troelstra was 70 years old on April 20 last. For some years the great leader of the Dutch Social-Democratic party had been confined to his bed, and in view of his illness he asked that no demonstration should take place on the occasion of his birthday. The Dutch Social-Democratic party respected this wish, but his life work was not only remembered at the Dutch party conference which was held on Troelstra's birthday, but his friends in all countries recalled with love and respect their long common fight in the International alongside the pioneer of the Dutch working class.

When Troelstra felt his illness coming on he decided that he would voluntarily retire from the active politics in which he had done so much for the Dutch and international labor movement. But what

### BOOK Bargains 35c

The books below are brand-new, clothbound, original publisher's editions, offered for by the New Leader. Although published at \$2.35, \$3.00, \$4.00, \$5.00, \$6.00, \$7.00, \$8.00, \$9.00, \$10.00, \$11.00, \$12.00, \$13.00, \$14.00, \$15.00, \$16.00, \$17.00, \$18.00, \$19.00, \$20.00, \$21.00, \$22.00, \$23.00, \$24.00, \$25.00, \$26.00, \$27.00, \$28.00, \$29.00, \$30.00, \$31.00, \$32.00, \$33.00, \$34.00, \$35.00, \$36.00, \$37.00, \$38.00, \$39.00, \$40.00, \$41.00, \$42.00, \$43.00, \$44.00, \$45.00, \$46.00, \$47.00, \$48.00, \$49.00, \$50.00, \$51.00, \$52.00, \$53.00, \$54.00, \$55.00, \$56.00, \$57.00, \$58.00, \$59.00, \$60.00, \$61.00, \$62.00, \$63.00, \$64.00, \$65.00, \$66.00, \$67.00, \$68.00, \$69.00, \$70.00, \$71.00, \$72.00, \$73.00, \$74.00, \$75.00, \$76.00, \$77.00, \$78.00, \$79.00, \$80.00, \$81.00, \$82.00, \$83.00, \$84.00, \$85.00, \$86.00, \$87.00, \$88.00, \$89.00, \$90.00, \$91.00, \$92.00, \$93.00, \$94.00, \$95.00, \$96.00, \$97.00, \$98.00, \$99.00, \$100.00, \$101.00, \$102.00, \$103.00, \$104.00, \$105.00, \$106.00, \$107.00, \$108.00, \$109.00, \$110.00, \$111.00, \$112.00, \$113.00, \$114.00, \$115.00, \$116.00, \$117.00, \$118.00, \$119.00, \$120.00, \$121.00, \$122.00, \$123.00, \$124.00, \$125.00, \$126.00, \$127.00, \$128.00, \$129.00, \$130.00, \$131.00, \$132.00, \$133.00, \$134.00, \$135.00, \$136.00, \$137.00, \$138.00, \$139.00, \$140.00, \$141.00, \$142.00, \$143.00, \$144.00, \$145.00, \$146.00, \$147.00, \$148.00, \$149.00, \$150.00, \$151.00, \$152.00, \$153.00, \$154.00, \$155.00, \$156.00, \$157.00, \$158.00, \$159.00, \$160.00, \$161.00, \$162.00, \$163.00, \$164.00, \$165.00, \$166.00, \$167.00, \$168.00, \$169.00, \$170.00, \$171.00, \$172.00, \$173.00, \$174.00, \$175.00, \$176.00, \$177.00, \$178.00, \$179.00, \$180.00, \$181.00, \$182.00, \$183.00, \$184.00, \$185.00, \$186.00, \$187.00, \$188.00, \$189.00, \$190.00, \$191.00, \$192.00, \$193.00, \$194.00, \$195.00, \$196.00, \$197.00, \$198.00, \$199.00, \$200.00, \$201.00, \$202.00, \$203.00, \$204.00, \$205.00, \$206.00, \$207.00, \$208.00, \$209.00, \$210.00, \$211.00, \$212.00, \$213.00, \$214.00, \$215.00, \$216.00, \$217.00, \$218.00, \$219.00, \$220.00, \$221.00, \$222.00, \$223.00, \$224.00, \$225.00, \$226.00, \$227.00, \$228.00, \$229.00, \$230.00, \$231.00, \$232.00, \$233.00, \$234.00, \$235.00, \$236.00, \$237.00, \$238.00, \$239.00, \$240.00, \$241.00, \$242.00, \$243.00, \$244.00, \$245.00, \$246.00, \$247.00, \$248.00, \$249.00, \$250.00, \$251.00, \$252.00, \$253.00, \$254.00, \$255.00, \$256.00, \$257.00, \$258.00, \$259.00, \$260.00, \$261.00, \$262.00, \$263.00, \$264.00, \$265.00, \$266.00, \$267.00, \$268.00, \$269.00, \$270.00, \$271.00, \$272.00, \$273.00, \$274.00, \$275.00, \$276.00, \$277.00, \$278.00, \$279.00, \$280.00, \$281.00, \$282.00, \$283.00, \$284.00, \$285.00, \$286.00, \$287.00, \$288.00, \$289.00, \$290.00, \$291.00, \$292.00, \$293.00, \$294.00, \$295.00, \$296.00, \$297.00, \$298.00, \$299.00, \$300.00, \$301.00, \$302.00, \$303.00, \$304.00, \$305.00, \$306.00, \$307.00, \$308.00, \$309.00, \$310.00, \$311.00, \$312.00, \$313.00, \$314.00, \$315.00, \$316.00, \$317.00, \$318.00, \$319.00, \$320.00, \$321.00, \$322.00, \$323.00, \$324.00, \$325.00, \$326.00, \$327.00, \$328.00, \$329.00, \$330.00, \$331.00, \$332.00, \$333.00, \$334.00, \$335.00, \$336.00, \$337.00, \$338.00, \$339.00, \$340.00, \$341.00, \$342.00, \$343.00, \$344.00, \$345.00, \$346.00, \$347.00, \$348.00, \$349.00, \$350.00, \$351.00, \$352.00, \$353.00, \$354.00, \$355.00, \$356.00, \$357.00, \$358.00, \$359.00, \$360.00, \$361.00, \$362.00, \$363.00, \$364.00, \$365.00, \$366.00, \$367.00, \$368.00, \$369.00, \$370.00, \$371.00, \$372.00, \$373.00, \$374.00, \$375.00, \$376.00, \$377.00, \$378.00, \$379.00, \$380.00, \$381.00, \$382.00, \$383.00, \$384.00, \$385.00, \$386.00, \$387.00, \$388.00, \$389.00, \$390.00, \$391.00, \$392.00, \$393.00, \$394.00, \$395.00, \$396.00, \$397.00, \$398.00, \$399.00, \$400.00, \$401.00, \$402.00, \$403.00, \$404.00, \$405.00, \$406.00, \$407.00, \$408.00, \$409.00, \$410.00, \$411.0



# Eisenstein, Master Director, Honored At Cameo

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

## COLD COLOR

"THE VIKING" By Henrik Ibsen.  
New York Theatre.

