

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Progressives and the Supreme Court—Our Fire-Talking Admirals—Nationalism and European Unity—Tammany True to Form—The Montana Power Grab

ROBERTS AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROGRESSIVES

Owen J. Roberts, now a member of the Supreme Court, is a man greatly to be preferred to the undistinguished, reactionary mediocrity whom the Senate rejected. Some newspaper men and some lawyers tell us that Judge Roberts may be found lining up with Brandeis and Holmes. I hope so.



Yet the manner of his confirmation shows the essential weakness of what is called Progressivism in and out of the Senate. Supposedly Judge Parker was rejected because of an illiberal attitude on labor and race questions, yet no effort at all was made to ascertain Mr. Roberts' stand on these and other great issues on which the Supreme Court has such vast powers virtually to legislate for us. It is absurd to say that Judge Roberts' personal character, ability and excellent conduct of the oil case gives us clear knowledge of his position on these other points. During the war he helped the government prosecute certain cases which helped to dig the grave of civil liberties in America. For this he may perhaps be pardoned.

On the ground that he shared the common war hysteria. It is harder to forgive him for his absolute silence on all cases involving human rights in the city and state in which he is an acknowledged leader of the bar. No state has such an appalling record of anti-labor injunctions as Pennsylvania. Against the Nazareth hosiery strikers Judge Stewart, not very far away from Mr. Roberts' home city, issued an injunction in support of the yellow dog contract in comparison to which the Red Jacket injunction was liberal. Other judges in other courts in Pennsylvania have enjoined striking miners from church going, have declared the old age pension law unconstitutional, have upheld the power of great corporations and public utility companies against the people, and not once in any outstanding case in Pennsylvania involving civil liberties and social justice, has Owen J. Roberts stood forth against the reactionary tides of judge-made law.

If the progressives of this country, in and out of the United States Senate, meant business in their fight against Judge Parker surely there was nothing in Mr. Roberts' record to entitle him to exemption from questions designed to bring forth his point of view on the oligarchic power of our Supreme Court. One is tempted to believe that the victory over Judge Parker was after all more a victory for political considerations than on a principle. The progressivism that is to command public respect and public confidence must have its own positive standards for judges as for other public officials. It cannot have a childish faith that a Supreme Court nominee will be satisfactory if he is honest, reasonably able and does not happen to have any glaring reactionary decision on his record. Again, I repeat, that I hope Judge Roberts will come up to the expectations of his friends and use his great ability to the public service. What I have said is not so much an attack on him as a plea for a more forceful and intelligent stand by progressives.

THE ADMIRALS ON A RAMPADE

BRITISH rear admirals rage against the London Treaty as a betrayal of England; a Japanese naval officer commits suicide to protest against the London Treaty because it humiliates Japan; and our American rear admirals once more cry out to high heaven that we have been done by England and that all is lost without more 8 inch guns. All of which makes a sensible man believe that there may be something good in this London Treaty after all. It also proves how hopelessly unfit for the diplomacy of peace are our rampant rear admirals.

The London Treaty is good for something as a check to a naval race. It is not good for very much as eliminating the wastes of armament or the perpetual strain of rival armament upon goodwill between nations. The Navy Department is timing the visit of the Fleet to New York, the review of the Fleet by the President and all the attendant publicity so as to counteract any possible specific effects of the London Treaty in the popular mind. The Navy puts on a good show. But what price that kind of glory?

ROMANTIC NATIONALISM

OF COURSE disarmament isn't going to come by itself in an imperialist world and it wouldn't prevent war if it did come. Every advance to disarmament helps, but the economic armament of tariff also has something to do with a state of mind which makes war possible. This rosters' tariff which is about to pass Congress, to the great cost of American farmers and workers, and to the hurt of our foreign trade, is producing far more irritation and far more protest abroad than the London Conference assuaged. If there is to be any immediate vitality to Briand's idea of a United States of Europe it will be the vitality of opposition to our unscientific and unwarranted log rollers' tariff. No polite denials to the State Department can alter that fact.

For some sort of United States of Europe there is much to be said in logic and reason. But if greater unity of Western Europe is achieved by reason of fear and hate of the United States on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other, it will be anything but an agency of peace. For the present Briand's rather vague scheme will not get far. On the very day it was made public Mussolini rattled his sword in a speech in Florence louder than ever did Kaiser Wilhelm in the days before the war. Germany suspects the plan as one leading to the perpetuation of French overlordship in Europe. The workers, with reason, suspect its motive as directed to the strengthening of capitalism. And the friends of the League of Nations with equal reason scarcely see what Briand's type of a United States of Europe can do which the League cannot do. In spite of all these things the ideal will not die. The economics of an interdependent world must find expression in the politics of interdependence. Interdependence, however, does not mean capitalist imperialism. If it is to be achieved as a way of peace it must be on the basis of world wide cooperation of free peoples. The interdependence which we want stands over against a romantic nationalism on the one hand and imperialism on the other.

AN EDUCATOR TALKS

SPEAKING of nationalism, and false nationalism at that, did you notice the remark attributed to District Superintendent Campbell of Staten Island? He said that it was the business of school histories to teach Americanism rather than fact. Nationalism like any other religion which is afraid of facts is in a very bad way and the rivalries of nations which teach nationalism rather than fact naturally lead to war.

THE FLATHEAD LEASE HANDED OUT

THE expected has happened. The Federal Power Commission, itself under fire and probably about to be reorganized, has awarded Site No. 1 on the Flathead River in Montana to the Montana Power Company. Control of site No. 1 means control of the other four sites which the Montana Power Company will not develop. The Indians who own the site have been cheated by the low rental. The public has been defrauded to serve the interest of a subsidiary of the power trust and the sister of the Anaconda Copper Company. Senator Thomas Walsh, of Montana, has made himself in the Senate the virtual apologist of this deed. His colleague, Senator B. K. Wheeler, so far as I know, has not opened his mouth on the matter. Yet, both of them have talked of power as an issue between the Republican and Democratic Party. Never was there clearer evidence that both parties belong to the same interests which usually are powerful enough in an emergency, in one way or another, to guide or to gag men reputed to be progressives.

TAMMANY TRUE TO FORM

THE Walker administration, which is to say the Tammany-McCoey machine, runs true to form. Never surrender to reformers is its motto. Having been rid of two of the worst magistrates in the city, through no merit of his own, Mayor Walker promptly proceeds to fill their places by two purely political appointments without consulting the Bar Association or without giving the public time to consider his nominees or to make complaints. Indictments and possible indictments pile up on McCooey's man Judge Vause of Brooklyn, who took Mrs. McCooey on one of those free trips to Europe with which it is charged he was favored by the United American League.

Worst of all is the appointment of J. F. Geraghty as Commissioner of Licenses in spite—or possibly because—of the fact that as deputy license commissioner under Hyman he was charged by a

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Hillman Is Re-elected By Amalgamated

Toronto Convention Endorses Labor Party Idea—Socialist Cities Are Praised

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which just closed in Toronto, was the most significant and interesting of its career. The two years which have passed, and which were reviewed in the convention sessions, brought into focus three cities, each of which presented problems that were unique, and whose solution in two instances at least (the third has not yet been solved) developed a new labor union strategy. They were Philadelphia, Milwaukee and New York.

Philadelphia had recently become an Amalgamated stronghold. The organization campaign of last summer added 15,000 members to the Amalgamated fold and brought in line manufacturers whose boast it had been that their workers were perfectly happy and would be the first to run the union organizations out of the town. These manufacturers, as President Hillman said, unlike the New York manufacturers, live up to their agreements once they sign them. They had been so confident that their workers would be immune to organization because the Philadelphia clothing market worked under a padrone system. That is, the head of a section engaged and directed the operations of the other workers, usually his relatives and friends, in his section. He was their countryman, their wise man, their little father. His word was law. Also, Philadelphia was a notoriously strong open-shop city. For the last ten years the Amalgamated onslaughts were unsuccessful. Then, as was explained by Hyman Blumberg co-manager of the New York Joint Board who was in charge of operations in Philadelphia last summer, the organization changed its tactics. It went to work quietly, calling no mass meetings, making no moves for a general strike. Months and months of house to house canvassing, concentrating all its energies on the workers of one factory at a time, until the time was ripe for a strike in that house, then the tie-up of that factory. The rest is history. The Philadelphia delegation was the most spirited, non-intoxicating spirits, too (sorry) at the Convention.

In Milwaukee the Amalgamated was engaged in a battle with one of the oldest and most reputable firms in the industry. The David Adler Co. wishing to evade union control had locked out its workers, who promptly went on strike. The strike lasted for months with neither side showing any sign of conceding defeat. Finally, the union opened a factory of its own, employing the Adler strikers, in an arrangement to manufacture clothing for the Hart Schaffner & Marx Co. of Chicago. This factory after a year's operation, is an unqualified success. One of the most thrilling sessions of the convention was that in which Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, in a truly brilliant and moving speech, pictured a Socialist administration at work in the time of strike.

In this connection it is interesting to note the words of Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary of the Amalgamated. "Perhaps in some other city," said Mr. Schlossberg, "our Milwaukee situation would have been different, with the courts and public officials hostile to labor. In Milwaukee a court of justice has acted justly and refused to help the employers break our strike. And the attitude of the Mayor has been a source of encouragement to us. The presence of Mayor Hoan in the City Hall of Milwaukee and of Mayor Stump in the City Hall of Reading, we take as an indication that the time will come when labor in the United States will assume political power and responsibility, put in the courts judges who will not issue 'Yellow Dog' contract injunctions, elect public officials who will not send policemen to club strike pickets, send representatives into the legislatures to enact such laws as are so badly needed by the American labor movement as relief from our industrial system."

New York, even though it did not figure largely in the official program of the convention, overshadowed all the other cities in the extra convention sessions and discussions. New York is admittedly a sore spot. The New York delegation was obviously a color closely related to indigo. Aside from the political ramifications and manipulations which shift and tack and veer from day to day, and which we have no intention of going into here, the industrial going into here, the industrial going

Roberts Confirmed to Supreme Court Bench

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Washington.—Having heard nothing "against" the record of Owen J. Roberts, President Hoover's most recent nominee to the Supreme Court bench, the Senate Judiciary committee has approved and the Senate confirmed the Roberts appointment. No statement of qualifications or of Roberts' record accompanied the committee's recommendation.

The only objection to the confirmation of Roberts came from the Socialist Party. Norman Thomas, chairman of the party's public affairs committee, wrote Senator Norris urging the senate committee to enquire into Roberts' views on social legislation, on public utility regulation, earnings and valuation and in general on the nominees view concerning the right of the Supreme Court to void legislation enacted by congress. Thomas' request was not granted.

Bread Line Grows Longer In New York

Socialist Women Taking Census of Unemployed at Soup Kitchen—Funds Needed

A NAMELESS census of the food offered by the Women's Section of the Socialist Party at its kitchen in West 25th street was taken this week by Mrs. Nina Frey, manager of the kitchen, and already some startling disclosures have come to light. One of the hungry men who stood in line for his portion of soup, coffee and bread was a former civil engineer, who had earned as high as \$8,000 a year. Another was a marine engineer, and still another was an office manager for a large concern.

Mrs. Frey plans to gather statistics upon 500 applicants, after which tabulations will be made which may be of considerable assistance in analyzing the unemployment situation.

The men are asked their regular occupation, what work they have done to fill in, when and whence they came to New York and why, their ages, how long they have been out of work, whether they have any dependents and if so what provisions of support—among other things.

Many Youths in Line
The questions with reference to when, whence and why the men came to New York apply principally to the astonishingly large number of young men and boys who join the line. Almost invariably they answer that they were attracted by tales of prosperous New York, augmented by hearing that the newspapers daily carry more pages of want ads. They freely admit, however, that these want ads call for highly specialized experts for the most part, but despite their admissions, they are unwilling to return to the home town.

The soup kitchen had just completed three weeks of existence when The New Leader reporter called. During that time, 9,123 persons, mostly men but including a few women, had been fed. There has been a steadily accelerating increase in the number of applicants each day, beginning with only 16 men on the first day, and running well beyond 775 at the close of the three weeks. The average number for the first week was 188 per day, while that for the third week was 749. The average for the entire three weeks was 480.

With the help of generous contributors, the officials hope to keep the kitchen open at least three more weeks, and as much longer as seems necessary. "So long as men are desperately hungry," Mrs. Frey said, "we're going to feed them."

The expenses, which are surprisingly low considering the number of persons fed, are paid entirely from voluntary contributions of well-wishers. Nearly all the food is solicited, although it is of course necessary to buy some. The Horn & Hardart Company, owners of the Automats, contributed a large stock of chipped cups and other dishes. Mrs. Frey has the assistance of a corps of nearly a dozen workers, all of whom are volunteers. The work has been endorsed by Heywood Brown, among others, and he is urging his friends who helped him in the Give-a-Job Campaign to lend their assistance to the soup kitchen.

Food Runs Short
During the past week, the line of men has been so large that those on the end are occasionally deprived of at least one item. They do not complain, but their

Senate Puts Pension Bill On the Shelf

Hearing Mysteriously Called Off—House Is Even Less Interested in Aiding Aged

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—At the last moment, Sen. Dill telegraphed to prospective witnesses that the hearings scheduled for May 20-21 on his old age pension bill had been cancelled. Some of the interested representatives of labor actually got to the capital for the opening session of the hearings, and learned that the question would not be discussed until next December. In this casual manner the issue of federal aid to two million aged and indigent persons in the United States was brushed aside, due to the indifference of the chosen representatives of 40,000,000 voters.

The Federated Press, anxious to learn what is still to be done to bring actual bread and butter, as well as ease of mind, to the aged workers throughout the nation, followed up the trail of the vanished hearings. It discovered Chairman Arthur Robinson of the Senate pensions committee to be concerned solely with his alibi. He said he had never heard that hearings were to be held. He knew that Dill had a bill in, and that Dill had wanted a subcommittee named to conduct hearings if necessary. But senators had been busy, and he guessed Dill had found it impossible to get them to serve.

Senators Are Tired
Dill, questioned about this vague state of affairs, was depressed in his attitude. He said the tariff bill and the London treaty were the only measures before the Senate that the members wanted to deal with before going home for the summer. Senators Patterson of Missouri, Norbeck of South Dakota and Wheeler of South Dakota as a subcommittee, but none of the three was willing to conduct a hearing at this late date. They were tired out—all the senators were tired out—with nearly a year of labor on the tariff and other matters. Now they were about ready to adjourn. So Dill believed it was best to wait until December and then hold hearings on the old age pension bill.

Wheeler, obviously very tired by months of committee hearings on railroads, radio, power and Indian affairs, and just past the crisis of the dispute over the leasing of the Flathead power site to the Electric Bond & Share Company, the power trust, was in no condition to take up the old age pension fight. Norbeck was in South Dakota. Patterson, a new member, did not want to touch so progressive a measure as pensioning the aged workers. And that was that.

House Less Interested
But if the Senate presented a picture of hopeless futility and run-down indifference toward the question of old age security, as the final weeks of the session arrived, the House was in worse case. Here the Norris bill providing for government operation of Muscle Shoals power plants, to cut the price of electricity, was being strangled by the administration leaders. The anti-injunction legislation, ready for favorable report from committee in the Senate, had not even been given a day's hearing in the House committee. The postal workers' 44-hour bill was denied a chance to come to a vote. Scores of other bills af-

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Hunting A Job Despair and Cynicism Grip Jobless, Unemployed Writes

By Job-Seeker

WHEN young men, skilled in trades which pay from \$40 to \$60 a week, are walking the streets in hopeless desperation, the unemployment problem is something more tangible than mere economic theories. The writer of this article has walked the streets, slept in subways and parks, and panhandled to keep from starvation. Whatever information I have about unemployment is first-hand.

The country is accused of seeing middle-aged men, with tattered clothing and battered faces, "bumming" their meagre existence. But the sight of literally thousands of able young men, with adequate training, unable to find work for their willing hands, is something else. Whatever the cause—whether it be the result of a machine age, a foolhardy tariff that swells the coffers of the few or the inevitable result of the war, is be-

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Textile Union Leaders Names On Ticket Of Philadelphia Socialists

N. Y. Typos Renew Threat Of a Walkout

Impatience Is Shown at Delay of Strike Authorization by the International

By Louis Stanley

THE members of "Big Six," the New York Typographical Union, made it perfectly clear at their last regular meeting that they were determined to strike if the newspaper publishers did not grant them the five-day week. At the same time despite the temporary refusal of traveling cards in New York City, the membership declared itself unmistakably in opposition to the policy of closing the books of the International Typographical Union to new members for five years.

At the previous meeting of "Big Six" on April 20 the membership had voted overwhelmingly in favor of requesting strike sanction from the Executive Council of the I. T. U. The International headquarters had not yet taken action upon this request. Many resented President Howard's delay in coming to New York City. Consequently at the May 18 meeting a resolution was presented calling upon the Executive Council to take immediate action upon the request of the New York printers, because "the Publishers have clearly shown by their attitude, the futility of continuing negotiations by their refusal even to consider the five-day week and by their arbitrary demand for the annulment of conditions for which we have struggled for many decades." At the same time the resolution appealed to the Chicago and Boston locals, who had similar situations on their hands, also to demand action from the Executive Council "in order that simultaneous action may be taken in the three cities." While there was some opposition to the resolution, because of the unfavorable economic situation and the inclusion of the Chicago and Boston situations, practically all those present felt with "Ed" Cassidy, whose forty years in the union added weight to his argument, that "Big Six" must show its old militancy if it expects to win anything from the employers. The resolution was adopted.

The proposition to close the I. T. U.'s books for a period of five years was presented by Dan A. Dooley. His resolution aimed to add an emergency amendment to the constitution of the International stopping the admission of new members, except those whose applications were pending and apprentices serving under the terms of present contracts. To eliminate the stigma that might be attached to the resolution because of its New York origin, Dooley requested that the resolution be sent to all the locals instead of having it brought up by the delegates from "Big Six" at the convention of the I. T. U. at Houston, Texas, this summer.

The aim of the resolution was to solve the problem of technological unemployment, which was aggravated, because of "the drive to

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Mosley Quits Cabinet Post On Job Plans

Govt. Favors "Rationalization," as Against Re-distribution of Income, Is View of Differences

LONDON.—Following rejection by the Labor Cabinet of a memorandum for unemployment relief presented by Oswald Mosley, Mosley has handed in his resignation from the cabinet. He held the post of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. With J. H. Thomas and George Lansbury he constituted a special cabinet committee on unemployment. When his resignation was turned in, Mosley was offered another post. He refused the offer and his resignation was accepted.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
London.—A crisis in the Labor Party may follow the absolute rejection by the Cabinet Committee of the Unemployment Memorandum prepared by Oswald Mosley in association with George Lansbury and Tom Johnston. This Memorandum included proposals for the withdrawal of the old and young from industry (including a generous pension for those above 60 who retire from work), a reconstruction loan for national schemes of housing and road making, the empowering of an Economic Council to prepare schemes of work and to provide credit for them through a special Financial House, extended credits for Russia, and the establishment of an Import Board for agriculture.

The grounds upon which the Cabinet Committee (Mr. Snowden, Mr. Thomas, Miss Bondfield and Mr. Greenwood) rejected the scheme is based on the view that the Government must concentrate upon the export trades, and that the diversion of funds to provide pensions and extend public works would be an unjustified burden on the capital required for ordinary industrial development. For example, the Cabinet Committee seems to have held that the expenditure of public money on pensions would be fatal to industrial recovery because it would not be a payment for actual production.

The Clashing Views
This view indicates the difference between the attitude of the Government and of the "Left." The "Left" says that the national income must be redistributed, in order that the consuming power of the people may be increased and the general demand for goods and labor extended. It sees in the proposal to pension the aged a method of withdrawing the old from industry (and thus giving the younger workers a greater opportunity), and at the same time increasing the purchasing power of a large section of the people. The number of unemployed would be substantially reduced along both these lines. In contrast with this the Cabinet apparently takes the view, expressed by Mr. Snowden in his Budget speech, that there must be no further extension of social services which are not directly productive until place. Official Labor still thinks that production is the main problem.