I have a view of this generation to have a view of an early Ibsen drama. We know him only as the author of realistic tragedies of daily life, the careful student of social evils, the champion of lost causes that since him have gained ground. In "The Vikings" we see Ibsen as a younger man, before the sense of social injustice burned in him, occupied as an artist with his theme.

"The Vikings at Helgeland" tells a story Longfellow knew, one of the stark Norse sagas of journeying warriors, ravished maidens who as strong wives work to blood vengeance. It is a tale of swifter vengeance than of the Greek tragedies, though in many respects its development suggests that of the southern dramas. Ibsen confines his story, as did the Greeks, to one locality and one day's span; much of the action off-stage is told by messengers. But we see more of the actual clash of wills; talk of the Norse's predestined weaving of man's life-thread does not give the Greek sense of moira, of fate, because we watch Hjordis cunningly play upon the other persons for her ends. The power of women in the affairs of life Ibsen makes evident even in this drama of Viking clashes: all the disasters that break like dark thunder upon their heads have lightning of her lust and of her vengeance.

Such a play as this telling of old saga, or an ancient Greek tragedy (especially when the translation lacks true poetry) requires much of its setting. Here Thomas Wilfred, with his great Clavilux, has added an eerie power. The possibilities of the light-organ have long been proclaimed by those of vision who have seen Mr. Wilfred's instrument at work; they are but suggested in the excellent treatment of "The Vikings." Mobile, many-colored, shifting light is the sea beyond; it changes in tone from dawn to evening, in mood from calm to storm. Or the characters themselves are picked out, patterned in light, which bathes them in soft shimmer or lurid glow.

Within this light, and in the far-off pride of Viking days, Richard Hale plays (and sings) with a noble dignity the role of the old Ormulf, whose seven sons are torn from him by warlike death. As the fierce and cunning Hjordis, who has eaten the wolf's heart, and who as last of her blood must wreak revenge, Blanche Yurka plays with the moods of fire; now curling softly as hearth-warmth with a cuddled cat beside, now flaring suddenly as with bared fangs of fire, now roaring in full conflagration of human passion. With the light-organ shifting flame over her to her moods of changing, Blanche Yurka lifts her performance to eerie heights that dominate the drama, and—even on these warm nights—make one shudder with the concentrated cold searing of Norse fire.

## MORE MERRIMENT

"ADA BEATS THE DRUM" By John Kirkpatrick. John Golden Theatre.

There is good fun, through the years, as Mark Twain in "Innocents Abroad" and Elmer Rice in "See-Now-and-Die" have in different ways shown, in the spectacle of us Americans caught in the swirl of European culture, for which we—oh so vainly!—aspire; and in "Ada Beats the Drum" John Kirkpatrick, with the help of Geoffrey Kerr, has played the same theme. Its variations are of course, endless, and there is an excellent first act, with other sprinkled fun, here drawn out of them.

Old Mother Hubbard is especially hot for European culture, in the form of aristocratic Europeans, of whom her cupboard is bare. Daddy Hubbard (he's left out of the nur-

## Noted Maestro



Eduardo Petri, director of the Metropolitan Opera Company's Choral School, plans to give a concert at Town Hall on May 21.

very rhyme, but Mr. Kirkpatrick has found him) is pleased with European culture (especially grape-culture); and the young thing wants the drummer in an American jazz band. She too was left out of Mother Goose; but it's not her fault.

Mary Boland has a faculty of making people laugh when there is no reflection, no perceptible humor; perhaps that accounts for much of the merriment; but there is no doubt that the audience enjoys it—that is, her—while it laughs. The rest of the cast plays well along, and there is enough brightness in the settings and the incidental wit provided by the author to make "Ada Beats the Drum" a good contender for popularity during the summer.

"Where in the world does he get all these pretty girls?" Where do they come from? How do they get so many pretty girls in ONE show? And similar questions are asked of each other by members of audiences attending Earl Carroll Vanities and Earl Carroll Sketch Book reviews. He sometimes makes his companions laugh at his boyish enthusiasm for the beauty of girls he has known and rehearsed until one would imagine him tiring of their presence.

One, but not the principal reason for Mr. Carroll's success in acquiring famous and prize-winning beauty for his shows is his utter disregard of cost when beauty is concerned. It is almost an obsession with him to search for beauty. He sends his friends or chauffeur after a pretty face hurrying along the street. He writes notes and sends flowers like a love-sick swain to beauties other than his own. It is an eternal search with him—for beauty. And once he determines a face or figure is perfect he pays salaries that are prohibitive to less extravagant admirers of feminine charm.

A second, and more important factor in his success in acquiring and retaining beauties is that he makes the girls happy in their association with him. He is always gracious, polite and solicitous about "his" girls. He believes that great genius is only a greater patience, and a third factor in his beauty success is his patience with youth, if it is beautiful.

And fourth, by far the most important feature, now known to most of the girls with ambition for a stage career, is Mr. Carroll's willingness to give them an opportunity to advance.

During the past season he aided two of his girls, now featured in vaudeville, to cultivate their voices and then graciously released them from Sketch Book at an opportune time. Herein lies the secret of loyalty on the part of Earl Carroll girls. They need no warning against the wiles of envious competitors. The girls cling to the Earl Carroll banner like a national emblem—the girls of other firms, on the other hand, watch patiently for an opportunity to join the ranks of this happy family. A visit back stage, at any time, is sufficient to convince one of the efficacy of happiness in work.