The decision against the Mosley Memorandum has been heard with dismay not only by the "Left" but by a very large section of the Parliamentary Party who are profoundly disturbed by the record of the Government on unemployment. They hold that the reasons underlying the decision would apply to every hopeful scheme that could be produced, and that they amount in practice to a confession that nothing more can be done. Unless the attitude of the Government changes, its policy will continue to be restricted by the encouragement of rationalization, supplemented by public works which, however good, are felt to be utterly inadequate. Yet it is increasingly realized that rationalization will only create more unemployment unless massed production is accompanied by massed consumption.

It is expected that Oswald Mosley may resign from the Government. In the Lobbies it is stated that Tom Johnston will not do so, and that Lansbury's attitude is uncertain.

Defeat of Labor Men in Republican Parties Paves Way for Clear-cut Battle

By Joseph Schwartz (New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The result of the primary elections in the huge Philadelphia textile district has brought sudden death to the policy of boring from within the old political parties by labor. A great movement of political consciousness which swept the working class Kensington district only to be diverted by an attempt to play the old futile game on non-partisan politics may now resume its natural expression through independent political labor action.

The end of the attempt to play the non-partisan game came with the defeat in the primaries of three laborites who sought Republican nominations. The resumption of the original idea of a party of labor comes with the nominations by the Socialist party of five outstanding trade unionists to make the race for public office in the huge textile workers district.

Five trade unionists who entered the Republican primary for state offices at the instigation of the textile unions and under the auspices of the Northeast Progressive League were defeated. The highest vote polled was a little over 12,000, the regular organization candidate receiving somewhat over 43,000. The lowest vote was about 500 out of a total vote cast of 25,000.

The labor candidates running for nominations for the offices of state representatives received over 2,000 votes each. Out of an approximate 27,000 votes cast, over 4,000 was counted for the labor candidates. Two labor candidates for the state senatorial nominations received a total of over 21,000 votes; their opponents polling over 90,000.

Socialist Nominations
The Socialist Party did not participate in the primaries. Five active trade unionists, three textile workers, one carpenter and one pocketbook worker, will be the party candidates in the textile district at the general election. The party is preparing a vigorous campaign for its candidates and expects to win over a considerable number of those voting for the labor candidates in the Republican primary.

The Socialists have two advantages over the defeated candidates. First, many Socialist voters in the Kensington district did not cast a vote in the primaries and will support the Socialist candidates at the general election in November. Secondly, for the first time, many members of the textile unions who refused to participate in the Republican primary, even though they were registered Republican, because of their demand for a labor party.

The defeat of the labor men who conducted their campaign within the Republican party will stimulate the confusion that existed because of the non-partisan policy. The only party representing the interests of the workers, is the Socialist Party. The trade unionists running on the Socialist ticket will be the only candidates in the Kensington district who will have the endorsement of the textile workers.

C. F. L. A. Aiding Party
The local branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has been waging a campaign for a labor party in the Kensington area which embraces the textile unions. The progressives have made severe inroads on the non-partisan policy among the rank and file.

The three textile workers who are running on the Socialist ticket are all members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Socialist Party and the C. F. L. A. have combined their forces to displace the A. F. of L. "reward your friends" policy.

Crech, Vance and Ryan are old time trade unionists, well known to thousands of textile workers. Crech is a member of the upholstery workers and he was one of the first leaders of the hosiery-boarders local. Vance has been in the vanguard of the Tapestry Carpet Workers Union. All are comparatively recent converts to the Socialist Party.

U. S. Leases Flathead to Power Trust

Montana Power Co., Ally of Anaconda Copper, Minion of Bond and Share, Is Favored

WASHINGTON.—In spite of protests from members of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs that the Department of Justice should be consulted, Secretary of the Interior Wilbur signed the license issued May 19 to the Rocky Mountain Power Co., dummy for Montana Power, for development of the chief power site on the Flathead Indian reservation in Montana. The Indians are to receive an average rental of \$140,000 a year for the first 20 years of the 50-year period of the lease, if the development takes place.

The lease was fought by Norman Thomas, on behalf of the Socialist Party, by the National Popular Government League, and others. They received ineffective support from some of the so-called progressive Senators. Thomas in a series of letters exchanged with Senator Walsh of Montana opposed private power leases, reminding the Senator of his pre-election public ownership pledges. Thomas maintained the Montana Power Company has already vast undeveloped power sites and is seeking the Flathead lease to strengthen its monopoly. Senator Walsh replied to Thomas in letters and in an attack on the floor of the Senate. Senators Walsh and Wheeler have maintained that there was no possibility of creating a movement in Montana which would undertake state ownership and operation of power plants, and would utilize the Flathead site.

Walter Wheeler, independent bidder for the license, issued a declaration May 20 that he would appeal to the Federal Power Commission as provided by the federal water power law, and if beaten there he would appeal to the courts. He pointed out that, by dealing with a dummy corporation which is allied in turn to the Montana Power Co., the American Power & Light Co., and the Electric Bond & Share Co., Wilbur had left the public unprotected. While the government can control the capitalization of the Rocky Mountain Power Co., which will sell all of its power to the Montana Power Co., and can control the price at which the electricity is sold to the Montana Power Co., its regulatory authority will stop there. The Montana Power Co. can capitalize its contract at \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 and charge the consumers of electric current a price high enough to turn this pen-scratch into gold.

The Montana Power Co. already carries 52.5% of its capitalization on its books as "water rights, franchises and contracts," according to Wheeler, and it charges the people excessive rates in order to set aside big earnings on this inflated valuation. It sells current at less than actual cost to the Anaconda Copper Co., because its excessive rates to other consumers make this subsidy to its big ally a mere detail of policy.

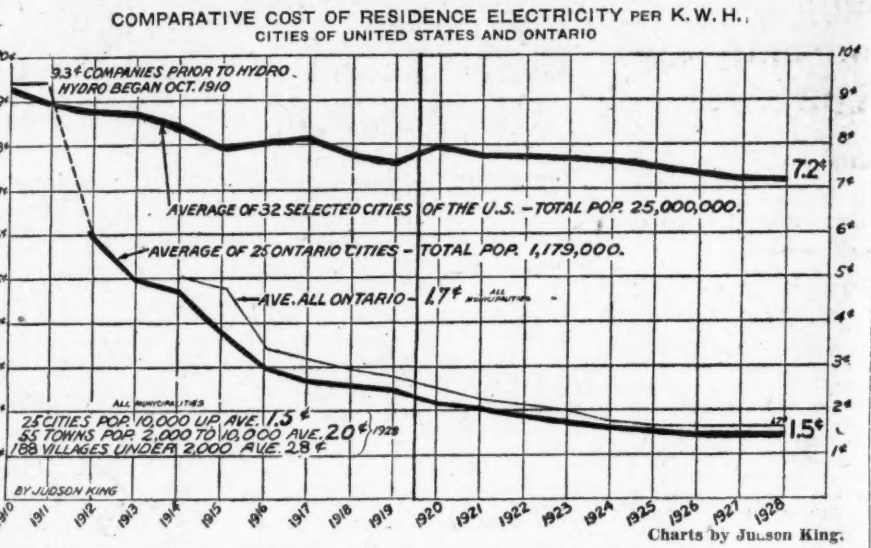
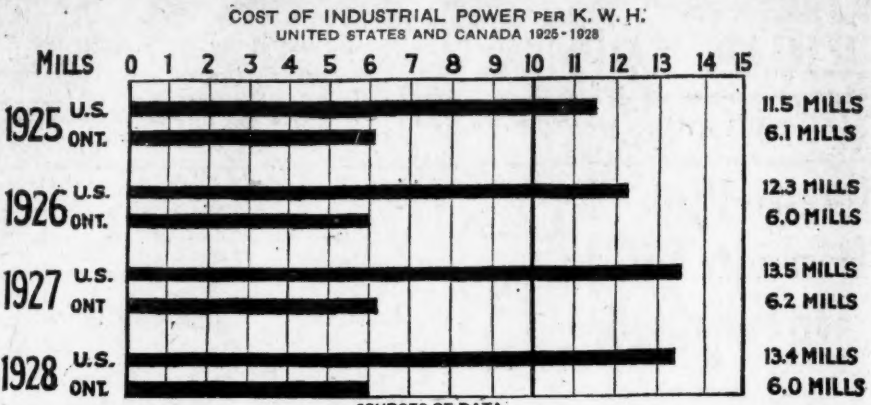
House Machine Blocked In Muscle Shoals Move

WASHINGTON.—(F.P.)—Warned by a small progressive group and Democratic Leader Garner that they would be beaten, the House machine bosses, Tilson, Snell and Longworth, hastily abandoned on May 17 their announced plan to drive the Muscle Shoals private-lease bill through under suspension of the rules. This plan meant passage without a chance to offer amendments on the floor, but it required a two-thirds majority to carry. Now the administration will grant the right to offer amendments, but by means of a special rule will try to pass the bill by a simple majority, after a debate.

Farmer-Labor Rivals File in Minnesota

ST. PAUL.—(F.P.)—Almost at the last minute former congressman Ernest Lundeen, filed against Knud Wefald for U. S. Senator from Minnesota. Against Floyd Olson for governor Carl E. Taylor has filed, all on the Farmer Labor ticket. The primaries are June 16.

Electricity Cost Under Public Ownership, And Private Ownership; U. S. And Ontario



Pa. Socialists Rallying for Reading Meet

Candidates to Be Named at Sessions Next Week End—All Members to Take Part

READING, Pa. — The State-wide conference of Pennsylvania Socialists which meets in Reading Saturday and Sunday, May 31 and June 1, will be welcomed by Mayor Stump when the opening session convenes at 10 o'clock, daylight saving time, Saturday.

This two-day conference is expected to bring out the largest group of Socialists that have attended any state conference in years. In addition to planning extensive organization work and arranging for the publication of a monthly party bulletin, candidates for state offices will be nominated.

The nomination of state candidates is of special importance this year considering the primary contests that have just closed in this state. Money has flowed like water in this preliminary struggle and it is generally believed that much of it has gone into the pockets of labor leaders who have been retained by each faction in the internal war of the Republican Party. Both the Davis and Grundy machines have acted on the principle that what you want you must buy and that voters are cattle to be purchased in the market.

All Members Invited

Out of the muck and mire of this revolting primary contest emerges a sorry looking thing called "non-partisan political action." It is "non-partisan" only in the sense that it is for sale and certain labor leaders have acted on the assumption that trade unions may be sold in the market. Of course, they sell nothing but themselves but the result of such action is to make unionism an article of barter in the market of capitalist politics.

This has happened before in Pennsylvania politics but it has not been so glaring as in this year. It is because of this that a clean labor ticket nominated by the Socialist Party and presenting the cause of the workers has special importance this year.

In the conference, business will be party are entitled to participate in the conference. Business will be suspended Saturday afternoon and

the delegates will be taken to points of interest. At 7 p. m. they will meet in the Socialist Party's newly acquired picnic park at Sinking Spring where dinner will be served. Dancing will follow the dinner. Lilith Wilson, chairman of the committee on arrangements, with headquarters at the Labor Lyceum, is answering inquiries regarding the program.

Reading's Summer Plans

Four big picnics at Socialist Picnic Grove (formerly Keller's) have also been planned by the Local Berks park committee for the coming summer season of activities at the big Socialist picnic grove in Sinking Spring.

The opening picnic will be held on Sunday, June 8, at which time Mayor Stump will be the speaker of the day. The other dates set for party picnics are July 13, August 3 and August 24.

An effort is being made to secure Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit as speakers at the August 3 picnic. This will be the first at which the park will be formally dedicated to the service of the Socialist and labor movement of Berks and the activities of that day will be given widespread advertising.

N. Y. Typos Renew Threat of a Strike

(Continued from Page One)

Increase the membership regardless of whether or not there are jobs for them and because "the only benefits derived from small offices that are being organized are dues and assessments, as there are not enough new situations created to take care of even a small percentage of our apprentice members..." There was at first some sentiment for the resolution and an amendment was made to refer it to the delegates to the I. T. U. convention. However, after President Leon H. Rouse and Mark Rosenberg, a "left wing" leader had united in opposition to both the resolution and the amendment, the proposals were defeated with ease.

A communication was presented by a number of members who had taken traveling cards to Jersey City, requesting that they be permitted to return to New York City in spite of the six months' rejection of traveling cards authorized by the executive Council at the request of the membership of "Big Six" at the April 20 meeting. The discussion showed much feeling in favor of reversing the previous action of the union or at least moderating the ban in certain cases but because of the lateness of the

hour, the question was postponed to the next meeting.

Three speakers addressed the membership. Two were representatives of the Albany Typographical Union, President Cox and Vice President McCafferty, who had come to thank the members of "Big Six" in person for the cancellation of the \$45,000 loan to the Albany organization that had enabled that union to publish the Albany "Citizen" and thus defeat the publishers' lockout. The other was R. G. Soderstrom of Illinois, a candidate for the office of International president. He promised to work for a law in the I. T. U. which would require merged plants to employ as many employees as formerly.

Hoover Won't Fight Trusts, Is Promise

WASHINGTON.—(F.P.)—President Hoover and his attorney-general, William Mitchell, were shocked and alarmed when the Baltimore Sun announced that the suit started by Mitchell against the radio trust was the beginning of a war against the trusts. In view of Hoover's long record as an expert assistant in business mergers and around the anti-trust laws, this story had only the shakiest foundations—the fact that Mitchell had been forced into a position where he either had to sue the radio trust or be denounced by a Senate resolution for failure to do so.

The administration lost no time in denying that it had ever contemplated making war on the trusts in general.

Harlem Mass Meeting Sunday to Discuss Unemployment Crisis

Unemployed Negro workers, who find themselves oppressed by the general industrial depression and by the special living conditions to which they are subjected in Harlem, will make their demand for relief known at a mass meeting to be held Sunday afternoon, May 25, at 4 o'clock, at the St. James Presbyterian Church, St. Nicholas avenue and 141st street.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor last year, Heywood Brown, well known journalist, Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Frank Crosswaith, Socialist speaker and writer, will be among the speakers. Rev. Ethelred Brown, Socialist, will preside.

Timely Topics

(Continued from Page One)

legislative commission with toleration of petty graft and granting licenses to convicted felons for operating cabs.

But the Mayor keeps a stiff upper lip and appoints magistrates the same old way. He knows that his Dock Department is necessarily involved in the mysterious proceedings in which it was alleged Judge Vause got the lease of the City pier for the United American Line in return for a huge fee. The Mayor's Dock Commissioner has rendered no report for the year as required by the law. But the Mayor doesn't worry. The Mayor had in his office a request that his Commissioner of Accounts examine the finances of Probation Officer Cooley now under indictment weeks before the matter aroused public attention. He did nothing about it. Presented at last with the resignation of Police Commissioner Whalen, who had crowded His Honor for the limelight, our Jimmie promptly appoints Police Inspector Mulrooney who seems to have had a good record in the Department, but whose most obvious qualification for the office is the fact that he will not play a stellar role in the administration, to distract attention from his chief, or to dim the public glory of his predecessor.

That is part of the story of how New York is governed, to which Curry and McCooey and Walker in chorus may reply: "Well, don't we make the people like it?"

Dewey Group Holds Parley In Washington

2,400 Members in League, Secretary Reports — Maurer and Vladeck Speak

By Nathan Fine (N. Y. Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Before dinner from 12 states, the bulk from Washington, Devere Allen, chairman of the executive committee, opened the first anniversary banquet of the League for Independent Political Action with the observation that the League was not, is not, and will not be, a party. It was vitally interested in helping to lay the foundations for a new political alignment in this country on the principle of increasing social control. In eight months, since Howard Y. Williams had taken hold as executive secretary, with the aid of such men as John Dewey, national chairman, the League had secured 2,400 dues-paying and contributing members.

Prof. Dewey declared that "the Republican and Democratic parties are the political expressions of the great business institutions; they represent conservatism, production primarily for profit." He elaborated on the platform of the League: public ownership of public utilities, taxation of land values, heavier income and inheritance taxes, full protection of the workers, justice to the farmers, and a radical approach to disarmament and peace.

Maurer Hits Non-Partisanship

James H. Maurer pointed out that the old party politicians, "instead of telling the workers that the present capitalistic system is the real cause of their miseries, make them believe that the tariff ought to be higher or lower, or that prohibition is the cause of their being out of work, and if the workers show any inclination to become independent politically, they resort to an appeal to their religious or racial prejudice. Anything to keep the workers divided."

The labor leader and counsel, suggested that inasmuch as people do not understand long or complicated platforms, that the appeal of those favoring a new party be simple, with a concrete slogan dealing with unemployment or the "yellow dog" contract. Maurer did not mince words on the non-partisan plan. "If the labor unions have so many friends in Congress," he asked, "why has not legislation been enacted making illegal 'yellow dog' contracts, and why has the abuse of the injunction not been remedied?"

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, was the most effective speaker of the evening. He talked of the tariff and came down with a battle-axe on President Hoover. Villard drew his conclusion: an opposition that was opposed to capitalism, an opposition that dastardly because its interest was materially opposed to the plunder-bund, must be created to fight the two-headed monster that was, with some gallant exceptions, debauching the country.

Work Among Labor Groups

In the Saturday morning session, Mr. Williams, executive secretary, reported that he had spoken at about 300 meetings, of which between 25 and 30 were central labor unions, and that more than a half dozen of these were either looking forward to or taking referendums for the formation of labor parties. The bulk of the membership, Williams said, lived in New York State, California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Michigan. He predicted the election of Floyd Olson, candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party, as governor of Minnesota. He said the strategy of the League was to throw all of its speakers, finances, publicity and help into an effort to elect about ten or twelve Congressmen in the fall of this year. They were anxious to see two Milwaukee Socialists sent to Washington, one or two Socialists from New York City, and another, one from Los Angeles. The League was not interested in promoting independent candidacies. Mr. Williams referred to the probability of electing three Congressmen from Farmer-Labor Party districts in Minnesota, and one or two from Non-Partisan League sections in North Dakota. The budget of the League for the coming year calls for \$20,000, part of which is to be used for campaigning. Norman Studer, former editor of the New Student, has been added as assistant secretary.

Paul Douglas, A. J. Muste, and Charney Vladeck made formal speeches at the sessions. Prof. Douglas dealt with the technique of building the new party. He stressed the necessity for building up local groups by people who know their communities. He called for 100 per cent. cooperation with the Socialists where they had an organization. He said that if the workers and farmers did not form the basis of the new party, the League and the liberals were wasting their time. He discussed concrete municipal issues such as real estate assessments, public utilities, housing, taxation, municipal finance, and insisted that the leadership of the movement must come from the localities, from men and women who make it their business to study the connections of their government with the lives

and pocket-books of the local citizens and inhabitants.

Vladeck Speaks On Cities

Mr. Muste, speaking on the topic of where a new party is to get its strength, quoted James Madison, the father of the Constitution, as to the "common enduring basis of parties." He showed that the Fathers knew that politics had an economic basis. He declared that the workers must supply the body, and the point of view of the new party. He stressed the organization of the unskilled in the basic industries, the need for a militant policy in the old unions, and the signs of an awakening in the American labor world.

On the subject of redeeming our cities from corruption, Mr. Vladeck pointed to the fact that the American thinks that government is a personal affair, that reformers have had more light than warmth and not gotten into close human touch with the people, and that city employees, because of the low pay they receive, are sorely tempted. If a minority party had even one representative on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, it could do a great deal by revealing and stopping graft. The builders of the new party themselves, said Vladeck, must learn something of city government, and then try and educate the common people. There was no technique to build a party in his opinion, but it was a matter of education and organization, of activity and intelligent research. The manager of the Forward gave some choice illustrations of how corruption takes place, from his first-hand experience as an alderman in New York, watching the two old parties, and his whole method of presentation won the hearty approval of his listeners.

Clarence Senior, secretary of the Socialist Party, present as an observer took the floor for a few minutes to make an appeal to all present to join the Socialist Party. He was well received.

The officers and national executive committee are: Chairman, John Dewey; Vice-Chairmen, James H. Maurer, Paul H. Douglas, Mrs. H. C. Hull, and W. E. B. DuBois; treasurer, O. G. Villard; secretary, Howard Y. Williams; assistant secretary, Norman Studer. National Executive Committee: Kirby Page, chairman; Devere Allen, Harry E. Barnes, Catherine D. Blake, Paul Brissenden, Paul Douglas, W. E. B. DuBois, Sherwood Eddy, Helen H. Fincker, Nathan Fine, Jesse H. Holmes, Harry W. Laidler, John A. Lapp, Robert Morse Lovett, William V. Mahoney, James H. Maurer, A. J. Muste, Henry Neumann, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kirby Page, Mrs. Glenn Plumb, Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas, Oswald G. Villard and B. Charney Vladeck.

Marion Seabs Feel Lash of Depression

MARION, N. C.—(F.P.)—Workers who went back and scabbed at the Marion Mfg. Co.'s cotton mill last fall are on the verge of starvation, as operations are curtailed to eight days a month. Supt. Hunt recently announced that even on this schedule hours would have to be cut from the 10 now worked. Clinchfield Mfg. Co. is also curtailing.

Strikers are now in the most favored position. Most of them have found casual jobs at lumbering, mining, and farming, while the women are making the popular mountain craft hooked rugs in a factory owned by the strikers. These are sold by Marion workers touring with the Women's Trade Union League in Chicago, St. Louis and New York.

Though the strikers have won no settlement with the mill in the second strike, the spotlight of publicity they turned on it has brought results. Sinclair Lewis who wrote in scorching terms of Marion's sanitation would now find water piped into all the houses, real bath rooms replacing the privies, and 8½-size bathtubs. Hours that ran over 12 daily have been 10 ever since the first strike settlement. The workers went out the second time because of discrimination against active unionists.

Liberty and private monopoly cannot live together.—Henry D. Lloyd.

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Bread Line Grows Longer in New York

(Continued from Page One)

faces show their disappointment—especially when the "missing item" is bread.

The bread line is conspicuously lacking in the large number of "bums" that so often make up the larger portion of such a line. The most pitiful cases are the hundreds of men, 60, 65 and over, who even when or if prosperity returns, will not be able to find any work. They know it, and they feel it keenly, but what can they do?

The amount of food distributed runs up into staggering figures. Even in the first week, when the line was comparatively small, 30 pounds of coffee was used, and the bread was brought in by the hundreds of loaves, with one volunteer worker kept busy from 12 until 4 o'clock slicing it.

Senate Puts Pension Bill on the Shelf

(Continued from Page One)

fecting the workers in minor degrees, were shelved in committee or on the calendar. And Chairman Kopp of the House labor committee had not ventured to report on hearings on old age pensions, conducted last February. The Hoover-Tilson Longworth-Snell machine was enforcing a general blockade against labor legislation.

It is probable that, ever since the beginnings of the republic, the great majority of humane and progressive measures introduced in each Congress have been thrust aside at the close of the long session, in much the same way. Hard, predatory politicians have always elbowed their way to the front, waved the flag of "national defense" or "radical menace to our institutions" or some other fraudulent symbol of their greed, and smothered the hopes of the underprivileged. Yet as decades follow decades, and as the marvels of mechanical evolution lift from human shoulders the need for hard toil, the excuse for the voters' toleration of this political incompetence shrinks to a pin-point. The Washington scene at the end of May, 1930, indicts American political self-respect.

Hoover Prosperity Robs 190 of Jobs

CLEVELAND.—(F.P.)—Over 190 men have been dropped from the Cleveland Railway Co. payroll since January 1. The company saved \$74,668 in maintenance in April, and \$14,900 in cut off operating expenses. Company records do not state whether the 190 dismissed men have found other jobs, nor how their families were able to eat during the winter.

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Union Porter Is Lynched in Georgia Town

Brotherhood Retains Walsh to Push Investigation of Mysterious Killing

THE lynching of J. H. Wilkins, a Pullman porter of Kansas City, Mo., and a member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on May 5 at Locust Grove in Georgia, is still surrounded with mystery. Wilkins was found tied to a tree with the sleeves of his white coat tied around his neck. He was on duty on the Kansas City Special of the Southern Railroad when it left Macon and, which, according to schedule, should not have stopped until it reached Atlanta.

The mystery about the lynching is in the fact that railroad officials admit the train made two stops, due to freight interruption, but no stop was made at or in the vicinity of Locust Grove where Wilkins' body, still warm, was found with a gaping wound near the heart and two skull fractures.

Who killed Wilkins is the question Pullman porters everywhere and the widow, Mrs. Mattie Wilkins, are asking. It is a matter of common knowledge that railroad and Pullman regulations make it practically impossible for a human being, dead or alive, to be removed from a train while in motion.

A dead silence on the part of railroad and Pullman officials seems to have enveloped this whole affair. But the Brotherhood and Wilkins family, and the public, want to know, at the time this shocking outrage was committed: 1. Where was the Pullman conductor? 2. Where was the relief porter? 3. Where is the "call card" of the deceased? (All porters are supposed to have one). 4. What does it read? 5. If not found, where are the "call cards" of the other porters? 6. Who flagged the train or ordered it to stop? 7. Where was the train conductor? 8. What is the report of the Coroner's inquest.

An answer to these questions would give some definite clue which may lead to the apprehension of the culprits responsible for this crime.

Frank P. Walsh has been retained by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters with headquarters at 233 West 135th Street. Mr. Walsh has volunteered to prosecute the case without charge.

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Senate Body Takes Up Bill On Injunction

Debate on Treaty Providing Senators with Handy Alibi for Side-Stepping on Issue

WASHINGTON, (FP)—Six of the 17 members of the Senate judiciary committee can be counted upon, after two days of debate in executive session of that committee to support the bill which is designed to outlaw the yellow dog contract and to give workers a guaranty of freedom to organize and function in labor unions. These six are Norris, Borah, Blaine, Walsh of Montana, Ashurst and Dill. Six can be counted definitely in opposition—King, Waterman, Hebert, Gillett, Overman and Hastings.

Doubtful members are Caraway, Deneen, Stephens and Robinson of Indiana, who may be persuaded by pressure from organized labor in their respective states to support the bill, and Steiwer of Oregon who will probably land in the employers' camp. Caraway and Robinson voted against Yellow Dog Injunction Judge Parker, while Stephens, defending Parker, told the Senate that when the injunction bill came up the Senate would see that a vote for Parker did not mean support of the yellow dog injunction. Deneen, who for the past two years has offered objections to getting the bill before the Senate, is reported by Chicago labor officials to have experienced a change of heart. He voted in committee and in the Senate in opposition to Parker. His course in committee as to the Norris bill was with great interest. If he continues his dilatory tactics, he is in fact siding the National Association of Manufacturers, the secret League for Industrial Rights and the other anti-union organizations of employers.

Senators Have Alibi
To all senators, inside the committee and out, who fear to confess their hostility to this fundamental trade union safety bill, the grandstand position given by the press to the discussion of the London naval treaty comes as a godsend. Their views as to the need for abolishing the use of injunctions to break strikes are no longer in demand from the press. Or when asked the pointblank question as to where they stand on the outlawing of the injunction in labor disputes they can say, with a show of weariness, "Why, I have been so deep in the study of national defense problems in connection with this London treaty that I have not had a chance to examine carefully the details of the Norris bill."

As matters are now drifting, organized labor in every trade and in every locality in the United States will have to take action. When the wobbly members of the committee receive enough letters and telegrams, bluntly worded, as to the basic character of this bill as an instrument of emancipation from yellow dog slavery and from dictatorship by prejudiced judges, then they will cease to wobble. But until these letters and telegrams arrive, in hundreds and thousands, the London treaty will be uncritically quoted as the reason why senators have no time for mere millions of working people and their right to improve their condition.

In its first executive session on the anti-injunction bill the Senate judiciary committee May 15, faced for the first time the challenge of organized labor that Congress make good on campaign pledges to give unionism legal safety in this country. The bill provides a declaration of public policy favoring labor union organization without discrimination or restraint on the part of employers. In accordance with this policy, it undertakes to outlaw the yellow dog contract, to forbid injunctions which interfere with strikes and other labor union activities, and to safeguard the civil liberties of the workers, whether on strike or not.

Bosses Lobby Busy
On the desks of committee members were laid printed arguments opposing the bill by Alfred Thom, counsel for the Association of Railway Executives; James Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers; and Daniel Davenport, general counsel, and Walter Gordon Merritt, associate counsel for the League for Industrial Rights.

Thom's statement declared that "There is no danger that organized labor will be oppressed or discriminated against under our form of government. . . It is not necessary to elevate them into a preferred and privileged class in order that their just rights shall be protected." Emery asserted that "We believe the policy proposed will retard the notably progressive and improving experiments in collective employment relations which have been characteristic of our industries."

Labor Debate Postponed

The debate between Joseph D. Cannon and Leonard Bright on policies and tactics of the American Federation of Labor which was announced to take place on May 23 has been postponed to June 6.

Alabama Labor Seeks 48-Hour Law for Women and Children

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.—(FP)—Eight hours a day is enough for women and child workers in Alabama's cotton mills, declared the Alabama Federation of Labor in convention at Tuscaloosa, in calling for the 48-hour law from the next legislature. At present there is no limit on the number of hours. Alabama labor will also insist on a law forbidding the employment of women and children in the cotton mills at night.

Other leading labor demands are: a workmen's compensation act to protect widows and orphans; free textbooks; formation of a bureau of labor in the state agriculture department; and licensing of barbers.

A. and P. Stores Under Attack By N. Y. Unions

Chain Store Company Has Been Defying Building Unions for Several Weeks

THAT the A. & P. grocery chain has for months been defying the building trades unions of Greater New York and vicinity was revealed at the last meeting of the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council by Delegate E. H. Mead of Steamfitters' Local Union No. 633. The A. & P. has practically completed a warehouse at Maspeth, Long Island, with scab labor from top to bottom. The value of the construction goes into the millions of dollars. It is said that the non-unionists were brought in from out of town and that the unemployment situation helped in the scab operations. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee of the central body, which is expected to place the A. & P. on the unfair list. In the discussion on this subject the teamsters' delegate supplied the information that Daniel Reeves' was the only chain grocer that employed union drivers at the present time.

The threatened picketing of the dinner to General President James C. Shanessy of the Barbers at the New Yorker Hotel because of the absence of union waiters will not come off, according to an announcement made by J. William Knispel, Delegate of Waiters' Union Local No. 16. He explained that John Tartamella, manager of the Journeymen Barbers' Joint Board of Greater New York, had done his best to have the banquet served by union waiters; that the management of the hotel in question refused to cooperate; that the contract had not actually been signed, as Knispel had supposed when he had made his announcement at the last meeting of the Central Trades but that only a deposit had been given; that considering the expense to which the Barbers had already gone in preparing for the affair that no pickets would be employed this time but that this was a warning to organizations who might plan similar affairs in the future. When Manager Tartamella took the floor, he emphasized the unfairness of Knispel's hasty action because it had been the Barbers that had taken the initiative in seeking a hotel where union waiters could serve at the dinner to the President of the Barbers. There was no such hotel. Vice President Lehman of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' declared that the Barbers caused to the employers and asked that hereafter organizations communicate with Fred Cohen, secretary of the Waiters' and Waitresses Joint Board, when they were planning dinners. The unionization of the waiters irrespective of labor banquets and the organization of the allied workers were not discussed.

Mefford Is Boosted
Secretary Quinn announced that he had represented the Central Trades at a hearing before the Committee on General Welfare of the Board of Aldermen in opposition to an ordinance prohibiting signs on the side streets along Fifth Avenue. He had been joined by the sign painters' union, the sheet metal workers and other unions as well as the sign manufacturers.

Dan Hassett of Plate Printers' Local Union No. 58 brought up the matter of the union label again. He was informed by a delegate of the United Garment Workers that Hart, Schaffner, Marx clothing was not made by unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (Amalgamated Clothing Workers) but that clothing sold by the John David and Joseph Hilton stores was. Delegates Sinnigh reported for the Union Label League that the Union Label Store in Brooklyn kept but a small supply of union cigarettes, because they were unprofitable to handle and that large quantities, when wanted, have to be ordered from the factory in Kentucky.

President Ryan praised Organizer William Collins of the American Federation of Labor for his good attendance at the meetings of the Central Trades. The Rev. Dr. Melish, fraternal delegate to the city central for years, made his usual pleasant address.

Five New Unions Started in Asheville; Progress Is Reported

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—(FP)—Encouraging reports of organization progress in North Carolina cities were submitted to the Asheville Central Labor Union by Organizer G. W. Marshall of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists. In Durham, he said, 60% of the Liggett & Myers tobacco workers had been unionized and from 90 to 95% of the highly skilled craftsmen in the big plant had lined up. Organization is also proceeding in the American Tobacco plant. Separate locals are being formed for white and colored workers. Loom fixers in Durham cotton mills have joined the textile workers union, Marshall reported.

The Greensboro Central Labor Union has placed a paid organizer in the field; the Charlotte body has now affiliated all crafts in the city; and the Danville, Va. cotton mill workers are almost 100% organized. The machinists' organizer told Asheville delegates.

"The campaign in Danville," he said, "is being conducted on conservative lines. New members are being educated in the trade union movement principles, and the thought is being instilled that all the evils that have crept into the industrial system over scores of years cannot be eliminated overnight, but must be corrected through time and patience and cooperation."

Five new unions have been chartered in Asheville in the past few weeks. They are truck drivers, machinists, auto mechanics, clerks and hotel and restaurant employees.

Secret "Industrial Rights" League Plans to Strengthen "Yellow Dog" Contract

Electricians Journal Tells of Gathering of 400 Anti-Union Speakers in New York

WASHINGTON, (FP)—At last a trade unionist has, in disguise, attended a gathering of the ultra-secret League for Industrial Rights, once the American Anti-Boycott Association, which has since 1903, been contesting in the courts the right to picket, the right to call strikes, and the right to boycott. The May issue of the Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, official organ of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, deals with the 28th annual meeting of the League, held March 13, in the Roosevelt Hotel, in New York.

As the Journal points out in its leading article, no one knows who belongs to this anti-union league. No one knows who are its officers—except that Daniel Davenport is its general counsel and Walter Gordon Merritt its associate counsel.

"No one knows who controls it," says the Journal. "No one knows who pays for it. It does its work in the dark. In this modern age of new industrial relations based on frankness and cooperation, the League for Industrial Rights prefers to move in the limbo of darkness, shunned by all honorable men, but cherished by the thugs, the gangster and hold-up man."

Membership Concealed
It recites the investigation made in 1916 by Chairman Frank P. Walsh of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, when Merritt was on the witness stand, to determine the identity of the membership. Merritt refused to disclose any names, saying that he did not know, and that anyhow, the members joined with the understanding that their names would not be made public without their consent.

This year's convention was devoted largely to a harangue by Merritt directed against the Electrical Workers' Union. Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, an anti-union manufacturer in the electrical industry, also spoke. He denounced the interference of labor in political affairs, and linked union-

Taxi Drivers Back at Work; To Build Union

After a strike of a week, more than 3,000 New York taxi drivers have returned to work. The walk-out was one of the most complete in many years, but lack of preparation and support from the labor movement kept the spontaneous, unorganized walkout from being fought through to victory. The men return to work with none of their grievances met, and with resentment against their mistreatment as high as ever. The need for a union and the desire for one continues stronger than ever. Active spirits among the strikers are determined to begin building a strong union immediately.

The Socialist Party, which through Norman Thomas, August Claessens and Edward Levinson, gave as much assistance as possible in the 'shape of organization talks, funds and publicity, is ready to throw all its resources into a steady campaign for a union. Claessens turned out to be the most popular of the strike orators and had to answer calls for service at all times of the day and night.

Five New Unions Started in Asheville; Progress Is Reported

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—(FP)—Encouraging reports of organization progress in North Carolina cities were submitted to the Asheville Central Labor Union by Organizer G. W. Marshall of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists. In Durham, he said, 60% of the Liggett & Myers tobacco workers had been unionized and from 90 to 95% of the highly skilled craftsmen in the big plant had lined up. Organization is also proceeding in the American Tobacco plant. Separate locals are being formed for white and colored workers. Loom fixers in Durham cotton mills have joined the textile workers union, Marshall reported.

The Greensboro Central Labor Union has placed a paid organizer in the field; the Charlotte body has now affiliated all crafts in the city; and the Danville, Va. cotton mill workers are almost 100% organized. The machinists' organizer told Asheville delegates.

"The campaign in Danville," he said, "is being conducted on conservative lines. New members are being educated in the trade union movement principles, and the thought is being instilled that all the evils that have crept into the industrial system over scores of years cannot be eliminated overnight, but must be corrected through time and patience and cooperation."

Five new unions have been chartered in Asheville in the past few weeks. They are truck drivers, machinists, auto mechanics, clerks and hotel and restaurant employees.

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Pittsburgh Taxi Strikers Accept Compromise Settlement

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—A compromise settlement driving drivers 37½% of receipts, open shop with no discrimination against the union and the right to present grievances through representatives has been accepted by taxi strikers by a vote of 471 to 338. This is the third offer made by the Parmelee Transportation Co. since the strike began in January. The drivers originally asked for 40% of receipts, and union shop.

Father Cox, who has espoused the strikers' cause against opposition from his bishop, warned the company the men would strike again at the first sign of violation of the agreement. The agreement provides that drivers no longer have to pay for articles damaged or stolen on the job.

Emery Also Present

Four hundred union-breakers were present at the banquet. At the head table were, according to the union scout's report, five lawyers who make big fees by fighting unions, one president of an insurance company, two presidents of speculative real estate firms, an anti-union manufacturer, a power magnate and a paid lobbyist for anti-union manufacturers. This last was James M. Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers. He generally is found cooperating with Merritt in opposition to labor measures before committees of Congress, or in the courts.

This League for Industrial Rights was alleged in 1921 to have 2,000 members. These are manufacturers or other employers who are banded together to secure injunctions, prosecutions and punishment of labor unionists whenever an industrial conflict arises. Merritt asserted in his annual report that legal advice had been given in the past four months in disputes involving Worcester, Bridgeport, Boston, Indianapolis, Chicago, Hamilton, O., Cincinnati, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Fort Smith, Kansas City, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Seattle, San Francisco, Syracuse, Rochester, Elmira, Washington, New Haven, Hartford, Newark, Portland, Ore., Dayton, Auburn, Detroit, Albany, Athol, Lockport, Cleveland, Schenectady, New Britain, Grand Rapids, Pittsburgh and Wilkes-Barre.

Merritt urged development of the anti-union contract—the yellow-dog contract upheld by Judge Parker. He declares that any attempt by a union to order a strike in violation of this contract constitutes law-breaking, and may be enjoined.

Hillman Re-Elected By The Amalgamated

(Continued from Page One)

uation is peculiar to the city. Here, substantial, reputable manufacturers are conspicuous by their absence. The industry is broken up into nearly 700 manufacturers, fully half of them fly-by-nights, who turn employ something like 1,000 sub-manufacturers, or contractors as they are called. As explained by the co-manager of the New York organization, Sidney Rissman, this makes for an unwieldy and intricate structure which at best, is impossible to control fully at any time, and which at worst leaves room for chicanery and corruption to creep in. With the bluntness for which he is noted, Mr. Rissman, making no bones about the demoralization which has set in in the largest clothing market, insisted that the membership at large is no different from the membership anywhere else, but is conditioned by peculiar circumstances beyond their control and demanded as the slogan for the coming two years "We want New York."

Pragmatically speaking, we are thorough. For the rest, President Hillman's address to the convention, the convention's manifest admiration and love for him, his jubilantly unanimous re-nomination as President of the organization; flowers and gifts and music; the warmth of the reception to our own Jacob Panken, the unbroken silence and attention given to Mayor Hoan's long address; the telegrams from many sister labor organizations, the resolution for a 40-hour week which tops the list of resolutions for the coming two years, the promise by the President of the organization of every-unionized center by the next bi-annual convention, even the undercurrents which meant trouble stirring under the surface in New York, the speeches by many prominent and loved friends of the Amalgamated, the speeches of the various marshals, the lucky children who had been brought along and had a swell time, all helped to make it a full and stimulating convention.

It is impossible to record the complete deliberation of the delegation, but not to be omitted however, are the greetings sent to the British Labor Party and the endorsement of the Labor Party idea for this country; the protest against the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings, the "arm endorsement of Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin for his fight on Judge Kirkpatrick's yellow dog injunction, which was used futilely, to prevent the unionization of the Philadelphia market; and praise for Senator LaFollette's fight on the elevation of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court Bench.