## Eisenstein Week at the Cameo, "Old and New", Revival of "Potemkin"

"Old and New," now at the RKO Cameo Theatre has attracted so much attention to the mastery of its director, Sergie M. Eisenstein, that it has been decided to run the attraction a third week, commencing Friday the 16th, and revive for showing on the same program this Russian's equally famous film, "Potemkin." Thus, the first production of Eisenstein to show in America and the most recent one to be released will appear coincidentally. This will serve to celebrate the director's arrival in New York—his first visit to these shores—and probably no ceremony will please him as much as the sight of two of his silent Soviet cinemas showing on Broadway.

## At The Film Guild Cinema

The Film Guild Cinema will show the American premiere of the "Chess Player" beginning next Saturday, May 17. The picture, which presents a background of the Polish Revolution, upholds the reputation of this intimate little playhouse for showing arty pictures for its large and interesting patronage.

## "Courage" at Winter Garden

"Courage," Warner Bros. Vitaphone production of the famous stage play by Tom Barry, will have its world premiere Friday, May 23, at the Winter Garden Theatre, succeeding "Show Girl in Hollywood," the current attraction.

Belle Bennett has the role of the mother, and Leon Janney takes the Junior Durkin part in the drama. Also in the cast are Marian Nixon, Rox Bell, Carter de Haven Jr., Blanche Federici and Richard Tucker. The picture was directed by Archie Mayo.

## Special Film at 55th St.

The German art-film, "Creative Hands," will be shown to the public for the first time in America at two special performances today (Saturday) at 11:30 p. m. and Sunday at 11 a. m. at the 55th Street Playhouse.

This production permits an intimate glimpse into the studios of the outstanding German painters and sculptors, showing such personalities as George Grosz, Kandinsky, Kaethe Kollwitz, Belling, Liebermann, Corinth, Zille, Kolbe, Sienlis, Slevogt and many others at work. The series of the "Creative Hands" consists of two full-length feature pictures, dealing with the "Painters and Sculptors" individually. Both features will be shown at the special performances.

## "Princess Charming" Soon

Bobby Connolly and Arthur Swanstrom, the producers of "Sons O' Guns," the Jack Donahue show at the Imperial Theatre, announce that they have purchased the American rights to "Princess Charming" and will produce it in the Fall. The rights were bought from Clayton and Waller who will do "Suns O' Guns" in London. This musical play by Arthur Wimperis and Laury Wylie, from the Hungarian play, "Alexandra," by Franz Martos, with the original score by Albert Szirmai, will be adapted for America by Jack Donahue. While a good deal of the old score will be used, new tunes will be interpolated by another composer who will be announced later.

Victor Moore has been signed for the leading comedian role. "Princess Charming" was produced in London in 1927 with Evelyn Laye, Alice Delysia and George Grossmith in the leading roles. There is more than a possibility that George Grossmith will play his original role.

## 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!

## "BIGGEST LAUGH IN YEARS."

SAM H. HARRIS presents  
JUNE MOON  
By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN  
Broadhurst  
WEST 44TH ST.  
Evenings at 8:40  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
All priced seats at Box Office.  
Tickets for "June Moon" will never be sold at cut rate. Orchestra \$3; Balcony \$1 to \$2.50. No Tax.

## Daniels In The Lyon's Den



At the Hippodrome this week, beautiful Babe Daniels and Ben Lyon appear in RKO new production, "Getting Gertie's Garter." On the same program, there is a strong bill of vaudeville.

## "Gold Braid" On Parade At Masque Theatre

The complete cast of "Gold Braid," the new play by Ann Shelby, which Louis A. Safian presents at the Masque Theatre, consists of Adele Ronson, Allan Devitt, Thomas S. Carnahan Jr., Marion Abbott, Loretta Shea, Jethro Warner, Bruce Adams, Charlie Fang, Billie Van Everle and John Cameron.

The play is laid in Camp Malabang, an army post in the Philippine Islands.

The author of the play, as the wife of Major F. Sidman of the U. S. Cavalry and the daughter of Major-Chaplain Fleming, was stationed for years in the very camp which is the locale of "Gold Braid."

## Barrymore at Strand

John Barrymore in "The Man From Blankley's" will be the attraction at the Strand Theatre beginning Friday (May 16). This will be the picture's first showing at popular prices.

The story, much like a page out of a Dickens manuscript, deals with the serio-comic adventures of an English lord (played by Mr. Barrymore) who has stumbled by mistake into a dinner party of the most curious collection of freaks ever gathered together in or outside of a museum.

## "Divorcee" at Capitol

The Capitol Theatre presents Norma Shearer's latest starring vehicle, "The Divorcee." Adapted from the sensational novel by Ursula Parrott, it is considered to prove one of the greatest successes of the season, and to advance reports from Hollywood, tops any of Miss Shearer's recent productions. A notable supporting cast has been assembled, including Chester Morris, Conrad Nagel, Robert Montgomery and Florence Eldridge. Mme. Butova, international ballerina, will be in the stage revue, with a Chester Hale ballet.

Beacon Holds "Texas Moon" "Under a Texas Moon," Warner Bros. all-technicolor romance of the Mexican border country, is being held over for a second week at the Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th Street. Despite the fact that the picture had a four-weeks' run at the Winter Garden, it has drawn heavily enough to warrant a two-weeks' stop-over at the Beacon.

Frank Fay is featured. Opposite him appear Myrna Loy, Armina, Raquel Torres, Noah Beery.

## THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

Hotel Universe  
A New Play by PHILIP BARRY

Martin Beck Theatre  
15th STREET WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evs. 8:30-Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

## A MONTH IN THE COUNTRY

By IVAN TURGENEV  
GUILD THEATRE  
32nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evs. 8:30-Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

## Metropolitan Choral School Gives Concert First May 21 At The Town Hall Here

Two boys of the Choral School of the Metropolitan Opera Company, which will give its first concert in Town Hall Wednesday evening, May 21, have won gold medals for the excellence of their singing. They are John Harms, thirteen, and John Casamassa, the same age.

There is a difficult solo for boy's voice in the first act of Pizzetti's opera, "Fra Gherardo," which the Metropolitan presented last year. Harms was chosen for the part by Tullio Serafin, conductor of the Metropolitan. So well did he acquit himself, that Mr. Pizzetti bestowed the medal as a token of his approval.

The Choral School will sing the Sanctus from a Requiem Mass by Mr. Pizzetti, at his concert Wednesday evening. The Choral was founded twenty-two years ago by Giulio Gatti-Casazza, general manager of the Metropolitan, shortly after his arrival in this country from La Scala. Mr. Petri has directed the school since 1914.

## Jack Linder to Produce Musical Shows at Long Beach Starting June 27

At the request of the year-round residents of Long Beach, the popular summer resort patronized by Broadway, Jack Linder, well-known theatrical producer, announces the formation of a musical comedy stock company which will occupy the new Follies Theatre, formerly the Al Follies Theatre, at Boardwalk and Monroe boulevard, Long Beach, with legitimate Broadway musical productions. The season begins Friday evening, June 27, and the opening production is a full-sized revue entitled, "Paris to Long Beach."

Each program will commence at 8:30 p. m. There will be a new production each week, with performance each evening including Sunday, and matinees on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday. A popular price schedule has been arranged.

## Hipp Open All Summer

RKO officials announce that arrangements have been entered into with Fred F. French, owner of the Hippodrome site, to continue to operate the famous big playhouse on Sixth Avenue with its present continuous policy of RKO vaudeville and feature sound pictures throughout the entire summer.

The announcement made recently that the plans were being approved for a large office skyscraper on this site carried with it the impression that the Hippodrome would close soon, which is not the case. It will continue for many months to come—at least until next Fall—according to the official statement.

## CIVIC REPERTORY

14th St., 6th Ave. Evs. 8:30  
50c, \$1, \$1.50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30  
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director  
Mon. Eve., "The Open Door" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero); Tues. Eve., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Wed. Eve., "The Cradle Song" (Sierra); Thurs. Mat., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Thurs. Eve., "The Sea Gull" (Tchekov); Fri. Eve., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Sat. Mat., "Romeo and Juliet" (Shakespeare); Sat. Eve., "The Open Door" (Sutro) and "The Women Have Their Way" (Quintero).

## TOPAZE

The Comedy Hit from the French of MARCEL PAGNOL  
with FRANK MORGAN  
PHOEBE FOSTER  
CLARENCE DERWENT  
MUSIC BOX THEATRE  
15th STREET, WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evs. 8:10, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

## JACK DONAHUE in SONS O' GUNS with LILY DAMITA

(By arrangement with Samuel Goldwyn)  
ALBERTINA RASCH GIRLS  
CONVOLY & SWANSTROMS  
Musical Smash Hit of the Year  
IMPERIAL  
THEATRE 45th ST. W. of B'way  
Evs. 8:30-9:30  
WED. & SAT. 2:30

## The Season's Outstanding Triumph Katharine Cornell in DISHONORED LADY

"I've waited all this year for a stretch of acting as immediately glamorous and subtly colored and alive."  
—Gilbert W. Gabriel, New York American.  
EVENINGS AT 8:40  
MATS. WED & SAT. 2:30  
EMPIRE THEATRE, 8'WAY & 40TH ST.

## SAT. EVE. Gala Performance Saint-Saens' Celebrated Opera SAMSON and DALILA

Only Performance  
Tickets on Sale at  
All Headquarters  
Proceeds shared in by Socialist Party  
TICKETS \$1.00 to \$3.00  
Madison Square Garden  
ELEONORA DE CISTEROS as DALILA

## Popular Artist of Air And Clubs



Louise Fordham combines beauty and talent. Not so many years ago, she was a student of the U. of California, and feeling that New York was the only place for a girl with ambition, she came here, and—pronto—made good.

## Louise Fordham Didn't Take Greely's Advice, But Is Making Good

Here's something for the California papers to copy, with the heading, "Local Girl Makes Good."

After graduating from the University of California, Louise Fordham decided she had earned a vacation, so partly for that and partly to have some voice culture by a New York expert, she came East. One evening she was taken by a party of friends to the Russian Art Restaurant for dinner, and after the party was properly warmed up, was urged to sing. The Russian Art is the kind of place where patrons in the mood—and voice—can get up and sing for their friends, so Louise did. And there ended her vacation, for the Russian Art proprietor was so taken by her voice that he urged a contract on her. And now, what with that and singing for the Gimbel hour on the radio, she is well on the road to fame. Not bad for a girl looking for

## In Louis Safian's New Play



Loretta Shea plays an exotic half breed role in "Gold Braid," a new play by Ann Shelby, now holding forth at the Masque Theatre.

voice culture. "Go East, little girl," is evidently quite good advice.

Louise has but two hobbies, singing and flying. The singing part is now being indulged in nightly at the Four Trees at 1 Sheridan Square. And as for flying, she is a licensed pilot, and can pull out her pilot's license to prove it.

## JOHN BARRYMORE

NOW  
AT BOTH STRANDS  
America's Foremost Actor in His Most Brilliant Role!  
FIRST TIME POP. PRICES

## THE MAN FROM BLANKLEY'S

WARNER BROS. REFRIGERATED  
STRAND  
NEW YORK & BROOKLYN  
New York—Broadway and 43rd St.  
Brooklyn—Fulton St. and Rockwell Pl.

Look for STARS of the STAGE and SCREEN in VITAPHONE VARIETIES

## CAPITOL

Highway and 51st Street  
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.  
MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30  
2d WEEK  
Norma Shearer  
in the picture of  
URSULA PARROTT'S STORY  
THE DIVORCEE  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture  
with Chester Morris, Conrad Nagel  
Robert Montgomery

## ON THE STAGE ARNOLD BROS.

REVIEW  
BUNCHIE BROS. and CAPITOL  
GRAND ORCHESTRA  
HEARS METROPHONE NEWS  
CHARLIE GRANT, COMEDY  
MONSTER COOLING PLANT

## SONG OF THE FLAME

A First National & Vitaphone Thrill  
Gave New York Its Greatest Thrill  
With BERNICE CLAIRE  
ALEXANDER GRAY  
NOAH BERRY  
NOW PLAYING WARNER THEATRE  
Broadway and 22nd St.  
Sunday: 3:45-8:15  
Daily: 2:45-8:15

## 55

FIRST AMERICAN SHOWING  
The German Musical Romance  
MADY CHRISTIANS  
singing again in  
"The Burning Heart"

## "The Burning Heart"

with symphonic sound accompaniment  
and original singing sequences.  
Directed by Ludwig Berger, who wrote  
"The Vagabond King" and "Waltz  
Dream."  
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"SPRINGTIME ON THE RUINE"

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

## Famous Actor



One of America's most distinguished actors is John, of the Barrymore family. He comes to the Strand Theatre this week in "The Man From Blankley's." Barrymore deviates from his usual dramatic fare and appears in a farce.