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The convention declared for the 48-hour law for women and children in the mills and for abolition of night work. No specific action was taken on the Elizabethan rayon strike. Cordell Hull was endorsed for the U. S. Senate and Pres. Ayman and Sec. Girth right re-elected to their federation positions.

Asks More Organizers

The "invisible government" came in for a slashing attack from Chairman Paul J. Smith of the A. F. of L.'s southern organizing committee. On this band of super-industrialists and financiers he blamed America's entry into the World War. Composed of 26 men, headed by the late Elbert H. Gary of U. S. Steel, the invisible government gathered around a table in New York after the war, said Smith, and decided upon a deflation of labor and the farmers which shook billions out of the pockets of producers. Andrew W. Mellon, he said, has been actual president since Harding's administration.

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Tenn. Labor Convention in Fighting Mood

Textile Employers Come in for Vigorous Denunciation at Federation Session

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. (F.P.)—Mill owners and financiers who felt their ears burning during the sessions of the Tennessee Federation of Labor convention in Chattanooga can blame it on fiery criticisms uttered from the federation platform. Unlike former years, when the state labor convention went through a routine of regular business, the 1930 sessions were overshadowed by the great fight of rayon workers in the eastern Tennessee hills against the Bemberg-Glanzstoff Corporation.

Gov. Horton sacrificed the labor vote in his campaign for reelection when he sent state troops into Elizabethton last year to break up the big textile strike which drew out 5,000 of the "purest Anglo-Saxon Nordic" stock in America in a turbulent high-spirited labor revolt. The Federation convention told him so plainly in resolution and the reports of officers. The big rayon plants would have been unionized had it not been for Horton's strikebreaking at the behest of the mills, it was asserted.

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N. Y. Meeting to Protest British Policy in India

(Continued from Page One)

A mass meeting "to protest against British atrocities in India" will be held in the Rand School auditorium, Wednesday evening, June 4. A. J. Muste and Saundra N. Ghose, of India, will address the meeting. The meeting is being held under the auspices of the India National Congress of America.

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Court Hearings On Lewis Open In Springfield

Reorganized Union Charges Violation of Injunction — Strike On in Kansas

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The first strike in the Kansas district of the new miners union has been voted by a local union employed by the Lone Star Coal Company strip mine near Pittsburg. The strike does not involve hours, wages, or other union conditions. It is a challenge to the coercion of the mine owner who discharged two members of the union because of their activity in support of the reorganized union headed by Alexander Howat. The coercion of the mine owners is considered to be pressure brought by them in support of the Indianapolis organization headed by John L. Lewis.

The local strike followed a meeting last week of a strip mine committee of 15 miners. The committee considered the formulation of a policy to meet this coercion and while it has made no public announcement of its program the strip mine strike near Pittsburg was called the next day.

"This action on the part of the coal company in discharging two members of our union," Howat said, "should be conclusive proof to mine workers in this district of how Lewis and the coal operators of District 14 are working hand in hand at the present time, and have been for several years in the interest of the coal operators and against the best interests of the United Mine Workers of America."

Two Miners Fired
Two days prior to formal calling of the Lone Star strike, the men walked out after the two miners in question had been fired. According to Sam Phelps, president of the mine local, the men were discharged because they had words with Lewis representatives who attempted to organize the mine for the Lewis group. The Lewis men found the men there 100 per cent, for the Howat union and were so told by the two miners, Phelps said. The local at the Lone Star mine is No. 1111.

Phelps reiterated that neither he nor the other men at the Lone Star mine will return to work until the two men are fully reinstated to their jobs.

Bernard Harrigan, commissioner for the operators, issued a statement which sought to shift the blame to the two miners fired. He declared one man was fired on charges of incompetency and that after he had been ordered away from the pit, another man assailed the mine superintendent, and that he, too, was discharged.

Allan Mark, District Board member, talked with the Lone Star superintendent in an attempt to arrange for a conference of the pit committee and the superintendent, to give the two miners a hearing, as required by the constitution.

Mark said the superintendent refused to meet with the pit committee and said he would not retain men in his employ who refused to support Lewis.

Walker in Iowa
Meantime John Walker, secretary of the reorganized union, returned from a trip to Iowa where he reports widespread unemployment and destitution in the coal fields. He declared that the former local miner unions were "union graveyards" which, he asserted, were dug by officials of the old organization. Continuing Walker said:

"Business houses were in bankruptcy, the entire community was a lost hulk. These men who had once occupied these homes had drifted no one knows where, their chances for a good life had gone with the closing down of these mines."

"Their children's chances for education and some decent American standards of living had likewise vanished when the coal industry had collapsed. The light had gone out of their lives."

Arguments were begun May 19 in the state circuit court at Springfield on whether Pres. John L. Lewis of the old United Mine Workers and 32 of his followers are in contempt of court for violation of an injunction obtained by the Illinois district of the reorganized United Mine Workers of America. The contempt proceedings, according to Lewis' official journal, are "not regarded as of outstanding importance."

That they are in reality the vital issue for Lewis is evident from the fact that if he is found in contempt and the injunction finally sustained he will be completely through as a miner leader in Illinois legally as well as practically, which is already the case since all but a few Illinois locals have deserted his standard. On the other hand, should the court decide that the injunction which ties his hands in Illinois should not be in force any longer a bitter and probably bloody fight may result before Lewis acknowledges final defeat.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. (F.P.)—Charity agencies of Chattanooga have been "working under a load that is without precedent," they admit. "Demands are coming not only from unemployed breadwinners, but from dependent and neglected children."

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Tuesday, May 27th, at 8:30 P. M.

ROGER M. BALDWIN
(Director: Civil Liberties Union)
will speak on

A BIOGRAPHY WORTHY OF EUGENE V. DEBS

By James Oneal

THE labor movement of the world has been enriched by great human personalities. Bebel and Liebknecht in Germany; Jaurès and Guesde in France; Hardie and MacDonald in England; Debs, Berger and London in the United States, and others may be recalled who have made their impress upon the labor movement of their time.

Among those now numbered with our great dead Eugene V. Debs stands out as one of the most human, most colorful, and most lovable of men. Moreover, Debs was the central and most dramatic figure in two great events in American history, the Pullman strike and the World War. He was the most loved and the most hated man in American life since the dawn of the present century. One has to go back to Garrison in the old anti-slavery struggle to find another man who evoked so widespread fears and hates, aversions and loyalties, admiration and dread.

Two biographical works have appeared regarding Debs, one by Stephen Marion Reynolds and another by David Karsner but they were far from being satisfactory. Both failed to reveal the youth in the Wabash Valley slowly emerging into the mature man and Socialist, the man whose name became known throughout the world and whose portrait was secretly cherished even by workmen in the old days of the heroic struggle against the criminal ruling class of Czarist Russia.

McAlister Coleman has filled in this vacuum in the life of Debs in a biography bearing the apt subtitle "A Man Unafraid" and published by Greenberg, New York (\$3.50). At least two-thirds of the book relate to that period of his life that includes the boyhood of Debs and his emergence in 1900 as the most noted orator of the American Socialist movement. This early period of his life has been a blank even to his most intimate friends in the Socialist movement and they will be grateful for this

McAlister Coleman's Vivid Book Brings Great Socialist To Life Again

record of the man whose ashes were interred at Terre Haute nearly four years ago.

Born five years before Lincoln came to the presidency, Debs came from a region similar to that which had shaped the Great Emancipator. He was nine years old when Lincoln was assassinated and 21 before the orgy of military rule in the South had come to an end. Whether that period which Bowser calls "The Tragic Era" made any definite impressions on the youth we do not know. At any rate at the age of 14 the future Socialist left school to scrape paint from cars in the old Vandalia shops and soon thereafter he was firing an engine.

One gets some charming portraits of the Debs family and other figures of the period. There was Pierre Solomon, a Frenchman, who at the Vandalia shops painted "strutting roosters and flapping eagles" on coaches and who introduced the "tow head" Gene to "Old Man Peddle, Master of the Vandalia paint shops." Pierre was a regular visitor at the home of Debs's father, Jean Daniel. Of the two Frenchmen Coleman writes:

"Solomon and Jean Debs were cronies. On Sunday afternoons, or on those rare evenings when the store on Eleventh street closed before 9 o'clock, the two would pore over Jean's collection of French writings and prints, discuss the meager news that came to them from their common fatherland, or essay on Jean's cornet some old French songs. They were both Alsatians. Jean Daniel had been born in the prosperous town of Colmar, the capital of the district of Alsace, which reared its peaked roofs above a plain near the Vosges, ten miles west of the Rhine. His boyhood had been spent under the soft shadows of the Cathedral of St. Martin, a

fine old Gothic structure with magnificent sculptures. The Debs family house there was a lean, five-story affair, a typical bourgeois home. Jean's father was a well-to-do merchant, and Jean had received a good education. He was early a lover of French and German classics, and had an ardent for collecting books against the time when he should have money to quit work and go deeper into the history of his Alsace."

Debs soon regretted having left school. Leaving his engine and after having snatched a few hours sleep he would hurry to a private school for instruction. He purchased books, was captivated by Thomas Paine and Patrick Henry and the oratory of Daniel W. Voorhees who later became United States Senator. The literary atmosphere of the Debs home, later his headship of the Occidental Literary Club, the fame of Wendell Phillips as an orator, all stimulated his desire for knowledge and the urge to learn the art of public speaking.

It was the brooding fear of his mother that Gene would be hurt or killed in one of the many railroad accidents of the time that induced him to leave the engine and take a position as a clerk in the wholesale grocery house of Hulman and Cox in 1874 and the following year Joshua Leach came to Terre Haute to organize a lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. This brought Gene to the front and from that year he became the agitator and organizer.

One always thinks of Debs as the radical and yet he reached his Socialist views through all the stages that begin with extreme conservatism in the labor movement. Some excerpts from his early speeches and writings are amusing. In 1877 he was opposed to strikes which he regarded as

"anarchy and revolution." This was the year of the great upheaval on the railroads. He believed that all differences should be settled by arbitration but actual experience in the succeeding years when he found union ranged against union in important railroad strikes broadened his vision. His great earnestness won him friends everywhere.

In 1880 the union had reached a low stage in membership and finances and it appeared that it would disintegrate. Leaders and delegates to the convention of that year turned to Debs and made him secretary-treasurer and editor of the official magazine. Then began the herculean task of revival and organization with Debs raising money, riding freights in blazing summer and winter sleet and rain; gathering the "scoopers," as Coleman calls the firemen, at roundhouses, shops and halls, and by sheer force of will and his tremendous earnestness wrestling victory out of ruin. When the era of prosperous stability had been realized Debs pleaded with the firemen for more solidarity, more inclusive organization, only to meet with rebuff at the convention in 1886.

Yet the "scoopers" idolized Gene and the constitutional requirements of awaiting the request of the governor before sending troops into a state and it contributed the most drastic injunction in labor history. Through these pages one obtains glimpses of Robert G. Ingersoll, Wendell Phillips, James Whitcomb Riley, Eugene Field, John Peter Altgeld, Susan B. Anthony, Samuel Gompers, P. M. Arthur, Theodore Debs and others. Several pages are devoted to the experience of Theodore in the first two years of financing the Social Democracy. "We started," said Theodore, "without a lead pencil or a plugged nickel." Gertrude, his wife, shared the privations and there were days when there was little to eat and no money to pay

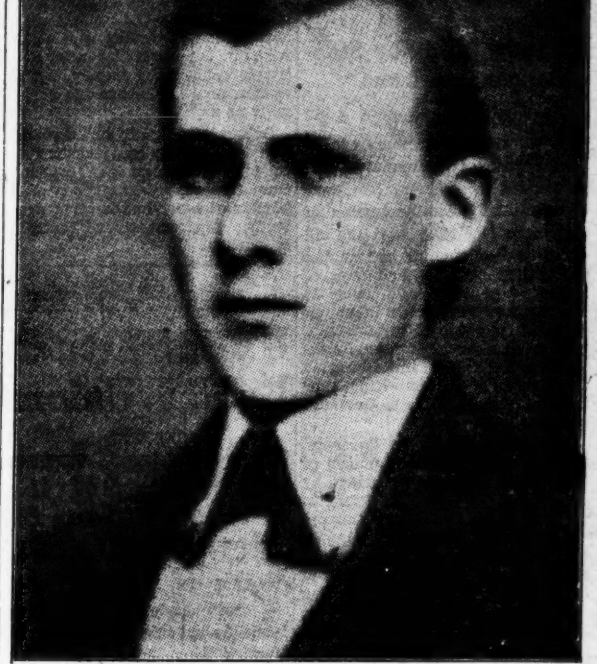
the office rent. A decorated gold watch received by Theodore from his father was pawned time after time to pay the office rent. Gertrude declared that "If Theodore had thrown that watch out of the window on Sixty-sixth street, it would have found its way straight to the hopstock in the Loop." These days of anxiety with Gene on the road as organizer and speaker are as dramatic in pathos, adventure and sacrifice as the early history of the Socialist movement in many other countries.

The turn of the century brought a mature Debs fired with a crusading zeal and a clear vision of the world wide movement to reconstruct capitalism on a Socialist basis. Coleman follows him through his presidential campaigns, the negotiations that resulted in founding a united Socialist Party, the entrance of the United States into the World War, his trial and imprisonment, the aging of the agitator, the evening of his life, the shadows, and then the sleep he had earned. "Gene died with his hand in Theodore's."

Thus ends the biography of the unforgettable Debs, the lion-hearted humanist and Socialist, child of the working class movement, certainly one of the greatest men in American history. Of the Debs who sleeps in the affection of his comrades I always think of that fine passage in William Allen White's "Some Cycles of Cathay" which pictures the men who are not fully appreciated till they pass from the scene. He visions them as strong, calm, firm men who later walk over to the parks and climb on pedestals, and turn into statues erected by a grateful and affected people."

A few minor errors may be noted. The reference to "Bagdad" as the "red light" district in Terre Haute (p. 33) is erroneous. That

district is in the west end while Bagdad is the Negro section in the south end. The anti-DeLeon faction which nominated Harriman and Hayes in Rochester in 1900 was not "inside the S. L. P." (p. 204) as it had deserted the S. L. P. in July, 1899. Gene was not at the Unity Convention in 1901 (p. 212) but Theodore was. We also must dissent with Coleman's apparent justification of the phrase "labor faker" and assumption that DeLeon used it with accuracy. (p. 192). We recall that he used it



THE YOUTHFUL DEBS. Debs at 15. "His heroes were Voltaire, Victor Hugo and Tom Paine." (From McAlister Coleman's biography, Eugene V. Debs.)

against Debs himself when he ran a story in the "Weekly People" to the effect that railroad passes made out to Debs were found in a room in a Milwaukee hotel.

Making allowance for these few slips, we think that Coleman has made Debs the vivid figure that he was in life. Gene grows from one chapter to another, a stormy petrel, the superb agitator, the adorable man, the affectionate comrade and courageous spirit. He lives again in the pages of this fine biography.

There was about Debs a spiritual magnetism which won the loving allegiance of all sorts and conditions of men. Rarely had a man in public life been so deeply loved and so desperately fought. But even those who fought him respected and admired him. There are few biographies richer in human material or so full of drama. Illustrated \$3.50

Whalen Out As New York Police Chief

Walker Cans Red-Baiting Commissioner Who Crowded Him Off Front Pages

AFTER weeks of rumors, Governor A. Whalen, famous for administering law to strikers and radicals "at the end of night-stick" (his own words) and for stirring up the country over "Soviet documents" made by forgers in New York, has resigned as police commissioner of New York.

To succeed the man who got more publicity of all kinds than any other officer of the city, Mayor Walker has chosen Assistant Chief Police Inspector Edward P. Mulrooney.

Rumors that Whalen would resign started shortly after his police riot at the Communist unemployment demonstration March 6. Many citizens were disgusted at the brutal beating under his orders of men and women whose only offense was claiming the right to present a petition in mass without a permit. When Whalen openly boasted that his plain clothes men took part in the demonstration as provocative agents and that he was having Communists fired from their jobs, it became evident even to his friends that he lacked the discretion desirable in a police commissioner.

His latest dud was the "Soviet documents," which were shown up as forgeries by proofs in the hands of a New York newspaper. Told of these before he used them in Washington as a basis for urging a nation-wide investigation of radicals, he refused to look at them.

Though his violations of civil rights were clear, 600 of New York's prominent business men commended his methods at a dinner in his honor.

Whalen was appointed 18 months ago by Jimmy Walker, the Tammany fashion plate mayor, to distract public attention from the police scandal involving the unsolved murder of Arnold Rothstein, the big New York gambler. Although he promised to clear up the "mystery"—every detail of which was common Broadway gossip—a trial of one suspect blew up as a farce and the Rothstein case was forgotten in a series of publicity stunts that ranged from traffic to beating up Communists.

Whalen's resignation followed Mayor Walker's jealousy at his success in grabbing so much front page publicity. For weeks the Mayor was deprived of noticeable mention while Whalen sunned himself in the glare of publicity. The Walker faction in Tammany Hall feared the police commissioner was grooming himself for mayor when Walker's term is up.

The ideal of Socialism is a democratic, educated, self-reliant community in which all individuals cooperate together to provide the highest development and the greatest happiness of all.—Philip Snowden.

Realtors, Merchants Seek Millions In Gift From City Through "L" Demolition

Thomas and Citizen's Union Fight Proposed Step at City Hall Hearing

By Henry J. Rosner

FOR close to a decade the demolition of the Sixth avenue L in New York City has been recognized as a very desirable public improvement. When the proposal to condemn it was first broached by Borough President Miller of Manhattan in 1923, it was his thought that the elevated should not be demolished until the projected Sixth avenue subway was in operation.

On May 31, 1929, however, Mr. Miller requested the Board of Estimate to initiate condemnation proceedings so that the removal of the elevated might be undertaken as soon as the new West Side Eighth avenue subway was in operation. This was the first intimation that it was proposed to remove the elevated before a substitute transit facility had been provided.

Those urging immediate condemnation base their position on three main arguments:

1. The Sixth avenue elevated is no longer a vital area of the city's transportation system and if removed its passengers can easily be carried on existing lines including the new Eighth avenue subway.
2. The engineering difficulties involved in constructing the subway while the elevated is still standing are so great that it will prove both costly and dangerous.
3. The construction of the subway while the elevated stands will result in increased traffic congestion, which at present is responsible for great losses to business men.

Thomas Presents Party View

Tuesday, May 20, the question came up for discussion before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Normas Thomas, appearing on behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, opposed this position. His argument may be briefly summarized as follows:

The Sixth avenue L has not ceased to be an important part of our transit facilities. Its importance has increased rather than decreased. It carries for a large number of passengers each day, who would be seriously discommoded should it be removed and who would be forced to push into other rapid transit lines now already crowded beyond human endurance.

Figures of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and the Transit Commission show that approximately 250,000 people daily use the Sixth avenue elevated. Most of the 250,000, if the elevated is removed before the Sixth avenue subway is constructed, will jam their way into the B. M. T. Broadway subway between 59th street and the Battery, the I. R. T. Broadway and the Seventh avenue

subway, or the Lexington avenue subway on the Jerome avenue line. Trains on these lines are already taxed to the breaking point. It is horrible to imagine what would happen should 250,000 more riders be forced to push their way into these lines.

There are those who believe that once the Eighth avenue subway is open to the riding public, probably in October 1931, substantial relief will be provided for both the Broadway and Seventh avenue subways, so that the latter lines will be in a position to absorb more comfortably the former passengers on the Sixth avenue L.

The Possible Hazards

This question cannot be answered a priori. It is conceivable that the Broadway and Seventh avenue subways will show an increase rather than a decrease. The growth of the area to be served by the new Eighth avenue subway will be sufficient to fill it. This happened on the Sixth avenue L years ago when the Broadway Seventh was opened. Even assuming that there is a decrease in traffic on the Broadway-Seventh avenue subway, the passengers on this line are entitled to some measures of relief after all these years of discomfort and should not be deprived of it by adding the passengers of Sixth avenue L.

There may be a genuine hazard to constructing a subway along Sixth avenue while the L remains standing. If there is real danger of the elevated collapsing as a result of subway construction, there can be no question of the advisability of demolishing the elevated immediately.

However, there is strong reason to believe that this argument serves some ulterior purpose. A subway is now being constructed under Fulton street, Brooklyn, while the elevated continues to function. It is being done under the Sixth avenue elevated on Church street. Of course, it will be necessary to reinforce the columns supporting the elevated. The technique, however, is well known to all engineers.

The Citizens Union after consultation with reputable engineers, reports that for a cost of \$20,000, the columns of the elevated could be reinforced and thus all hazard eliminated.

The Real Estate Interests

In view of these facts, this danger argument may well be a smoke screen under cover of which approximately 200 millions in increased real estate values will be presented to favored property owners at general public expense. The condemnation of the Sixth avenue L is going to cost the city well over 25 millions dollars. This huge cost is not to be dismissed lightly on the ground that the removal will be paid for by the property owners of the property benefited. These owners have never made an offer in a legally enforceable form. Later, they have been silent on the question or have contented themselves with the statement that at the proper time the Board of Estimate will determine how much the cost should be met

by the adjacent property particularly benefited.

Here that this hazard argument serves its purpose. If it is once accepted that the L must be removed for safety, the local property owners will be afforded the basis for a contention that the L removal was required by general consideration of public safety and that, therefore, the cost should be carried by the city as a whole and not by the property benefited. In short, the real estate speculators who probably own Sixth avenue by this time, will be presented with a gift of millions of dollars at general city expense. There is no need to point out that such a procedure serves to divert funds from other necessary city expenditures. It also is not amiss to point out that the same real estate speculators will be presented with another little gift at general city expense when the subway is constructed. This will also result in a rise in land values. However, those benefited directly will not be assessed for a portion of the cost of construction. What a Santa Claus the city is to real estate boys.

To settle all doubts as to the hazard involved in constructing a subway, while the L remains standing, the question should be referred to an impartial committee of competent engineers for an opinion.

The Traffic Problem

Business interests in the City of New York are reported to be losing millions of dollars annually because of traffic congestion. They recognize that even the skillful subway construction will impede the flow of traffic. However, they contend that subway construction with the elevated standing will create an impossible traffic situation. Therefore, the L must come down immediately.

Assuming that greater traffic congestion will result if the L is left standing, the question then becomes one of weighing values. Are the losses of business men resulting from traffic congestion or the slow movement of automobiles more important than the health and safety of those using our rapid transit facilities? We feel that the welfare of our working masses is infinitely more important.

Provided that an impartial committee of engineers judges that it is safe to retain the elevated structure while the subway is in the building, we recommend that the Sixth avenue L continue in operation until a subway is ready to take its place.

Friedman and Shapiro In Hot Debate on Booze

Samuel H. Friedman and Theodore Shapiro debated on the Socialist position on prohibition as a national policy at the Rand School, Friday, May 16. Algernon Lee was chairman. Friedman presented a case for prohibition. Shapiro favored "allowing the individual to decide for himself." A heated question period followed. Most of the questions were directed to Friedman. Shapiro was heckled by a few who criticized his individualistic stand. George Goebel closed the discussion period with a talk on the evils of prohibition and the interests behind the fight against prohibition. The Lecture Bureau sponsored the debate.

Graduation At Rand School This Saturday

17 Students to Receive Certificates for Completion of Workers' Training Course

FOR the first time in its history, the Rand School is going to award certificates of graduation to seventeen students who have creditably completed the Two Year Evening Workers' Training Course. There will be a presentation of certificates on Saturday evening, May 24th in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 E. 15 St. The proceedings will not be very ceremonious, and will be accompanied by a social program.

The students who will be presented with the certificates are Abe Belsky, Y.P.S.L., Bert Brastow, Jewelry Workers Union; Gertrude Bronitsky, Millinery Workers Union; Morris Feldman, Y.P.S.L.; Eugene D. Jonas, Urban League; Lillian Kaplan, Y.P.S.L.; Sarah Kovner, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; Lena Kritzer, Local 62, I.L.G.W.U.; Anna Kula, Local 41, I.L.G.W.U.; George McFarland, Elevator Operators Union; Rose Mintz, Y.P.S.L.; Reba Pushokoff, Y.P.S.L.; Jacob Shur, Y.P.S.L.; William Stein, Socialist Party; Alexander Walker, Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

In addition to the presentation of certificates there will be a general assembly of the student body of this year and former students and friends. Short addresses will be made by Anna Kula, Eugene D. Jones and Anna Zuckerman, after which Paul Porter, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy will speak. An entertainment will follow. Martin Kern will render a piano solo, Andrew and Anna Kuybida of the Ukrainian Center of Passaic will give Ukrainian dances and there will be a vocal number. This will be followed by dancing to Jack Wynnes orchestra which is to play at Camp Tamiment this summer.

The season which has just closed has had an increase in attendance especially in the courses in the social sciences, Labor problems, economics and socialism. More courses were offered this year than have been offered for some years in the past.

A number of new features have been added this year: a student organization was organized with a debating team, which held debates with various colleges, including one at Reading, Pa., Albright College, a book review club, a dramatic club and a school paper. Plans are being perfected for the development of student activities on a much larger scale next year. It is hoped that students of former years who are interested in the above activities and in a choral club, orchestra, etc. will leave their names and suggestions for next year.

The bulletin for next year is to include many new courses and features, which will be announced within the next few weeks.

Despair, Cynicism Grip the Jobless

(Continued from Page One)

less than \$10. How he has lived since he himself could hardly tell. His experiences have included every conceivable method of securing money, even to pandering to the sickening tastes of perverses.

With it all, he is fairly happy. The lad has a face that would inspire an artist—thick blonde hair, blue eyes, perfect lashes, a baby face that has never felt a razor, and a winning smile that persists despite his adversities. I asked him what he intended to do.

"Oh, if I can only get some better clothes, I'm going to find a rich woman, and after I've lived on her a couple of years, I'll go back to Sweden."

I laughed, and then asked him to be serious. It developed that he was absolutely sincere in his plans. "Why not?" he asked. "If America can't give me work she must give me something." I learned that he had a mother and father back home who dream of their boy making good in America. I wondered what they would have said had they seen their only son, still a mere boy, planning the life of a gigolo.

I stood one evening in Times Square with another down-and-out, envying the Salvation Army members who sat in Childs' window eating a chicken dinner. We overheard three men, all workers, discussing racial traits. One of them, in a dialect that sounded for all the world as if it were lifted from a page in Bobby Burns, defended his race. Earnestly he proclaimed the theory that the Scotch are victims of jokesters, and that deep in their hearts, they are the most generous of races.

Without warning, I heard my companion interrupt the discussion. "Listen, Scottie. Here's a chance to be generous. My buddy and me are out of work. We haven't eaten today. We could enjoy a cup of coffee."

The Scot, let it be recorded to the everlasting glory of his much-maligned race, hesitated not a moment, but gave us a half-dollar.

One day last week, the Hudson & Manhattan Railroad company advertised for trainmen, stating that experience was unnecessary and that the only requirement was that applicants must be five feet, eight inches tall. Although other advertisements in the same paper offered work as dishwashers, truckmen's helpers, and soda dispensers, two companions and I, after consultation, decided to make a bid for the trainmen's job as the most hopeful. Before 8 a.m., we were in the line at the company's offices at 30 Church street.

The line was held there until after 11 o'clock, when finally a member of the firm's employment office staff stepped from an inner room.

Of each applicant he asked three questions—"How old are you? How long have you lived in New York? And What work have you done?"

Of some 200 applicants, I think about a dozen were permitted to go into the office, apparently for further consideration. When I answered that I was 24, had lived in New York a year and had worked in restaurants and at soda foun-

tains (only the first answer was true, but how did he know?) he simply said, "I can't do anything for you."

Thus an entire morning was wasted—in fact, a whole day, for with competition for jobs as keen as it is, it's useless to apply for a position after noon. Many in that line were married men, with God knows how many dependents. Slowly they filed out of the building and went their ways, some taking their disappointment cheerfully, others bitterly.

A prominent night club recently advertised for an attendant in its men's room, with instructions to apply at 2:30 p.m. I went to the place at 2 o'clock and learned that the job was already taken. In the hope that I might develop sufficient acquaintance with the manager to ask him for a meal, I began a conversation with him. I learned that the successful applicant had been required to pay a \$10 fee in advance, and \$10 a week for the job, making his living on tips. It occurred to me that a night club that charges 45 cents for ginger ale, and no doubt proportionate prices for other beverages, could well afford to forego the income from tips in the men's room. I didn't ask for the meal.

On the stairs I met another early applicant. He was 43 years old, married, and a father of six children. The last time he worked was in August of 1928, when he had been a helper on a steam shovel. He said he no longer worried. He couldn't keep track of the bills he owes, but said they were in the neighborhood of \$1,200, besides the help given him by relatives and friends who are working. On borrowed money, he planned to secure a hackman's license, having heard there were openings with several taxi companies. From a packet of Bull Durham, he rolled me a cigarette, and we parted.

In Bryant Park I met a youth of 28, who had been in New York three months, hunting work. Back home, in New Hampshire, he had been a clerk in a clothing store, at \$2 a week. His wife was a college girl, and finally, disgusted with his own failure to give her the sort of life to which she had been accustomed, he left her and their two children, knowing that her father would eagerly take her into his home. The father had steadfastly refused any assistance to his son-in-law, however, on the ground that "young folks ought to fight for what they get, so they'll appreciate it."

"But don't you love her?" I asked.

"God! No one knows how I love her. And the kids—boy, they used to run down to meet their daddy every night. I wonder what they do at 6:30 now. Thank God they don't know their daddy has walked the streets for five nights now. I can't get a job—not even dishwashing."

There was more—a lot more, and eventually I spent half my fortune to buy him coffee and a sandwich.

There's tragedy on every corner—on every park bench, and cold, hard New York goes blithely on, paying to ticket-scalpers enough money for a night's entertainment to keep a family alive for a week.



EUGENE DEBS A Man Unafraid

By McAlister Coleman

There was about Debs a spiritual magnetism which won the loving allegiance of all sorts and conditions of men. Rarely had a man in public life been so deeply loved and so desperately fought. But even those who fought him respected and admired him. There are few biographies richer in human material or so full of drama. Illustrated \$3.50

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A Grand, Good Job

SOcialists the country over have every reason to be proud of the fine work that is being done by the Women's Section of the Socialist Party in New York.

These energetic comrades have organized a soup kitchen at 55 West Twenty-fifth Street where they have been feeding some 700 unemployed men and women every day from noon until four o'clock. Don't go on that street if you want to avoid the harsh realities of a capitalist system that cannot support its own workers. The women have made signs that hang on the walls of the long low room where the hungry are fed. Most striking of them is the one reading: "This is the Richest Nation in the World. Why are men hungry?" Another sign urges the six hour day as a relief for unemployment. Still others contain good Socialist propaganda.

Here at tables amid clean surroundings these victims of a cruel system eat the nourishing meat stew and bread and coffee prepared by the energetic George Edwards, one of the best of cooks. Every day Celia Rotman, Mrs. Rachel Panken, Nina Prey, Pauline Newman, Minnie Weinstein, Mrs. Sarah Volovick, Mrs. Weingart and a number of other Socialists are on the job feeding the jobless. Harold Goldfinger and other Yipsels report for duty regularly.

Goldfinger has gathered some interesting statistics covering 150 of the unemployed as a preliminary study. He finds that the majority of those whom he questioned came to New York from other cities having read the glowing accounts in the capitalist press to the effect that "Prosperity" has returned and now there is plenty of work. Of the 150, eighty have been looking for work for these past six dreary months. Eighty-five have no regular homes but have been sleeping in the parks, in missions and flop-houses. In the group is a sea-captain, a pharmacist, an office-manager and a newspaper reporter.

Although the soup kitchen is not primarily an employment agency, it has already placed eighteen men. All of these unemployed are extremely bitter at the methods of running the old-time, commercial employment agencies. These they claim fleece the workers unmercifully, sending groups off to jobs, collecting exorbitant fees and then working in collusion with the employment managers to have the whole group discharged and start the vicious circle all over again.

This is not a very cheerful column but neither is the sight of that line of men of all ages silently waiting their chance at a bowl of stew and a cup of coffee. You go away from it, sick at heart at all the needless misery that there is in this cockeyed world and resolved that every opportunity you get to smash at the capitalist system, you will hit with all your strength.

There comes a post-card from Winifred Harper Cooley bringing the glad tidings that one of our cats which we gave to Winifred has become the mother of four gorgeous sons named Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Debs. The happy event took place on May 17th and all hands are doing finely.

We have received a form letter from The Public Speakers Society saying, "It has come to our attention that you gave a speech before a large gathering recently," and offering to write speeches to order for us on any subject. They enclose a list of speeches that we can make before Lions Clubs, Rotarians, Kiwanis, Eastern Star groups, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Woodmen of the World and American Legion Posts.

Number 4249 called "The Unselfish Policy of the American Legion" sounds pretty hot. But then there's an appeal in Number 3110 before a Chamber of Commerce called, "What's Wrong With our Speakers?" For our more historic moods there is Number 4513, "Why Did Not America go to the Aid of France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870?" You ought to get an audience all hot and bothered about that. If you are on humor bent you can get a book that has one hundred fifty funny puns in it that you can do at lodge meetings. "Laughs, pep, tricks, speeches—everything." Think of being able to do one hundred and fifty separate funny tricks at the next meeting of Kiwanis! Go on and think of it. We become inarticulate at the very thought.

Going back to unemployment and soup kitchens, we want to say that we think Heywood Brown did a man-sized job on his own account with his employment service and that if he is ever out of work, we should all hustle around to get him the grandest job ever.

Unlike most columnists and newspaper writers, Brown, in our opinion, gets bigger with the years. We don't mean physically, he's plenty big enough already. We mean spiritually and mentally. His sympathies are quick and contagious. He influences a large cross-section of such intelligent Americans as have not yet gone insane. And if this is lag-rolling, make the most of it.

McAlister Coleman.

Progress

Progress is

The law of life, man is not man as yet. Nor shall I deem his object served, his end Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth, While only here and there a star dispels The darkness, here and there a towering mind O'erlooks its prostrate fellows: when the host Is out at once to the despair of night, When all mankind alike is perfected, Equal in full-blown powers— then, not till then, I say, begins man's general infancy.

—Browning.

The People Rise

For the Lords and Liars are quaking At the People's stern awaking From the slumber of the ages; and the People slowly rise, And with hands locked tight together, One in heart and soul for ever, Watch the sun of Light and Liberty leap upwards to the skies.

—Francis Adams.

You bred your sons and daughters, you penned them as swine are penned; You watched them scramble for husks and swill, content as the swine content; You reared them in noisome dungeons, you hid them from light and sun; You said, as they fell to the reaper's scythe, "The will of the Lord be done."

—Wm. Booth: "Songs of the City."

Our Weekly Foreign Letter

Britain's Rule Of Fear In India

Precise Promise Of Self-Government Urged On Cabinet; "If Tories And Liberals Disapprove, Let Them Rule"

By H. N. Brailsford

EVERYONE regrets that Mr. Gandhi is an inmate of a British prison; nearly every one believes that it was necessary to put him there. That is a singular state of mind. When one is forced to do what one regrets does it not mean that the initiative has passed from one's hands? One is an instrument of destiny, and the danger is that one may be compelled to go on acting in this way. To nearly everything that Lord Irwin and Mr. Bann have done in the last month the same description applies. They deeply regret, one may be sure, that they are arresting men on suspicion and imprisoning them without trial, that they are muzzling the press and restricting the freedom of meeting; but they think it necessary.

Plainly, there are limits to this state of things. When one has to regret everything that one does the doing of it must eventually become an intolerable burden. And that, one supposes, is precisely the effect that Mr. Gandhi intended to produce. He would like to make us weary of governing India. Who among us enjoys it today?

There are good reasons for regretting this act done under the compulsion of destiny. Since Tolstoy died, there is no human being alive today who commands, as he did, the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired, but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration. In a world of mechanism and materialism, the average man still responds to the appeal of saintliness, and even Americans forget their color prejudice when his name is spoken. If the Tsardom had ever dared to arrest Tolstoy, after one of his revolutionary utterances, a spasm of anger would have shaken Europe.

We are bolder. If this we may be sure, that throughout the civilized world men's thoughts of the British Empire and the Labor Government will be less kindly be-

cause we have put a saint in prison. In India itself we must expect, for a time at least, consequences even less pleasant. Indian religion has always believed that supernatural powers can be won by austerities and abstinence. The saint who will mortify his flesh can command even the gods. How much more must kings fear him? The government had to make its choice. If it arrested a man whom the multitude loves and reveres it must arouse the anger of a nation. If it left him at large, while it arrested his followers for obeying his directions, it might be supposed that it feared him. Between these alternatives, it hesitated for many weeks, as well it might. Destiny has driven it to a logical decision. It cannot risk the suspicion of weakness, for it rules, not by consent, but by fear.

One must suppose that after a careful study of precedents, and of the temper of Indian public opinion, it has made a prudent choice. Mr. Gandhi had challenged it. His avowed aim was to undermine its authority, to cut off its revenues, to boycott every Indian who dared to serve it. This was rebellion even if violence was repudiated. The Indian Government has done what every government in such a situation must be prepared to do. Reasonable men may not blame it for its action, but every unbiased spectator will reflect that a government which is compelled to arrest a man of Mr. Gandhi's character must have forfeited any moral claim to the allegiance of good citizens.

We may not share the Indian veneration for ascetics, and we may feel more than doubtful of Mr. Gandhi's economics. There is left in his record more than enough to compel our admiration. This frail man has risked his health, abandoned life's pleasures, faced and defeated bigots and magnates, in his incessant warfare upon Indian poverty. He has organized the factory workers, created for them schools, hospitals and trade unions, brought hope to the degraded lower castes,

inspired respect for womanhood, and taught tolerance to warring creeds. One glance in vain at the world's premiers and presidents for a personality worthy to stand beside him. The sting of his revolt lies in this life of service. It is not vanity or ambition that move him. He must believe that his warfare on poverty and social degradation is doomed to failure unless he can end our rule in India.

He will have his way: it is only a question of time. How it will come about we do not know, but few of us doubt that we shall live to see the end of the direct rule of Englishmen over India. The record, for good or ill, is closed; all that remains is to make the transition creditable to ourselves, promising to Indians and peaceful for us both. Few doubt that within a year or two the provinces, at least, must receive responsible government. That is to cover all but the last lap on the road to self-government.

This, indeed, is so certain that one finds it hard to account for Mr. Gandhi's impatience. For what is in doubt is only how soon a federal constitution can be set up, which will link the self-governing provinces and native states in an autonomous dominion. To control this central seat of power may be vital for India's self-respect, but before that can be fully achieved, she will have in the provinces the management of all the main concerns of her public life.

Mr. Bann and Lord Irwin have done much to promote this fortunate transition. It is evident that they have not done enough. If one goes back to the critical weeks around Christmas, when Mr. Gandhi was hesitating as to whether he should accept their invitation to the round table conference, it is possible to guess what passed through his mind. He did not doubt their sincerity, but he noted the vagueness of the programme. Dominion status will come one day; but will it be in five years or fifty? Labor, he may have argued, would concede it, gladly enough, in five years or ten; but Labor is a minority. How strenuously will it resist the pressure of the other

parties for delay? He had doubtless read the debates on the Viceroy's declaration in the Lords and the Commons. At that moment, take it as a whole, Parliament did not seem to be ready for such an advance as would satisfy even the more moderate Nationalists. Mr. Bann's own speech was frank and courageous; Mr. Baldwin was conciliatory, but the general tone was not encouraging. Mr. Gandhi is too big a man to take his stand on phrases or details. If he decided to rebel, it must have been because he disbelieved in the readiness of Parliament to allow any prompt and substantial advance to self-government.

The one way to end his rebellion is to prove that this pessimism is mistaken. That, according to the time-table, may be possible in nine months' time, when the conference has completed its work. Dare we wait nine months? One does not know how confident Lord Irwin and his officials must be that their repressive measures will stave off dangerous rioting, prevent the outbreak of a guerrilla war on the Irish model, and check the growth of mutiny in the Indian army.

Events by these external tests may justify them. But even so, in what mood will India await the publication of our proposals? However generous they may be, they must contain safeguards and reservations; however far-reaching they may be, they will fall short of what Indians demand. Can one count on a friendly reception if India's chosen leaders—Mr. Gandhi himself, the chairman of the National Congress, the popular Mayor of Calcutta, and hundreds of others who enjoy national or local influence—are still prisoners in our gaols? Could even the moderates, in these conditions, venture to separate themselves from the mass of the people by accepting them? Do we, in the calm of London, realize the emotional effect when a whole city closes its shops and its exchanges in mourning and protest? Do we allow for the mass sentiment concentrated in meetings

of ten thousand men? Or, again, do we expect the friendly discussion of our reforms after publishing a press ordinance which has had the effect of closing down almost every Indian newspaper in the land?