## NEW LEADER

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

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Subscription Rates:  
One Year Postpaid in the United States ..... \$2.00  
Six Months Postpaid in the United States ..... 1.00  
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries \$3.00

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SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1930

## Vindicating Marx

ARE the forecasts of Marx regarding concentration of capital being realized in the United States on a scale that would amaze even the founder of the Socialist movement? Small business men, shopkeepers and traders, because of their small capital, are unable to meet the competition of great capital. They fight to save themselves from extinction but one by one are compelled to surrender.

Lieut.-Governor Huber of Wisconsin, in *The United States Daily*, supplies the facts for his state which confirm the predictions of Marx some eighty years ago. Huber is unaware that he provides data in support of a classic in Socialist literature.

Citing figures of chain store development, middle class decline and bank resources, he shows that the business man is being ruthlessly crushed. He pictures the chain store monarchs as absentee masters. "The profits of industry have gone out of the state as if carried with the speed of a homing pigeon to Wall Street—the center of chain monopoly activity." Bank resources of the state decline as the chains increase in number. Merchant bankruptcies increase. In 1921 there were 61, in 1928 there were 243, and in 1929 there were 229. He predicts a "battle between chain banking and individual banking."

Of course, this is natural. Every class fights against extinction but the economic revolution is certain to swallow up the smaller capitals. Then what? The merchants transformed into bankrupts and workers, many of them jobless, add to the army of those discontented with capitalism. As wage workers are also being devoured so the whole of the dispossessed classes will be forced to swallow up the devourers by making great banks and industries collective property. That is, Socialism.

## Pious Robbers

WHEN fat exploiters of children at the recent convention of Cotton Manufacturers in Boston openly defended this course some conservative dailies were shocked. In most industries there is no open defense of it. At Boston one official declared that employment of children is "charity."

This was the sanctimonious pose of factory owners a hundred years ago. They didn't want the "morals" of children blasted by idle play in streets or groves so they brought the children into their hells to work 12 and 14 hours per day. Many New England fortunes of today were fertilized by the tears of children of the working class before the Civil War.

The textile industry has a brutal history since its beginnings in the first industrial revolution. The sleek gentlemen who still sap the energy of children are about as welcome among civilized people as a yegg armed with a "gat."

## Ancestor Thinking

WE know of no more stupid argument against cooperating with European nations to preserve the peace of the world than that which quotes Washington and Jefferson against it. To be sure, the past has its lessons. The opinions of eminent men of another age are also worth considering but when this attitude takes the course of rejecting a proposal because of some past utterance it does not rise above the level of primitive tribes that observe ancestor worship.

The age of Washington and Jefferson was an ox cart economy. Ours is an age of steamships, railroads, wireless and the airplane. Do we want to keep out of "European entanglements"? Of course we do, but we did not keep out in 1917. Europe is nearer to this country today than New York was to Boston when the Constitution was adopted. When Europe was afire with war the Atlantic was no more a barrier to the flames than, if there was a tiny trout stream.

International commerce and investments have made all nations part of a world economy. If our ancestor worshippers really want no "European entanglements" they should withdraw American ships from the seas, cancel every investment and loan abroad, dismantle our big industries and railroads, and then go back to hand tools and ox carts as means of producing and distributing wealth. It is ignorance and arrogance compounded for our parochial patriots to bring ox cart minds to the problems of modern international relations.

It is a striking fact that some of our most thoroughgoing reactionaries in this matter are regarded as very wise "progressives." They are really as modern as Jefferson's whirling chair. Our ancestors are dead. So is much of their advice.

## A Senatorial Puzzle

A FURTHER study of the vote in the Senate which rejected the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court brings out a curious result. There were eighteen Senators who voted for or were paired in favor of Hughes. These eighteen Senators were in the same way recorded against Judge Parker. The Senators are equally divided between Republicans and Democrats, nine each. Here is the list:

Republicans: Capper, Deneen, Glenn, McNary, Robinson of Indiana, Pine, Schall, Stiever, Vandenberg.  
Democrats: Ashurst, Barkley, Copeland, Kendrick, Trammell, Wagner, Walsh of Massachusetts, Brock, Robinson of Arkansas.

Try to figure out the mental process by which Hughes is acceptable to these men while Parker is not. Were they for big property interests last February when Hughes was approved and pro-labor last week when they lined up against Parker? We give it up.

## The Bolshevik Ghost

AN attempt is being made to revive the American industry of reviving the Communist ghost. Police Commissioner Whalen appeared before a Congressional committee with alleged "documents" revealing an alleged conspiracy. When Whalen was through the committee knew nothing. Ralph Easley, the hired drug clerk of our ruling financial and industrial magnates, writes an article for a Detroit paper to prove that a half million Communists are astray in this country. A Congressional committee may undertake another investigation.

As for the Whalen documents, we recall the forgeries that have been exposed in this business. The earliest were the Sisson documents. Then Hearst was caught with spurious Mexican documents of a similar character. There was the Zinovieff letter used in England against the Labor Party and later the Orloff documents intended to implicate Borah and others.

Following the French Revolution it required about twenty years for our reactionaries to recover from the Jacobin fever. Today they cannot be happy without the company of a Bolshevik ghost.

## IN A NUTSHELL

No one knows better than President Hoover that advancement from the voting line to the bread line, in this age of efficiency, can be accomplished within twelve months. Right, Herb?

Those union men who voted for the G. O. P. in the last national election and who wear union work buttons should at least select a "yellow dog" for the button design for one month.

Over a thousand political economists have signed a round robin against the pending tariff bill. Will Matthew Woll please step to the front in defense of our noble corporations and mergers?

Isn't it queer in this land without class interests and class struggles that workers in general opposed the appointment of Judge Parker while bankers and capitalists favored him? How is it possible to explain this class line-up in God's Country?