In these conditions, the conference will be wasted labor, and so long as the present embitterment continues no good will come even from the grant of responsible government to the provinces. Destiny has upset Mr. Bann's timetable. It has forced him into measures which must defeat his political purpose.

The only hope lies in a fresh start. The government has, or will soon have, Sir John Simon's report before it, and it has long had that of the Indian committee. It cannot anticipate the work of the round table conference, which will have to draft a detailed constitution. But might it not issue a general statement of principles? Could it not pledge itself to forward provincial autonomy at once, and to realize the dominion status by stages which will be completed within ten years at most? On that basis might it not repeat its invitation to the conference and open the round table even to its prisoners?

There may be better methods than this. But if coercion continues through the conference, the hope that it will pave the road for a peaceful transition to self-government is vain.

Manifestly, a minority government could not take such a step without consulting the opposition. There lies our weakness, but also our strength. The last thing that Tories or Liberals can desire is to take over the responsibility for India in these conditions. They congratulate themselves that we are available to do the unpleasant work of coercion for them.

There lies our chance if we have the spirit to use it. Let the government tell Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George plainly that we propose to resign unless they will give their consent to a prompt and precise promise of self-government.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

Policy Behind Gandhi Arrest Is Criticized

British Labor Organ Dissents from Cabinet Policy—Warns Force Will Not Succeed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LONDON.—The arrest of Gandhi, leader of the Indian Nationalist movement, called forth vigorous disapproval from the London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. The Herald, which on most occasions is considered the journalistic voice of the Labor government, had the following to say editorially the day after the arrest of Gandhi:

"Mr. Gandhi's arrest was expected. But the manner of it marks another step in the development of Indian policy. He is arrested on no charge, he is to be tried for no offence. "Over a century ago the Governor of Bombay, then a servant of the East India Company, gave himself authority to imprison, without charge or trial, 'for reasons of State,' any person whom he regarded as troublesome. It is under this regulation that Mr. Gandhi is to be held indefinitely in confinement.

"The noisy advocates of the 'strong hand' will be delighted. This, according to their simple creed, is the way to deal with the discontents of a subject people. "Is it? It has been tried again and again. But the results have surely been anything but advertisements for the methods.

Coercion Always Fails
Ireland, America, Austria, Russia. Turn where you will, the records of coercion are records of failure. The historic victories have been those of bold conciliation. Gandhi is in prison. Will the Indian national movement wane? Did the imprisonment of Parnell or the shooting of Pearce check the Irish movement?

"Gandhi is in prison, will apparently stay in prison so long as the Government may choose to keep him there. Is the India question thereby taken a single inch nearer to solution? Is it not, in fact, going to prove even harder to solve than before? Is this not rather an aggravation than a cure for the disease?

Reasons of State
"That the Government of India, that any government, must enforce the law is true enough. That Mr. Gandhi, if he has, in fact, broken the law (and there seems little doubt of it), should

Socialists Sweep Buenos Aires Elections; Parties Win 11 Seats Out Of 14 Open

Independents Win 10, Other Party 1—Electoral System Plays Queer Tricks with Results

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BUENOS AIRES.—The Buenos Aires parliamentary election March 22nd, brought a catastrophic defeat to the party of President Irigoyen. The two Socialist Parties, the Socialist Party affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International and the Independent Socialist Party which broke away two and a half years ago—have secured an extraordinary victory.

An average of 81,202 voted for the list of the Irigoyen Party, compared with 126,374 two years ago. The loss for this party is therefore 45,172. The bourgeois party which opposed the personal domination of Irigoyen and was therefore called the "Antipersonalists," did not put forward a list this time, whereas in the elections of 1928 it received an average of 26,260. Accordingly, 71,431 fewer votes were given for the bourgeois party.

The two Socialist Parties together received 96,529 more votes than in 1928. Accordingly, the whole of the increase in the votes cast also came to them. More than two-thirds of the electorate voted Socialist.

Of the new votes for the Socialist Parties, more than half went to the Independents. Whereas this Party secured an average of 48,839 votes two years ago, the number of their votes increased this time to 108,166, an increase of 59,327. The Socialist Party affiliated to the L. S. I., which be-

lie brought to trial for any offence he may have committed, is also true enough. But he is not to be charged, he is not to be tried. The law is not to be vindicated. He is to be imprisoned 'for reasons of State.'

"It is precisely for 'reasons of state' that, while recognizing the need for open enforcement of the law, we insist that methods of coercion cannot solve India's problems."

"Behind the unrest in India lie political and economic causes. And hope of peace in that country rests upon the speed and understanding with which those causes are faced and tackled.

"Gandhi is in prison. But the reason for Gandhi's power and influence remains. Not coercion but clear-sighted constructive meeting of difficulties is the right path to

cause of its strict principles was less able to attract the classes who came over from the bourgeoisie, increased its vote from 44,176 to 81,378, an increase of 37,202.

Peculiar Election System

The electoral system of Argentina gives a very distorted picture of the voting in the number of members elected. The basic principle of the system is that no party may secure all the seats. Therefore a kind of minority representation is created. This is achieved by providing that the number of candidates which each Party may put forward is only about two-thirds of the number of members to be elected. As there were 14 members to be elected this time, each Party could only put forward ten candidates. Moreover, the number of votes which each candidate secures is the deciding factor, that is to say, the 14 candidates who secure the highest number of votes are elected. The result may thus (as in this case) be completely dependent upon the accident of a very few votes.

Thus the candidates of the Socialist Party this time secured almost exactly as many votes as the Irigoyenist candidates, indeed they secured about 150 votes more on the average, but only one Socialist—Dr. Nicola Repetto—was elected, with 83,076 votes, while five other Socialists who chanced to have a few hundred votes less, fell out, including Enrique Dickmann with 82,329 votes, and Adolfo Dickmann in the third position with 81,436. The Independents secured the ten seats of the "Majority" that is to say, the whole of their list was elected, and they therefore secured far more members than would have come to them by a proportional franchise.

The Socialist Party is limited to one member of Parliament today owing to the tricks of the electoral system. It can quite justifiably console itself with its great success in increasing its vote. In the case of this Party also it is certain that not all the newly-won voters are a permanent gain for Socialism. But the whole Labor and Socialist International, which is filled with genuine pleasure at the great success of Socialism in Buenos Aires, is hoping that the Argentine comrades will repeatedly examine all the possibilities of unifying the forces of the working

A. de Tomaso was re-elected at the head of their list with 109,292 votes and A. L. Spinetto with 109,124 votes. The Irigoyenists secured one seat.

Unity Is Essential

How grotesque this franchise is shown by the fact that the Socialists have secured one more seat because of being split than they would have if they had put forward one list. The United Party could at best have secured ten seats, but the two opposing Socialist Parties have secured 11 seats, and it is only by chance that they did not secure the whole of the 14 seats. This result offers no argument for the unification of the Socialists, in consequence of the electoral system. But whoever goes deeper into the real relative strength of the party groupings will be forced to see that the chance combination of this election offers no guarantee for the future, that if the bourgeoisie gets over its crisis the division of the Socialists may lead to new defeats of the working class. In 1924 the Socialist Party had the "majority" in an election because of the division of the bourgeoisie, that is to say, it secured two-thirds of the seats; but two years later, in 1926, the bourgeois ranks were closed again and therefore had the advantage. If the Independents have now secured the "majority," this is no guarantee that the "majority" will not fall to the bourgeoisie again in two years' time if the Socialist Parties do not unite.

We secure the real insight into the displacement of the electorate if we calculate how the 14 seats would be divided if they were allocated on the basis of the proportional system of election. The following picture would then be given:—

	Votes	Actual Seats	According to P. R.
Irigoyenists	126,374	12	10
Ind. Socialists	8,839	6	3
Ind. Socialists	44,176	0	3
Antipersonal	26,260	0	2

Elections 1928

The Socialist Party is limited to one member of Parliament today owing to the tricks of the electoral system. It can quite justifiably console itself with its great success in increasing its vote. In the case of this Party also it is certain that not all the newly-won voters are a permanent gain for Socialism. But the whole Labor and Socialist International, which is filled with genuine pleasure at the great success of Socialism in Buenos Aires, is hoping that the Argentine comrades will repeatedly examine all the possibilities of unifying the forces of the working

class in order to make Buenos Aires a permanently invincible stronghold for Socialism.

Blum Attacks Bethlen

PARIS.—Leon Blum has written a leading article in the Paris "Populaire" on the scandal of the Hungarian Optants question, in which Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime Minister, misused his position in order to secure compensation by diplomatic negotiations for the Hungarian aristocrats who have been deprived of their estates in Transylvania by the Rumanian agrarian reform.

British I. L. P. Thanks MacDonald for Services

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Birmingham.—In its Annual Report to the Conference of the I. L. P. the National Administrative Council states that after three years of continuous losses in the number of the Party's branches there is now a net increase. Nearly 200 members of the I. L. P. are Labor members of Parliament, and the I. L. P. has direct financial responsibility for 37 of them. The National Administrative Council also reports that "it has been decided to make a renewed effort through the L. S. I. to bring about the unification of the working-class movement in all countries in one International. . . . A Committee consisting of James Maxton, A. F. Brodie, John Paton, P. J. Dollan, and Dorothy Jewson has been appointed to draw up proposals for submission to the L. S. I. After Maxton had severed his connection with the League against Imperialism it was decided to reorganize the I. L. P. 'Imperialism' Committee as the I. L. P. International Committee, with Maxton as chairman. The duties of the Committee are to oppose the exploitation of subject peoples by capitalist imperialism and to advocate internationalism on the basis of the equal status of all peoples.

The report also includes a reference to the resignation of J. Ramsay MacDonald from the Party after a continuous membership since 1894. "During his long period of membership," says the Report, "he was closely identified with the life and work of the Party in all its aspects and had served a period as national chairman. The development of Party policy which began in 1924, to meet the changed conditions, and which was crystallized finally by the adoption by the Party of the Socialism in Our Time program, marked the beginning of irreconcilable differences of opinion which have been deepened since his acceptance of the duties of Prime Minister. It was inevitable, probably, in such circumstances, that the old association could not be maintained, but we take this opportunity of placing on record in the name of the Party, our high appreciation of his great services to the I. L. P. and to Socialism.

United Italian Parties Of Socialism To Meet

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The delegations of the two Italian Socialist parties which are shortly to re-unite have already held several joint meetings. The delegations have decided to propose to their organizations that the Socialist Unification Conference be held on June 10th, the anniversary of the assassination of Matteotti.

The Chatter Box

ONE of the most penetrating intellects of modern times has declared that any man or woman who arrives at the age of thirty without becoming a Socialist is an inferior.

Product of excessive wit, or whatever else this statement may be called by the millions who go through life without joining the Cause, it nevertheless bears thorough test and reason.

For such water as has already tumbled into the sea of maturity, we can only be contemplative and resigned. It is for the freshets and rills that spout and surge forth from the source of life that our concern is greatest.

To have them form into a stream of clearness unswayed, unclouded and unclouded by the dumphs and refuse of a decaying civilization, that they may flow with the crystal purity of our hope and dream for humankind is our ordained task.

Youth, men and women to be—you are all that is left for faith and realization. Your elders are failing the dream. Do not waste these precious hours of your growing strength and glowing fervor in judgment on them. Rather remember only that they are failures; that they have made a sorry business of their world; and that they are all too old to learn anything new.

It is for you to speak the word of hope and the mandate for action. We have forgotten too quickly the wrongs that must be righted. Our eyes are too tired to see the wretchedness of the masses. Our nerves are too leaden for the quick of pain or the flare of anger at the shameful dishonesty, the unmasked insolence, the unbridled and inhuman greed of the money-maddened masters.

Only you are left to march within the dream for freedom, peace and sustenance for all. The older generations have betrayed you too long.

It was at their behest, or indifference or impotence, that ten million men were slaughtered in the last butchery between nations. It is by their criminal selfishness and cowardice that hatred and distrust stalk the frontiers and horizons.

The toilers, the makers of materials, the builders of comforts, the creators of all things useful or needful are in constant dread against the future. The jackals of fear trail behind them every workday, every rest day. The buzzards of disease, accident, unemployment, poverty, hunger, cold, and crime swarm and flap above them, over their homes, over their shops . . . all waiting with sinister meaning for the inevitable faltering and fall. And in times like the present financial and industrial chaos literal millions of them lie prone with despair.

Yet without their labor, their skill, their brain and brawn all of us would perish. On the other hand, a mere few hundred thousands gamblers, idlers and schemers own and control the largest portion of our national industries and wealth. For them there are always the surfeit of existence, security, luxury, yachts, international residences, the seven seas and four winds for travel and adventure, the overflowing cup of life and all that can possibly be poured into it in joy and indulgence.

Merlin's wand of wizardry is an instrument of dull impotence against the astonishing magic of the little scissors that clip the coupons of interest and profit from the shares of ownership. For them the gardens, the estates, the beauty of nature and artifice; for them the joy of power, the low passion of tyranny, and full immunity from any transgression against the laws of the land or God.

And yet, were the overlords to vanish in one moment from the earth, not a blade of grass, nor the soul of child, nor the heart of a peasant or worker would miss them. And every one and everything really useful and necessary in the scheme of creation would be the happier for the loss.

And there is a way of bringing this to pass. It is Socialism. It is the coming of the Commonwealth wherein the producing masses decree unto themselves the ownership and control of the means whereby the wealth they create today now heaps itself into private coffers of the few.

No boy or girl, no young man or woman, who has escaped the mental and spiritual gassing of propaganda from the master classes, deserves his or her place in the sight of humanity or the light of the sun, unless he or she march shoulder-lined with the Christs, the Debes and the other all-too-few liberators of the masses.

Are you afraid of failure, that you hesitate to join the Socialist Leagues for Young People? . . . Has the Saturday Evening Post, or the Sunday magazine sections of the press frightened you into believing that radicals and social protestants are failures, malcontents, jealous inferiorities, God-killers . . . and all the other canards the masters invent in order to keep you from threatening their tenure of power over you?

Then let us ask you whether you consider the Carpenter of Nazareth a failure, a killer of God or an inferiority? Yet by every standard of comparative history he was a Socialist . . . a lover of mankind, a hater of greed, a dreamer, for a world in which the common folks would live in peace and plenty. The masters crucified him as soon as their security was threatened by his agitation. Would you consider Gene Debs a failure? . . . Against the love this man generated in this loveless land all the fortunes of the Rockefellers, Morgans and Guggenheims piled into one are worthless dust.

Who remembers the millionaires who fattened on the war, and for whose security of bloody profit Gene went to jail? In these years even, Gene takes his place alongside of Lincoln, John Brown, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison as an American champion of the oppressed and enslaved.

Of course, if you are just content to live the life of an unthinking and self-seeking mammal, intent on your own appetite and comfort . . . Socialism holds nothing for you.

But if you are young enough to know the glory of a fine dream, the lifting dynamics of an ideal, the cleansing fire of hatred for man's brutality to man . . . Socialism is everything worth living and striving for.

Learn all about it from the vast store of written pamphlet and book. Attend whatever lectures you can on the subject. And above all, join your nearest Young People's Socialist League circle. You will find there as splendid a set of high thinking and plain living boys and girls as this vast land contains. Nor are they all work and no play.

A sane mind in a healthy body requires such pursuits as build brawn as well as brain. Dances, athletic teams, and hikes are as necessary as meetings, debates and organization work.

Young man, young woman, you have nothing to lose but your uselessness to society. Join the Y. P. S. L. . . . You have the happiness and the soul of mankind to gain. . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Our idea of the consummate ass is the boob who, year after year, enriches the Tammany nobles with his vote in the expectation that he will get a "favor" from one of them. He is like the doggy who is grateful for the bone from which the meat has been

George M. Cohan Feasts In The "Tavern"

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

GOOD OLD HOKUM

"THE TAVERN" with George M. Cohan. The Fulton Theatre.

THERE is that in the name, and in the presence, of George M. Cohan, which suggests the theatre at its best. All the emotional savour of the stage is an aroma that clings to him, with the pleasant sense of the good tradition of theatrical hokum. Therefore "The Tavern" is a most appropriate play to exhibit Mr. Cohan.

For "The Tavern" is essentially a play of a man who has gone mad about the drama... literally mad, as the audience at length discovers. To "the vagabond," all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players. He, however, by virtue of his abnormality—his remove from the average attitude—is alone a spectator while all the rest of the world performs. The tragedy of life goes on about him; as spectator (even as we in the theatre by night) he can see the forces that play upon the characters, and foresee events they cannot tell until the coming. He is therefore able to speak to the various persons the storm sends into the tavern in a way at once whimsical, queer, and vaguely prophetic; bemusing them and amusing the audience offstage.

The story of the play is another excellent piece of hokum; but it is so frankly presented as such that we enjoy seeing it seen. The vagabond, for example, will stop an angry man and ask him to repeat the line with more fervor; or tell the young fellow who swears he will marry only for love, that this is the best he has ever heard the line spoken. Thus the hokum, recognized on stage as such, does not bother those of us off; and occasionally reality breaks through the starchy convention as when the vagabond slyly repeats the remark about the wife never resting, when he hears that she has had twelve children.

George M. Cohan as the vagabond gives a delightful portrait of the whimsical drama-mad wanderer; with bits of the song and dance man interspersed: "She's as big as a cow and as tame as a calf; as she settles the problems of life... with a laugh." His gaiety gradually wins over to him all those who onstage suspect him; so that at the close not only the whole audience, but the cast, are with him wholly. Indeed, the various players are a goodly company. Joseph Allen as the hired man gives a delightful interpretation of a half-wit, whose humor adds a deal to the burlesque melodrama of the evening. As the son, Theodore Newton is a fearsome but sturdy lad, well presented. Mary Phillips as the eternally wronged woman, with the ruin complex, does a good piece, and the others are equally up to the requirements of their roles. "The Tavern" is a pleasant reminder that the gentle art of getting across in the theatre is no new game, and that the players themselves recognize their ways, and enjoy the tricks of the trade as much as those whom they (sometimes) deceive.

Chevalier in "Big Pond" At the Rialto Theatre

Maurice Chevalier and Claudette Colbert are now appearing in a new hit, "The Big Pond," Paramount's latest release starring the international favorite at the Rialto Theatre, Times Square.

The cast includes well-known artists of the stage in this talking film based on the play by George Middleton and E. A. Thomas.

Golf enthusiasts will be able to see Walter Hagen and Leo Diegel in a highly diverting golf film in which much golf wisdom is dispensed in a humorous manner.

Included in this program are other features, among them being the appearance of Floyd Gibbons telling of the Byrd South Pole Expedition, in itself thoroughly entertaining.

In Final Concert of the Season



At the Mansfield Theatre this Sunday evening, the Hall Johnson Choir will be heard in the final concert of their season. Their repertoire includes many new songs.

Caricature of a Great Actor



The caricature above is none other than that famous actor, George Arliss, who seems to be duplicating his great stage success in the movies. At the Strand Theatre this week, he is appearing in a role that made him famous on the stage, and so we heartily recommend "The Green Goddess."

George Arliss Is at the Strand This Week

The return to the Broadway screen of that noted artist, George Arliss, who is starred in "The Green Goddess," current at Warner Bros. Strand Theatre, brings from the Warner publicity offices a rather touching little story about his romance with Florence Montgomery, the lady who subsequently became his wife.

Arliss proposed and was accepted by Miss Montgomery because both knew enough to come in out of the rain. Perhaps this sounds a bit foolish, but read on: Arliss was teaching at a theatrical school in Margate, England, and he had fallen in love with one of his beautiful pupils, Florence Montgomery, and she with him, although very little had been actually said, as the proprietress of the school did not allow her instructors to make love to her pupils.

It suddenly began to pour one afternoon—a regular deluge. Arliss made a dash for the stage door of the theatre. Inside in the strange gloom that pervades a closed theatre in the daytime, he found himself standing next to Miss Montgomery, who had also just dashed in out of the rain. "It was a curious thing that that theatre should have been absolutely deserted except for us two," said Arliss. "There is generally somebody doing something, a stage hand prowling about, or a property man polishing furniture."

"She looked very flushed and rosy. There she was wet through and through, and I could do nothing for her—because I was wet too. What could one do? I asked her to marry me."

Their romance has been one of the happiest among stage people.

Capehart Carey, Inc., Now Controlled by the Blaine Thompson Co.

The established firm of Capehart Carey, Inc., known throughout the theatrical industry, is now part of the Blaine Thompson Company, advertising agents for the Warner Bros. The Shuberts, whose advertising has been placed through Capehart Carey Inc., during the past, will continue to use the same personnel of the Capehart Carey Co., through the Blaine Thompson Company. Mr. John J. Carey continues in his direction, and with him are still associated, Mr. Cornelius Freudenthal, Mr. Andy Gella, Mr. Paul Klein, Mr. Jack Crimmins, and Mr. Bernard Capehart.

"Call of the West" At the Hippodrome

Another first-run picture holds the screen interest at RKO's Hippodrome this week, where "Call of the West," featuring Dorothy Revier and Matt Moore is presented. This Columbia talkie was directed by Albert Ray and was adapted from the story "Born to Love," Kathrin Clare Ward. Tom O'Brien and Alan Roscoe play important parts in the photoplay.

The vaudeville half of the show consists of Meyer Golden's "Dance Fables," a fantastic and colorful offering; Harold Yates and Cooper Lawley, Victor recording songsters; Hal Neiman, the modern Nat Willis; Jack McBridge and his girl friends; Capt. Willie Mauss, noted German war ace, in a sensational novelty and Herbert, Geraldine and Victoria, a new generation of aerialists.

"The Burning Heart" Stays Third Week At 55th Street Playhouse

The German musical film romance "The Burning Heart," with Mady Christians, will enter the third week of its run at the 55th Street Playhouse, beginning this Saturday, May 24th. It has an original synchronized music score with four songs, actually sung by Mady Christians.

"The Burning Heart" was produced and directed by Ludwig Berger, Paramount director, in the Terra studios in Berlin. Berger's previous German films include "Cinderella," "Meistersinger," and "Waltz Dream," his Paramount films are "The Vagabond King" and "Feodora" with Pola Negri.

Mady Christians is supported by a large cast of German stage and screen favorites, including Gustav Froelich, Friedrich Kayssler, Friedrich Richard, Ida Wuest and Lena Malena.

At The Little Carnegie

An unusual double feature bill ushers in the new week at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, 46 West 57th street. Beginning Saturday, May 24th, for four days, "Be Yourself," Fannie Bricks comedy and "Three Live Ghosts," in which Beryl Mercer is featured, will be offered. In "Be Yourself," besides Miss Brice, are Robert Armstrong, Harry Green, Gertrude Astor and G. Pat Collins. The featured players in "Three Live Ghosts" include Claude Allister, Charles McNaughton, Robert Montgomery and Jocelyn Lee. Both pictures were directed by Thornton Freeland.

The second half of the week, Wednesday through Friday, brings "Only the Brave" to Little Carnegie's screen. Gary Cooper is starred in this with Mary Brian, Phillips Holmes, Morgan Farley and Guy Oliver prominent in the supporting cast. Frank Tuttle directed this Civil War romance which is from a story by Keene Thompson.

Broadway Shows at Brighton

Broadway will be brought to Brighton Beach this summer when, for the first time in its history, the Brighton Theatre, operated for many years as a vaudeville house, will inaugurate a policy of legitimate stage attractions.

The new regime at Brighton, scheduled to start early in June, marks the beginning of the most important era in seashore theatricals, placing the house side by side with the famous beach theatres in Atlantic City and Asbury Park.

It will play only the highest grade of dramatic and musical comedy productions prior to Manhattan engagements and will give the ocean side its first Broadway shows since the days of the old Manhattan Beach Theatre over a quarter of a century ago. All attractions will play a minimum engagement of one week, although in some cases they may be continued for longer periods.

Hall Johnson Negro Choir To Give Last Concert at Mansfield Theatre Sunday

Many of the readers of the New Leader will be interested to know that the Hall Johnson Negro Choir will give its last recital of the season at the Mansfield Theatre on next Sunday evening, May 25th, at 8:30.

This final concert is composed of the spirituals and other Negro folk songs for which the choir is famous. Hall Johnson, the Conductor, has made some new arrangements of interesting numbers, but the program as a whole, includes many old favorites such as "Nobody Knows De Trouble I See, Lord," "Religion Is A Fortune," "Keep A-Inchin' Along," "I'm A Eas' man," etc.

Through the cooperation of Laurence Rivers of "The Green Pastures," many of the angels of "The Green Pastures" chorus, who are well known for their past work with Mr. Johnson, will sing with the choir on that evening, while some interesting new solo voices will also be heard.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer announces acquisition of screen rights to "Union Station," the Munsey Magazine story by Nan Page.

Amusing Grecian Comedy Coming to the 44th St. Theatre



Hailed by out-of-town critics as an artistic triumph, the uproarious Aristophanes comedy "Lysistrata" comes to the 44th St. Theatre the week of June 2nd. The cast is composed of a long list of celebrated names; and pictured above is Sydney Greenstreet and the Athenian Police.

Responsive Cord Struck by Greatest War Picture Yet Filmed

Something recently happened in the publishing business. A book written by an unknown, a poor ex-German soldier from the ranks, expressing the viewpoint of his kind toward war and the driving forces behind wholesale human slaughter, broke all sales records throughout a large part of the world.

An echo, of more recent date, is found in the reception accorded a motion picture transcription of the book at a Broadway theatre. Assuming that the motion picture is essentially an instrument of entertainment, and that motion picture audiences are largely made up of the frivolous element, everyone associated with public amusements has been struck spellbound by the sensational success of the picture. It too has broken all records!

Veteran producers and exhibitors are shaking their heads wisely and proclaiming sagely that the hour has struck when the public is interested in the serious things of life for screen material. From present indications the follow-the-leader complex which always has pervaded that field will be responsible for a weird assortment of heavy productions in work in the Hollywood studios this Summer.

Strangely enough, no intelligent analysis of this record smashing development has come to light in the avalanche of fulsome praise that has greeted the picture. No newspaper and no amusement expert has peered beneath the surface of things deeply enough to discern that the book in question is more than literature, and the picture something that transcends entertainment.

The book and motion picture under discussion are Erick Maria Remarque's epic of the World War, "All Quiet on the Western Front," and Universal's picturization of it, now being exhibited at the Central Theatre.

It is doubtful that Universal Pictures Corporation or its employees realize that what they are selling is not motion picture entertainment, but a symbol—a symbol so eloquent that it may be said to have rendered the unknown soldier articulate and to bespeak the unuttered, dimly outlined thought in countless thousands of hearts. The entire campaign against war, reiterated by the New Leader and other so-called radical newspapers for years, is epitomized in the book and picture in powerful eloquence hitherto unknown.

Neither the publishers of the book nor the makers of the motion picture appear to have a clear conception of the values from which they are raking in fortunes. Never once has the clear-cut truth been proclaimed that book and picture constitute the real war against war. The dazed puzzlement of those in charge of the Central Theatre, the confusion that obtained when an eager public swamped the place, and the waipish activities of the ubiquitous ticket scalpers constantly outwitting the efforts of the management to drive them off, combine to prove that Universal did not know what a welcome feast of reason it had spread for the delectation of an intelligent public.

A survey of the audience and a glance at the personnel constantly in line at the box office is heartening proof that there is an intelligent public and that its name is legion. The thinker—not necessarily the good dresser—

175th Performance for "The First Mrs. Fraser"

Last Tuesday Grace George, A. E. Matthews, Lawrence Grossmith and members of "The First Mrs. Fraser" company, gave their 175th performance of the St. John Ervine comedy at the Playhouse. This mid-winter success is also proving a hot weather hit in New York as well as in London. The play is also running in Berlin and is being presented in Paris at the Theatre Albert by the English Players.

The Changing Harlem

No one seems to know just how or where the present fad for Negro entertainment started. Some attribute it to the influence of post-war Paris; others declare it is an outgrowth of the midnight "white folks' shows" at colored theatres in the South. At any rate, the fad became a craze, then a fashion, and now almost a habit. Van Vechten's "Nigger Heaven" is but one of many books written on the subject of recent years, and "Blackbirds" and "Hot Chocolates" illustrate the stage influence.

For four years now, Harlem has been the accepted place to round out the evening. The Harlem clubs were suspicious of downtown visitors at first, gradually opened their doors to the whites, and now many of the more snobbish places will not admit customers of their own race. So does the virus of color-prejudice extend into the ranks of the Negro himself?

But with this growth of interest on the part of the white world, an ever increasing importance. Four years ago Harlem was a place to go slumming. A few intrepid adventurers would cross 110th street boldly and with shrieks of laughter to disguise their fears and emphasize their bravado would visit a few of the better known clubs. All is now the wind-up of every theatre changed. Harlem is accepted. It party, the port of last call of every visitor to the Great White Way. Here come the crowds from the Main Stem, here haughty Park avenue rubs elbows with its colored cook. And here come the columnists, as sure a sign of the interest of the public as the bluebird is of spring. In a recent magazine article of New York's night life, by that town gossip, Walter Winchell, of the seven photographs of night clubs used as illustrations four were of well known Harlem clubs. Nor are the other columnists less aware of the news importance now attached to Harlem. Every night one or two or half a dozen of them may be observed seated at ringside tables, at the Cotton Club, at Ye Olde Nest, at Connie's, jotting down anecdotes, news items, names of celebrities. Here may be seen Louis Sobol of the Graphic, Mark Hellinger of the Mirror, Lou Sherwin, and Russell Crouse, Marcus Griffin, Bernie Feinman, Bob Davis, Rian James of the Eagle, Lee Posner of the Morning Telegraph, and any number of others.

Indeed, so important has Harlem become that it has overstepped its own boundaries. The Cotton Club opened in Harlem six years ago and was an instantaneous success. It featured such stars as Isabelle Washington, Cora Le Redd, Celeste Coles, Leisha Hill and others. Its scenery, music, costumes, dancing, and especially its chorus is the talk of the town.

Premieres at 8th Street Playhouse



What is considered as one of the interesting new Soviet films is now having its first N. Y. showing at the 8th Street Playhouse—the picture is "Turksib."

"Samson" Benefit To Be Held This Saturday

With the stage set for what promises to be the outstanding popular musical event of the summer season, the curtain will rise at Madison Square Garden Saturday evening, May 24, for a presentation of the opera "Samson and Delilah." Hundreds of Socialists from various parts of the city, who have purchased tickets for the affair, will be in attendance, as will members of other organizations that have obtained allotments of tickets for the event, which is staged by Maurice Frank. Although definite reports of the number of tickets sold by Socialist branches are lacking as The New Leader goes to press, Socialists

party officials feel that there will be a large representation of Socialism, and that a profit will accrue to both the city office and the branches of the party as a result of the sales made, enabling the party organization to continue its work without curtailing any of its activities.

Tickets for the event will continue to be on sale in all parts of the city until Saturday afternoon. Socialists who want the party to receive a share of the proceeds from the sales are asked to purchase their tickets in advance at any one of the following stations: Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway; Rand Book Store, 1 East 15th street; Finnish Socialist Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue; Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street; Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street.

NOW at both STRANDS

GEORGE ARLISS

THE STAR OF "DISRAELI"

in "THE GREEN GODDESS"

First time at POPULAR Prices

Look for STARS OF THE STAGE and SCREEN in

VITAPHONE VARIETIES

—Little Masterpieces of the Talking-Singing SCREEN

Warner Bros., Comfortably REFRIGERATED

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ROXY

24th Ave. and 10th St. Pers. Direction of S. L. ROYAL (ROXY)

Will Rogers

in "SO THIS IS LONDON"

with IRVING RICE, FRANK ALBERTSON, MAUREN O'SULLIVAN, LUMSDEN HARE

—On the Stage—

Gala Condensed Version of "CARMEN" with JEANNE GORDON, Metropolitan Opera Star; Entire Roxy Company and brilliant cast.

SONG OF THE FLAME

A First National & Vitaphone Picture

Gave New York Its Greatest Thrill

With BERNICE CLAIRE, ALEXANDER GRAY, NOAH BERRY

NOW PLAYING REFRIGERATED THEATRE

Broadway and 52nd St.

Sunday: 3-6-8-15

Daily: 2-4-5-8-15

CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street

Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30

LADIES OF LEISURE

BARBARA LOWELL RALPH STANWICK SHERMAN GRAVES

A COLUMBIA PICTURE

On Capitol Stage:

Wonder stage revue featuring stars and Ballet; Danceband conducting Capitol Grand Symphony Orchestra; Hearst Metropole News; Novelty Cartoon Comedy

8th ST. PLAYHOUSE

(FILM GUILD CINEMA)

12 West 8th St. Spring 3095

TURKSIB

Amazing Soviet Film Document on Construction of the Turk-Siberian Railroad.

Acclaimed by the Manchester Guardian as Finest Russian Film.

Continuous 1 P. M. to Midnight

5th AVE. PLAYHOUSE

105 Fifth Ave. Algonquin 7661

Double Feature—Sunday to Tuesday

"Lady Windemere's Fan" and "The Kibitzer"

Double Feature—Wed. to Sat.

George Arliss in "Disraeli" and "Around the World With the Graf Zeppelin"

New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Theatre Parties

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

HALL JOHNSON

Negro Choir

with the collaboration of Laurence Rivers and "The Green Pastures" Choir

This Sunday Nite 8:30

Recital of Negro Folk Music—A group of original compositions by Hall Johnson, presented for the first time.

MANFIELD THEATRE

256 W. 47th St.

Manag'g Rm. C. Gassner, 113 W. 57th

Plenty of Good 50c Seats at Box Office for Early Buyers

Topaze

The Comedy Hit from the French of MARCEL PAGNOL

with FRANK MORGAN

PHOEBE FOSTER CLARENCE DERWENT

MUSIC BOX THEATRE

45th Street, West of Broadway

Evs. 8:10, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

VIRTUE'S BED

New Sophisticated Comedy Drama By COURTNEY SAVAGE with ARA GERALD

"SO INTERESTING I'D LIKE TO SEE IT AGAIN."—Slide Dudley, Eve. World.

HUDSON THEATRE, 41 St. E. of W'way

Thurs. 8:30, Mats. WED. and SAT., 2:30

LAST TWO WEEKS

"MAKES YOU WEAK WITH LAUGHTER."—Littell, N. Y. World.

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JUNE MOON

By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

Broadhurst

WEST 41TH ST. Thurs. 8:10, Mats. WED. & SAT

Branches That Lead-III

South A. D. Brooklyn Borough

By Marx Lewis

BRANCHES of the Socialist Party in two counties—New York and Queens—were dealt with in the series I started on branches that have come to the forefront since the last municipal election. Before taking up any other branches in those counties—and there are still many that have stories worth presenting—it may be well to turn our attention to Kings County.

As a county, it leads all the others, in any test that may be applied, except in the actual number of members—and in that respect it is rapidly coming to the front. It has more enrolled Socialist voters than any other county. Last year it gave Norman Thomas, our candidate for Mayor, about as many votes as both New York and Queens combined—71,145 to be exact. It was almost half of the vote polled for Thomas in the entire county. The strategy, then, of the vote cast for the other candidates on the city ticket be the test of a straight vote—was also as large as the straight vote in both Kings and Queens. The two other counties combined, Charles Solomon, our candidate for Comptroller, polled 40,000 votes in Kings.

No Miracles Needed
There is nothing mysterious or miraculous about this showing on the part of Kings County. It is the result of the fact that the party is to be found in the county everywhere. Years of work conducted in New York County brought its results when the population of New

York County began to move into two other counties—Bronx and Kings. In both the Socialist vote grew with the shift in the population—in Kings possibly better than in Bronx, because there is more of an organization in Kings.

Both the shift in the population—and the efforts of individual party members, who have taken advantage of that shift—help tell the story of the 18th Assembly District, Kings, with which I propose to deal in this article. In the number of votes it casts generally, it is the third largest district in Kings County, with a voting population of 45,000. It is exceeded only by the 16th Assembly District, which has a voting population of 56,000, and the 16th Assembly District, which has a voting population of 48,000. But the proportion of the Socialist vote is larger in the 18th A. D. than it is in either of the other two districts.

For Mayor, Thomas received in the 18th A. D. 8,099 votes, as against 24,622 for Walker, and 7,601 for La Guardia, giving Thomas second place—not bad for a district in which the organization had not been developed as well as it is today. In the Assembly race, the Socialist candidate, Jacob L. Afros, polled 5,783 votes, as against 25,607 for the Democrat, and 9,186 for the Republican.

That indicates the extent of the district in which the Socialists are organizing, and their strength as they began, shortly after the last municipal election, an intensive work to build up the branch.

23rd A. D. Started Work
The work of organization was undertaken by a group of former members of the 23rd A. D. Kings County, better known as the Brownsville district, who had been active in the party since the 18th A. D. was organized. In this case from one district to another in the same county—the 18th A. D. was polling 3,000 Socialist votes without a branch. Being

contiguous to Brownsville, several of the younger Brownsville branch members decided to venture into the district. The moving spirits at that time were, since several have since added to the list, I shall refer later, were Joseph N. Cohen, Simon Wolfe, Simon Sarason, and Jack Afros. The plans for the new branch were laid in the office of Cohen, at a meeting held on November 18, 1927.

It remained extremely favorable conditions. The founders of the branch were the younger people, whose enthusiasm had not undergone the strain to which the older party members had been exposed, and who, moreover, had the energy required to canvass, carry platforms, and do the other work essential to all stages of a successful organization growth. The fact that they were young—and that they were entering a field where the materials out of which a branch could be shaped was only awaiting fashioning—encouraged some other young comrades who had become active in their own branches, and who decided to join the new branch. That brought in members like Milton P. S. Benjamin, DuBou, and later Max Krubitz, the present organizer, and later still, Joseph Viola, whose years of experience as Socialist organizer both in Brooklyn and in other parts of the nation, and whose initiative, proved a great asset to the branch.

18th A. D. Membership
The membership of the branch, before the municipal elections of last year, numbered about 100. Since the election, about 60 new members have been gained. This has been achieved in spite of a serious handicap—the loss of a group of former members, and, according to all reports, not the best end either. The formation of a new branch in the 18th A. D. has just been undertaken, and that may overcome the difficulty somewhat.

As in the case of the other branches, the work of the branch is to be conducted on a democratic basis. Every member is urged to attend.

6-8-12th A. D.
An important meeting will be held on Monday evening, May 26. Our new organizer, Nathan Riesel, will be on the job. A meeting of the executive committee will be held at the same time.

Upper West Side
The executive committee has decided to run some street meetings on Thursday evenings, at 9th street and Broadway. If this proves successful, the branch will be making a good headway as the weather permits and speakers are available. The committee in charge is as follows: Andrew Regal, Harry Philipson and Alexander Kuhn. Comrades, Presser, Philipson, Regal and Kuhn have been appointed to get in touch with old and new members who are not paid up in order to begin in the fall with a clean slate.

21st A. D.
Branch meetings are held every Tuesday, at 8:30 p. m. in room 4 at 149 West 150th street.

Finch Branch
The spring frolic of the Finnish Socialist Federation will be held in Orchard at 9th street and Broadway, on Sunday afternoon, May 25. A splendid program of games and contests will be arranged to benefit the Finnish Relief Fund. The speakers will be: George Mitchell, Donald Henderson and Max Delson. The Finnish Branch will be represented by a number of young members to also say a few words. George Mitchell, Donald Henderson and Max Delson responded. Samuel H. Friedman led the audience in singing of labor songs. There was a musical program during the day, which Dorothy Ballou, contralto, accompanied by Joseph Dwyer, assisted. Both artists are well known to the audience of WEVD.

3-5-10th A. D.
Dr. Leon Rogers and will speak in the study of the Rand School, Wednesday evening, May 28, at 8:15 o'clock. Dr. Rogers' subject will be "Should Socialists Fight for War?" Members are requested to bring their friends. At the last meeting delegates to the state convention were nominated, and also the following dates for public office: State Senator, 13th District, Leonard Kave; Assembly, 3rd District, Fred W. Hughes; 10th District, William T. Hade; 10th District, Evelyn Hudson.