The millions of jobless workers at least have time to decide whether they would have lost more time they have by "throwing away their votes" by voting the Socialist ticket.

If you have a little time try to solve this puzzle: What sort of a "Labor" Senator is the statesman who votes to place Hughes on the supreme bench and votes against Parker?

If this robotizing of the wage workers continues they will have to wear cow bells within the next decade or two so that the bosses will know just where each "freeman" is at any hour.

Chain store sales for the first three months of this year exceed the total of the entire year of 1929. As the independent business men have always been referred to as the "backbone of the nation" does the rise of the chains mean that the nation has spinal disease?

A chamber of commerce man warns the farmers against Socialists. He is afraid that we will take the farmer's last shirt and deprive bankers of a hundred per cent. record in deflation.

The chap who is afraid that Socialism means "dividing up" may now be in the breadline with plenty of time to figure out how much he will have to hand out when Socialism succeeds capitalism.

The Canadian tariff wall now goes up in answer to the wall being built by Congressmen at Washington. Australia and other nations also expect to build. Then we will build again and they will build again till capitalism lands us in the ditch.

Another New York judge is up for investigation because of peculiar financial transactions and is under indictment for using the mails to defraud. We understand that his honor is convinced that "Socialism won't work."

Did you get that application for membership in the Socialist Party? No, we do not mean the other fellow. We mean YOU.

## Labor's Platforms On India

EVENTS in India make the report of the British Labor Party to the Congress of the Labor and Socialist International in the Belgian city, Brussels, two years ago of special interest. The report is an excellent survey of the economic, religious, labor and political problems of India and the relation of India to the British Empire.

The congress of the party in 1925 adopted a resolution which recognized the right of the Indian peoples to full self-government and self-determination. A similar resolution was unanimously adopted at the Blackpool Congress in 1927. The final clause of this resolution declared:

"The conference reaffirms its declaration that, with a view to a new atmosphere for friendly discussion of the constitutional status of India, all coercive measures and repressive legislation should be withdrawn; it recognizes that some steps have already been taken in the release of political prisoners, especially in Bengal, and that the results have admittedly justified action; the conference, however, urges the Government to use its authority in favor of the immediate release or trial of all those persons now in prison, without trial who were convicted by Martial Law or special Tribunals."

In the same year the Prime Minister appointed a commission on India and although leading Indians had been included in previous commissions no Indian was appointed to this commission. The Parliamentary Labor Party criticized this procedure, declaring that a commission of the Indian Legislature should be consulted by the Royal Commission "on equal terms."

It added that "the reports of both Commissions should in due course be presented to the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament."

J. Ramsay MacDonald and George Lansbury were the labor members of the Royal Commission and they arranged with the Secretary of State for India certain modifications of the original proposal. "Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Commission," reads the Labor Party's report to the International, "after his arrival in Delhi issued a letter to the members of the Indian Legislature, through the Viceroy, in which he stated his proposed terms of cooperation of the Commission with the Indian Committees."

Leaders of the various Indian parties refused these terms on the following grounds which are summarized:

(1) Government officials and the members of the Legislature nominated by the Government were to be allowed to take part along with the elected members in the election of the Indian Committee.

(2) No provision was made for the election to the Indian Committee of persons who were not already members of the Indian Legislature, although this point had been specially conceded in the Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons.

(3) The Committee of the Central Indian Legislature was restricted to the consideration of central subjects only and relegated to the status of a mere additional element during the enquiry in the various provinces.

(4) All Indian members might be excluded entirely from hearing evidence that might be given in camera. This is regarded by Indians as a fatal stumbling block to cooperation, especially in view of their experience of in camera evidence at the time of the Muddiman Enquiry.

(5) There is no provision for the cooperation of the Indian Committees in the institution and conduct of subsidiary enquiries.

(6) Indian leaders felt strongly that the aim of the Commission should be, along with the Indian Committees, to endeavor to arrive at an agreed report. This did not seem to be thought of in Sir John Simon's letter.

The objection made by the Indians to in camera evidence because of their experience in the Muddiman Enquiry, was due to their experience with Sir Alexander Muddiman after the fall of the Labor Government in October, 1924. After the taking of evidence had closed and members of the committee were called to draft a report "some further reactionary witnesses were brought before them who in camera gave evidence in flat contradiction of their published or written evidence."

The Indians wanted no repetition of this experience and as will be noted in paragraph 4 above it was one of the strongest objections they raised to the proposals of Sir John Simon regarding the work of the Commission in 1927.

This is the background of the present discontent in India which has increased in the past three years. In December, 1927, the Indian National Congress unanimously adopted a resolution which declares that "This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence."

The Labor Party report to the International states that many who voted for the resolution "meant no more than Dominion Status with India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

At the Brighton Conference of the Labor Party in September, 1929, no special action was taken on India. Fenner Brockway of the Independent Labor Party, and Alex. Gossip of the Furnishing Trades criticized the Labor Government's policy in India. They singled out the imprisonment of strikers which, they admit, occurred under the Conservative Government but they claimed that policy towards Indian strikers had changed little since the return of the Labor Party to power.

Dr. Drummond Shiels answered by saying that much of the criticism repeated the charges made

## MacDonald And Gandhi

The Aims of Indian Nationalism And the Record of the British Labor Government

By H. N. Brailsford

(In The New Republic)

THE British Empire is engaged in a duel, in which no compromise seems possible, with the noblest and most influential personal force in the world. It has flung into its prisons the sons of Mahatma Gandhi, many of his followers, hundreds of his followers. These are all good men, idealists of a spirituality very rare in our modern world, filled with a devoted spirit of self-sacrifice and service, perhaps the finest citizens that India has bred. They have infringed no moral law; they have harmed no fellow man. Their offense is technical. Theirs is a symbolical rebellion.

The government which has thrown these people into prison itself professes an idealism of its own. It is a Labor government, and its leaders call themselves Socialists. Out of office, they combated imperialism and stood for freedom in India. Since they took office they have made promises to India which showed both vision and courage. How have they become involved in this duel? "How," asks one American reader, disposed to venerate the saint in Mr. Gandhi, and to respect the pacifist democrat in Mr. MacDonald, "how, pray, do you explain this clash, how excuse the illiberal conduct which these arrests display?"

One deplors this clash; one dreads its consequences; one feels in it a violation of all one's instincts. But to call this a merely symbolical rebellion is surely to be simple-minded. One smiles at the innocence of these Indians, whose whole offense is that they have boiled sea water to obtain salt. But the salt monopoly is an important source of revenue; if it disappears there will be a deficit, and some alternative tax. But for that Mr. Gandhi is preparing. Has he not already induced hundreds of the village "headmen," responsible for the collection of the main revenue from land, to resign their offices? Saints are sometimes shrewd tacticians, and Mr. Gandhi makes no secret of his intention, gradually and by a crescendo of calculated acts, to disorganize the whole mechanism of British rule in India. It was clever to begin by challenging the salt monopoly. Taxes on salt are always detested by peasants: was it not a salt monopoly which brought down the monarchy in France? The picketing of toddy shops makes an even more direct moral appeal. But can any government allow its revenues to be sapped, its agents to be seduced from their allegiance, its authority to be defied, without an answer?

"A symbolical rebellion," did you say? It began with a frank and open declaration of independence. The temperature of the masses rose. It required only a few weeks to demonstrate that the lofty spirituality of Mr. Gandhi is as far above that of the average man in an Indian crowd as it is above the moral level of Wall Street or the London Stock Exchange. The mob of an Indian city is as far below the Tolstoyan heights of non-resistance as the average Anglo-Saxon. Soon there were bloody riots in Karachi and Calcutta, and in the latter town the crowd improvised its barricades of blazing trolley cars across the streets. The police (doubtless under instructions) showed astonishing self-control, and yet there was bloodshed—chiefly among the Europeans and the police. Hard on these events came an open act of war—an attack, skillfully planned and boldly executed, by armed insurgents upon the arsenal of the port of Chittagong. That, at least, was no symbolical rebellion. There happened what the Viceroy predicted in his letter of warning to Mr. Gandhi. He lit the thin spiritual flame on the altars of faith. Others spread the ravaging conflagration. He called to heaven for independence. Others will plunge through hell to win it. He made the moral atmosphere of rebellion. Others will supply the stores and the barricades, the revolvers and the Lewis guns.

What in the face of such a situation is a British government, even a Labor government, to do? It must seek a political solution, promptly and with generosity. It must keep its cool ability to think, even when guns go off and blood flows. It must never forget, even if it should, in the end, imprison him, that Mr. Gandhi stands for the unflinching application of its own principles. It might be wise to turn a blind eye and a deaf ear on verbal and symbolical defiance. It must be a courteous host to its prisoners. It must re-

frain from the use of force, and yet it must keep its cool ability to think, even when guns go off and blood flows. It must never forget, even if it should, in the end, imprison him, that Mr. Gandhi stands for the unflinching application of its own principles. It might be wise to turn a blind eye and a deaf ear on verbal and symbolical defiance. It must be a courteous host to its prisoners. It must re-

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quire its police and its troops to endure provocation and even physical injury before, in the last resort, to avert bloody anarchy, they fire. But when all this is said, it has the ordinary duty of every administration. It must preserve order. It must maintain the usual services of civilization, which, in their turn, demand revenue. In short, it must govern.

"You do not see the necessity? You suggest that there is an alternative?" It may walk out, "bag and baggage," as Mr. Gladstone used to say to the Turks in Europe. It may capitulate to Mr. Gandhi's demand for instant and unqualified independence.

Let us examine this demand. From whom does it come? It comes from the National Congress, a loosely organized, loosely elected party convention. The vote was of 114 committeemen against 77. Outside this Congress are the Moslems (one-third of the whole population), the people of the Native States (one-fourth), the influential Liberal party, the organized, depressed castes, and, in some sense, the Sikhs. All have their discontents; all call for an advance to self-government, but not for independence. It is impossible that Mr. Gandhi, speaking for three-fifths of the Hindu Congress party, can be voicing the will of the majority of the Indian population.

That might be answer enough, but again, on its side, the Labor government, even were it in its heart convinced of the rightness of this demand, could not grant it. It would be instantly disavowed by the majority of the British Parliament. Finally, to complete the answer, there is no sane or responsible member of the British Labor party who believes that in the interests of mankind as a whole immediate independence would be either possible or desirable. If the world had first been disarmed, India might survive without a navy or a modern army. If the League of Nations were a

federal world republic, she might find aid and peace within it. If she possessed an experienced native civil service, an army trained to obey native commanders, religions which had learned to tolerate each other, and finally, if the mass of her population had passed through the common school, she might escape the chaos into which the Chinese Republic has fallen. Today, common sense rejects this claim, which a minority has addressed to a minority.

If, then, the Labor government cannot yield to Mr. Gandhi's demand, and must, even against him maintain order, the test of its conduct is narrowed. What has it done to find a political solution for this clash of idealism against order? For India's self-respect will not, and ought not to, endure direct alien rule much longer.

The Labor government inherited a nearly hopeless situation. Lord Birkenhead, with incredible tactlessness, had appointed, under Sir John Simon, a purely English commission to report on India's fitness for self-government, and to draft the reforms which all admitted to be necessary. Inevitably, Indians, including the moderate Liberals, resented the insult; invariably they boycotted the commission. From this sullen and silent India it returned, searching for some fresh start. Labor, meanwhile, had taken office. With the help of Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, a Tory, but a Tory of the Left, a new departure was found, in consultation with the new Secretary for India, Mr. Bann. A proclamation was issued which repeated that Dominion status was the goal of British policy, and the offer at last was made of a round-table conference, representing British Indians, the Native States and the British government, to make recommendation for the future. It would have the Simon report before it, and any report which responsible Indians might submit. It wanted some courage

to inaugurate this new departure. It was made under the threat of passive resistance from the Congress. It involved an open confession of Lord Birkenhead's error. It was, in fact, assailed by that nobleman, by Lord Reading (the last Liberal Viceroy), by a part of the Tory press, and even by Mr. Lloyd George, as a weak concession, liable to misconstruction.

For a moment it seemed that all India was impressed by the generosity of this gesture. The Congress leaders, including Mr. Gandhi, welcomed it, though not without some reservations, in a manifesto. Their second thoughts were less friendly. The promise after all, was not dated. The Dominion status might content them if it were to be granted at once but even in the Labor party there was talk of a transition period.

Outside it, did Tories and Liberals mean more than a vague promise for a distant future? Pondering on these things, Mr. Gandhi was obliged to scrutinize his own party also. The most gifted of its younger leaders, Mr. Nehru, Jr., would not flinch from the uncompromising demand for independence. The League of Youth, strong in Bengal, with a brilliant frebrand of the Bose clan at its head, stood equally for independence, and meant to win it by violence. If he accepted the promise of Dominion status, would he not split the National party, and would not the Left, emancipated from his control, fling itself into violent courses? Let the Moderates attend the round-table conference; that is their métier. Should they get Dominion status at once all might still be well. Their chances would be brighter if the pressure of his agitation were behind them. So Mr. Gandhi may have reasoned. Congress met, and he proclaimed independence by non-violence. If these were Mr. Gandhi's tactics they failed. The violent party of youth walked out and slammed the door of the Congress behind it. It has since taken car for Chittagong. United Indians may be in discontent; in aim and in method they are divided. Some boil sea water; others seize arms. Others, again, will go to London to talk.

Hope centers, then, on these coming conferences in London. How much India may hope from them we shall be better able to judge when the findings of the Simon commission are published. What, you will ask, would content sober Indian opinion? I think that the provinces, more important in the future structure of India than are the states in the American Union, must have responsible government without qualification or delay. Some immediate advance there must be at the center of the future federation, but it is inevitable that for a period certain services, chiefly police and defense, must remain under British control. How could it be otherwise? The civil service is still in its higher ranks mainly British. The higher command of the army is wholly, and the more scientific arms mainly, British. Even the civilian police is under British officers. However rapidly Indians are trained, some years must pass before these vital services can be Indianized. Till this is done, one cannot talk of full Dominion status. But an act should provide for its grant by stages, within a fixed term, and without the humiliation of further inquiries. This status confers, he remembered, the standing of a sovereign state, the control of its armed forces, absolute fiscal independence, including the levying of tariffs against the United Kingdom, nay, even (as Canada, South Africa and Ireland maintain) the right to be neutral when the Empire is at war. This is independence, qualified only by a rarely used right of appeal on points of law to the Privy Council, and by a nominal recognition of the vague headship of the King-Emperor. In practice it involves consultation on external policy as an equal and unfettered member of a loose federation of allies. So much, left to itself, the Labor party would concede, and that within a brief period—perhaps ten, perhaps fifteen, years. With this moderate Indians would be content. But not the younger Nehru, nor the League of Youth. Would it satisfy Mr. Gandhi? That is doubtful.

A minority sues for justice to a minority. There lies one peril. Some months will pass before these talks can begin, and they may drag more slowly than the naval conference. What, in the interval, will happen in India? And how far will the other parties permit the Labor government to travel on the road which it would wish to follow? There must be limits to the readiness of an honest party to assume the odious tasks of the policeman unless it had the assurance that it can, in the end, offer an acceptable form of its own political solution. The future is as perilous as it is unpredictable, and the test of the quality of the Labor government is yet to come. It has done nothing yet to earn the frowns of Liberals in other lands. May its record stand equally clean when this testing year is over.

## Anti-Injunction Bill Is Taken Up Again

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Chairman Norris of the Senate judiciary committee has again called his committee to take up the anti-injunction bill drafted by his subcommittee, and designed to abolish the yellow dog contract in industrial life. Prediction is made by lawyers who have followed the discussion in committee that a majority of the committee membership will vote against taking any action in the present session. The opposition will seek to delay any report of the measure to the Senate, in the hope of holding off legislation for two more years.

## Senate Passes Power Commission Measure

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Without a roll call, the Senate adopted, May 12, the Couzens bill creating an independent Federal Power Commission, with an independent staff of accountants and lawyers, to replace the present commission made up of the Secretaries of War, Interior and Agriculture. Couzens' second bill, granting wide powers of regulation of rates and security to the commission, will not be brought to a vote this year.

Switchmen in Buffalo June 9  
BUFFALO.—(FP)—The 18th convention of the Switchmen's Union of North America opens in Buffalo, the headquarters city, June 9.

## On WEVD

(130.6—WEVD—New York City—1300 KC)

SUNDAY, MAY 18  
11:00—Dietrich Black Diamonds  
11:45—Real Estate Report  
12:00—Davidoff's Time Signal  
12:30—Silent Screen Melodrama  
12:45—Dan's Beauty Show  
1:00—Mamie's Red's Orchestra  
1:15—Wendell's Entertainers  
1:30—Weather Reports  
1:45—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox  
2:00—Jay's Ensemble  
2:30—Malign Cavaliers  
2:45—General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends  
3:00—Elizabeth Hour  
3:30—Liberal Ministers' Club  
3:45—Tom McGovern, John Byrne, balladeer  
4:15—Reconciliation Trips  
4:30—Negro Art and Discussion; Isabelle Rogers Clayton, soprano; Wm. T. Andrews, "The Parker Case"  
4:45—Melody Lady  
5:00—World Committee on World Friendship Among Children  
5:15—Ben Rayner, tenor  
5:30—Mrs. John Alden, "Sunshiners"  
5:45—Jay's Ensemble  
6:00—Bonnie Underwood, "Phenomenology"  
6:15—Rogers Clayton, soprano  
6:30—Rogers Clayton, soprano  
6:45—Rogers Clayton, soprano  
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12:30—Rogers Clayton, soprano  
12:45—Rogers Clayton, soprano  
1:00—Rogers Clayton, soprano

1:30—Elizabeth Husted, contralto  
1:45—Frances Gentilly, soprano  
2:00—George Grover, "Contemporary Drama"  
2:30—Ola Myrland, contralto  
2:45—"Book Review"  
3:00—Charles W. Hughes, recital  
3:30—Margaret, "Familiar Thinking"  
3:45—Bonnie Windsor, Blues  
4:00—Wendell's Entertainers  
4:15—Travis and Syd  
4:30—Hints from Suzanne  
4:45—The Time Zone  
5:00—The Steppers  
5:30—Weather Reports  
5:45—Weather Reports  
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