4th A. D.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY WORK

National

TWO NEW LEAFLETS
The national office has printed two new leaflets—one entitled "How To End War," which states the Party's position on imperialism; the other, "Labor's Politics," which clearly outlines the need of independent political action by the workers. The leaflets may be secured at the rate of 30 cents per 1,000 from the Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago. Price list and samples sent upon request.

DEBS: A MAN UNFRAID
The chapter on Debs by McCallister Coleman, is now off the press and is receiving much publicity in both friendly and unfriendly papers. Orders may be sent to the Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago. Price 50¢.

Illinois

CHICAGO
The members of Local Cook County have completed arrangements for their annual press picnic. It will be held in Riverside Park on Sunday, June 8. The largest attendance in years is indicated for this picnic, many groups coming from surrounding towns.

Indianapolis
A state convention will be held in Indianapolis on May 24 and 25. Inquiries regarding same should be sent to the State Secretary, Effie M. Mueller, 414 Harlan, Indianapolis.

Kansas

State Secretary Ross Magill reports that he has been sending out work in preparing and rushing out petitions to secure the necessary signatures for the State Convention of the Socialist Party on the state ticket.

Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE
Heywood Brown of New York, whose

column "It Seems to Me" appears in the Milwaukee Capital, Editor, will speak at a dinner in Milwaukee on June 3. The dinner is being given by the Leader and will be held at the Hotel Milwaukee. Reservations are \$2 per plate.

New York State

ROCHESTER
The secretary of Local Rochester reports that the Central Trades and Labor Council has agreed to a canvass of local unions in regard to organizing a labor party. So far as the expression goes of more than 50 per cent. returns there appears a large majority in favor of independent political action.

CARABINE MEETINGS
Comrades Schmitt, Onda and Syracuse are included in the cities that have agreed to arrange one or more open-air meetings for ex-Judge Carabine. The state secretary is endeavoring to line up meetings for Carabine in a number of small cities. Comrades Schmitt, Onda and Syracuse have not yet had a Socialist meeting since the World War.

STATE CONVENTION
The executive committee will make provision at its next meeting for representation in the state convention. The following delegates are being nominated: P. S. L. Workmen's Circle, and I. L. P. groups. State Secretary, Effie M. Mueller, is endeavoring to line up meetings for Carabine in a number of small cities. Comrades Schmitt, Onda and Syracuse have not yet had a Socialist meeting since the World War.

BUFALO
Local Buffalo Socialist Party have elected Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Robert A. Hoffman and Charles H. Roth as delegates to the state convention. Alternates are Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth and Julian H. Weiss.

New York City

COMING EVENTS
Saturday, May 24, 8 p. m., Madison

Square Garden, opera: "Samson and Delilah."

Saturday, July 19, State Convention, Schenectady, N. Y.

Saturday, July 26, annual picnic, Ulster, N. Y.

ORGANIZERS AND FIN. SEC'S.
On Saturday, May 24, 2 p. m., there will be a conference of branch organizers and financial secretaries relative to important party matters.

RECEPTION FOR NEW MEMBERS
The educational committee held a reception for new members on Wednesday evening, at 9th street and Broadway. The program consisted of a play, a musical program, and a lecture by Dr. Leon Rogers. The reception was a great success, and many new members were gained.

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Our Friends, The Liberals

CAPITALISM means the continuation of the wage system, the trustification of industry, and the running of industry for the profit of a few. Socialism stands for the abolition of the wage system and the taking over of industry to be run for the use of the people. There are two definite positions—without being able to tell exactly where it is, their goal may be or how they hope to obtain it, stand the liberals.

The ranks of the liberals are recruited from doctors, lawyers, editors, teachers, writers and college men in general; people who to a greater or less degree are free from the economic problems of the masses. As educated men they are not to be entirely oblivious to the evils existing under our present system. At the same time their elevated economic position hinders them from getting to the true causes of these evils. The result is a number of little skirmishes and debates in the form of committees of liberals working for the release of Moore and Billings.

Five cent fare, free milk, etc., rather than a concerted and united effort to find and eliminate the primary cause of the various evils resulting from the capitalist system.

A well known liberal rabbi defended liberalism as "a blind groping in the dark, which by hit and miss policy makes for progress." This "blind groping in the dark" plus the ever-present slogan, "Much can be said on both sides," explains why liberals drift on occasions from extreme conservatism as during the World War, to a neurotic liberalism.

The establishment of a political party means hard, determined, and sacrificing work for a great number of men and women. Despite a number of spasmodic attempts liberals, endowed as they are with extreme individualism, have not been successful in forming a political party which shall fight for their reforms. Since they have no party ready to take power in order to get their demands, and since the full cravat of a good many of these demands—such as the withdrawal of marines from Central and South America or the abolition of war—would question the very existence of the capitalist system, the liberals are not to be surprised that they will back the measures which liberals sponsor. Socialists are in

Financial Security vs. Radical Activity

An interesting and not new problem cropped up at a Circle meeting last week. It seems that one of the young comrades has recently acquired a position, which might lead to a future if followed up with diligent effort and a great deal of study. The young comrade involved decided, in order to be able to carry out his intention which in his opinion the task ahead of him merited, to ask for a leave of absence from his position. After a brief discussion the request was refused. The comrade then sent his resignation in and it was accepted.

The problem as we have pointed out before, is an old one and has been encountered by many an older comrade. It is namely this: Is membership in the Young People's Socialist League or the Socialist Party detrimental to success in business or professional life? We claim that it is not. It is true that membership in the other dominant party at the present time may have its uses and might lead to material success. But we maintain and contend that a man's political opinions and ideals are not to be compromised, regardless of his job. One can very well afford to be an active spirit in the Socialist and Labor movement and still hold on to a job or profession. If he is big enough to fully understand his own philosophy and willing to concede that his ideals are above everything. We point with pride and admiration to men like

Montreal Yipsels Hold First Lecture and Concert

The Lecture and Concert arranged for Sunday, May 18th, by the Young People's Socialist League of Montreal, Y. P. S. L., was the finest demonstration held by Young People for the Socialist cause since the war. The first public affair arranged by the Montreal Yipsels and it was a great success. The large audience that filled the hall, the singing and the enthusiasm prevailed. This affair and others that will follow will greatly increase the membership of the Yipsels movement in Montreal. An interest has been shown by the young people outside the movement. These on the arrangements committee were Comrades M. Abramovitch, A. Richstone, D. Lewis, P. Friedman and Sol Berman.

League Outings
Arrangements have been made for the New York City League outing. Every circle in the League has been active in making the Annual Yipsel outing a success. We are to meet at the foot of 242nd street, Van Cortland Park, Sunday, May 26th, at 10 a. m. and then proceed to Dunwoodie, N. Y. Bring along your old clothes and don't forget your lunch. The baseball game between the Manhattan and Bronx comrades against the Brooklyn Yipsels is attracting lots of attention. The number of Brooklynites have been out on the ball field for the last few days practicing the game.

Bronx Circles: A discussion on India was held by Comrade Rose Rubinstein at Circle Two Bronx on Friday, May 23, at 8:30 p. m. at 345 Cites place. The following week Socialist Party Tactics will be the subject.

The Bronx Juniors had a joint social meeting at 1167 Boston road on Friday, May 23. Circles 5, 6 and the Morrisania group participated.

Circle 10 Jr. Kings: This circle's membership is growing by leaps and bounds. We can expect a membership of 100 in the near future. They have started a library at their headquarters. Comrades Julius Mergoff and Frank Fedele are the leading spirits of this circle.

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NEW LEADER

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

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

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1930

Briand's Proposal

WHATEVER may be said of Briand's suggestion for a union of European nations he is the first one to formulate an outline of a proposal for discussion. While the realization of a federated Europe would solve no fundamental problems of the capitalist order it would remove various sources of friction and promote the idea of cooperation.

If a European union is eventually realized it will simply be an extension of certain types of cooperation that have been realized through various commissions and understandings. These include postal and railway regulations, cooperation in the use of certain waterways and harbors, copyright agreements, patrol of frontiers, custom agreements and other forms of collaboration for mutual purposes.

And yet the tariffs, frontier tolls, custom barriers, passport red tape and other difficulties that still beset communication, travel and commerce, contribute to much irritation and misunderstanding. If we could imagine these various barriers at the frontiers of every one of our forty-eight states, citizens of this country would have some comprehension of the problem that faces the nations of Europe.

Coming at the time it has, it is also probable that the Briand proposal has in mind an eventual protective union against American tariff legislation. No less than thirty nations throughout the world have expressed strong dissent with the stupid tariff bill at Washington. Canada is already retaliating and a united Europe would certainly be better able to work out a defensive customs program than the separate nations can now.

"Human Waste-Heaps"

IN ITS press service the International Federation of Trade Unions gives some attention to the American economic revolution. Commenting on the junk heaps of machinery displaced by new machinery and piled up before American factories, it observes that the "human machinery" also displaced is not on exhibition before factory gates. The worker "is lost to view among the crowds of the unemployed; and his fellows become walking waste-heaps. . . . He is a blot on the picture of proud and rich America."

Europe also has its unemployed but because of social insurance the workers there "are not so hopelessly given over to the miseries of unemployment as are the human junk piles of America." Not till the human "waste-heaps" began to attract attention has there been a general demand for social insurance here.

The press service then turns to John P. Frey of the American Federation of Labor, quoting him as saying that the problem is one for employers and workers in industry, adding that "nothing which the government can do will be of practical service."

And this is the best that one of the keenest minds in the Federation can offer in the face of the most acute unemployment crisis in this century. This anti-government attitude is satisfactory to the economic and political masters of the republic. They know that government is of "practical service" to them.

What Mr. Frey and leaders like him do is to pay homage to an "individualism" that is as dead as the code of Hammurabi. The "human waste-heaps" that parade their miseries in city streets are a tragic answer to the cool quietism of those who say that political power will be of no "practical service."

The Socialist Movement

WITH the admission of nearly three thousand new members this year the Socialist Party must be a puzzle to its opponents. They reported it killed in 1917 and buried a few years later. Now and then the cadaver thrust itself upon the attention of its enemies by local successes but they still insisted that it was dead. The complete

sweep at Reading, local victories in Wisconsin, and a heavy increase in the vote in New York City must have converted the wise prophets to the theory of the resurrection of the dead.

The fact is that Socialist parties are as inseparable from the development of capitalism as the political organizations of the possessing classes. A Labor or Socialist party may be arrested in its development for many years because of peculiar conditions in a given country. It may advance rapidly in other nations for the same reason. It may gain partial control of a country and then suffer a reverse. It may be completely destroyed so far as organization and activity are concerned as in Fascist Italy and yet not be dead even in that country.

The reason for the persistence of the Socialist movement all over the world is because it is as much the natural heir of capitalism as capitalism is the heir of feudalism. Socialism is the advance courier of a new social order the economic structure of which is already building within capitalism itself. Merchants, traders, and capitalists were as much inferiors under feudalism as workers are today under capitalism and just as the capitalist class became supreme so the producing masses will rise through Socialism and impress their ideals upon the new social order they will bring.

Destroy the Socialist movement? Hardly.

American Political Parties

A LABOR weekly, *The New Era* at Louisville, Ky., in the current issue carries three contributions regarding the question of a Labor Party. One contributor favors it and two oppose, one a Republican and the other a Democrat. Both are so naive that they are funny.

The Republican believes in sticking to the parties "given us by our forefathers" and adds that we could not get big business to contribute funds to a Labor Party anyway and money is necessary to finance it.

The Democrat declares that it took 150 years to build the two major parties so it would take as long to build a Labor Party. He declares that there are no millionaires in his party and had Al Smith been elected he "would have made all big business people reduce rates and make a job for everybody."

The two contributors are so ridiculous that we are inclined to believe that they are Labor Party men who write to make the opposition absurd. Of course, the two major parties were not founded by the "fathers" and they are not 150 years old. The Federalist Party died in 1820 and the Jeffersonian Party in 1828. The first party emerged as the Whig Party about 1836 and it died in 1856. The Jacksonian party of 1828 died in 1860 and became the modern Democratic Party at the end of the Civil War. The Republican Party succeeded the Whigs in 1856 and it died with the death of Lincoln in 1865. It was succeeded by the mercenary political agents of capitalism whom Lincoln feared. It retains the name of the party of 1856 for the same reason that a yegg uses a mask to hide his real identity.

We have had not two parties for 150 years but many parties and a party of the workers is just as possible and necessary as other new parties have been in our history.

IN A NUTSHELL

The laboring man and laboring woman
Have one glory and one shame;
Everything that's done inhuman
Injures all of them the same.

—James Russell Lowell.

A financial item in the dailies declares that commodity prices are firm. The news arrived just as the Pennsylvania primaries reached the stage of purchase on a large scale.

The right to live is admitted, reluctantly admitted perhaps, but still admitted by general consent. The opportunity to work . . . accompanying the right is denied.—Joseph Clayton.

The value of exports in April was 21½ per cent. under the same month last year despite the fact that President Hoover made a very optimistic speech that month. Try a rabbit's foot, Herb.

Wrong opinions should be met only by fair discussion. To put them down by force or terrorism, or by special legislation, is a policy more dangerous than any expression of opinion can be.—David Starr Jordan.

Mussolini, the pork chop Napoleon, has just informed the world to look out or Italy will conquer it. If some kid had mussed Mussi between the eyes with an aged tomato the answer would have fitted the occasion.

The Socialist movement is as wide as the world, and its mission is to win the world, the whole world, from animalism, and consecrate it to humanity.—Eugene V. Debs.

Declaring that commercial bribery is on the increase, a trade executive says that owing to "the well guarded secrecy of those giving and taking graft, split commissions, etc." it isn't easy to hunt down. Referred to Bruce Barton as a committee of one on Service.

The stock exchange has acquired an influence so great that it is able to call armed nations into the field to fight in its interests. Blood flows in order that the demands of High Finance may be liquidated.—Von Moltke.

First page news last Monday declared that Tammany Chief Curry would see Mayor Walker about a successor to Whalen. General Curry is not the man to neglect a Tammany boy who is in need of advice.

The sight of the Allied Powers first making a supreme effort to destroy their foe, and then making a far more prolonged, yet still unsuccessful, effort to set that self-same foe on his feet in their own interest, is in itself a striking epitome of the insanity of war.—Arthur Ponsonby

England's Labor Laureate

By Joseph Shipley.
JOHN MASEFIELD, successor of Robert Bridges as Poet Laureate of England, is of a starker, a more humane sort than most who before him have held that post. His appointment, too, marks a change in the standards for the post; for none can expect of Masefield mere pretty pieces for state occasions, or tales of the light brigade and the heavy brigade such as Tennyson turned out, or indeed such general philosophies as Bridges' "Testament of Beauty." Masefield has his eyes close to life, and his heart is of the people.

There was a saloon, not two blocks from where I lived when there were saloons, with the picture of Masefield on the wall; and many a second-hand tale have I heard of the days when the poet was barkeep there, and swept the sawdust floor. His knowledge of labor is no deliberate learning, caught in a slumming expedition to see how the other half lived; Masefield knows the meaning of toil and the feelings of workers as one who has worked to the bone. Outstanding in his poetry is his love of the sea; in many moods it calls to him, but he knows it, not as one who has lolled on sunny decks or given orders from a shining poop; but as one who has made that deck smooth, that poop-brass shine; as a common sailor, before the mast.

Intense in Masefield's poetry is this common heart with the common people. Although he has gone on fox-hunts, it is the fox, it is the horse he feels with, rather than the gentlemen who ride; and in his best poems, "The Widow in the Bye Street," "Dauber," and that simplest yet tremendous "The Everlasting Mercy," it is the pain and the passion of suffering humanity that moves in him, and moves him. If Masefield continues the social order that has burned in him till now, and if the Labor government is as strongly true as the Labor poet is staunch, things will be different in England. The spirit of Masefield's work, persisting through all his poems, was set in his youth, and stands, the first poem in his first volume, and in his collected works, as his life's intention.

CONSECRATION
NOT of the princes and prelates
With periwinkle charioteers
Riding triumphantly laurelled to lap
the fat of the years—
Rather the scorned—the rejected—the
men hemmed in with the
spears;

The men of the altered battalion
which fights till it dies,
Dazed with the dust of the battle,
the din and the cries,
The men with the broken heads and
the blood running into their
eyes.

Not the be-medalled Commander, be-
loved of the throne,
Riding cock-horse to parade when
the bugles are blown,
But the lads who carried the kopp-
ie and cannot be known.

Not the ruler for me, but the ranker,
In tramp of the road,
The dazed with the sack on his
shoulders pricked on with the
good,
The man with too weighty a bur-
den, too weary a load.

The sailor, the stoker of steamers,
the man with the clout,
The chaffman bent at the halliards
putting a tune to the shout,
The drovney man at the wheel and
the tired lookout.

Others may sing of the wine and
the wealth and the mirth,
The portly presence of potentates
goodly in girth;—
Mine be the dirt and the dross, the
dust and scum of the earth!

Theirs be the music, the colour, the
glory, the gold;
Mine be a handful of ashes, a mouth-
ful of mould.
Of the unnamed, of the halt and the
blind in the rain and the cold—
Of these shall my songs be fashioned,
may tales be told.—Amen.

In The Labor Press

A LABOR PARTY NEEDED
Our present labor market is weighed in the balance and is found wanting. They are composed of Democrats and Republicans and are the tools of Big Business. The people as a mass are not represented, which includes the workers and the farm-ers. Laws are made and created to further the interests and the wealth of the wealthy. Sixty-five per cent of the people are at the mercy of the political tricksters and rich rulers.

Labor must have a party of its own. It is up to the leaders of labor to show the way. These leaders must stop aping aristocracy and get back in their own class where they belong. If they want to be real leaders of the workers this is the time and the place to start something worthwhile. The rank and file must demand and insist that this be done, and sooner the better.

Why wait any longer? Labor is getting nowhere with the non-partisan vote. We want a Labor Party that will represent all labor. If other countries can have their Labor Party, why not the United States? Why boast of our superior intelligence and superior workmanship, when we haven't got sense enough to have a party of our own that will give us what the two old Big Business parties do not intend to us to have? Let's go over the top.

The New Era (Louisville, Ky.).
Society can overlook murder, adul-tery, or whoring. It can never over-look the preaching of a new gospel.
—Frederic Harrison.

The Quest For Bread

Women and Children Share Places
With Men on the Bread-Lines

By Pauline M. Newman

BEFORE me lies Kate Kolwitz's etching called "Unemployment." It shows a bare room; a woman and baby sick in bed; an older child in rags huddles on the floor near the bed, and a man, with his head in his hands, sits near the woman. Their faces are full of utter misery, hopelessness and despair. It is a gruesome picture to look at. It haunts one long after it is put out of sight. But one does not have to look at etchings in these days to see the reflection of human suffering caused by unemployment. One can go down to any working class district and such pictures can be duplicated by the hundreds, by the thousands. Or one can go down to the Bowery. There, one will see another picture so realistically described by Mr. Bruce Bliven in the New Republic that I cannot resist the temptation to quote him.

"It seems too cold to rain; but it is not. The drops come down in slanting lines, driven by a bitter wind, and stand in pools upon the hard packed, icy snow along the street. A bad night to be out, even if you are well shod and warmly clothed; and most of the men lounging along the Bowery, with the 'El' trains rumbling overhead, are neither. Their shoes are broken, their clothing in the last stages of disrepute. Perhaps one in twenty has gloves, and perhaps two in five an overcoat of some sort, an overcoat too large or too small, or with the buttons missing, so that it has to be held together by one hand, as the great ladies hold their fur wraps going into the opera. Misery does love company; these unhappy men move along the street, or stand huddled in doorways, partly out of the rain, in twos and threes. Here and there you will see a born raconteur who has assembled an audience of half a dozen; they laugh noisily when he comes to a point, and that laughter is the only sound they ever make above an undertone. For most of them are frightened, and frightened men keep quiet. You turn a corner, and here is a surprising spectacle. There is a line of men three, or sometimes four abreast, a block long, and wedged tightly together—so tightly that no passerby can break through. For this compactness there is reason: those at the head of the grey-black human snake will eat tonight; those farther back probably won't. There are several hundred men in this extra line, none of whom, it is certain, will get anything to eat. It so happens that at the moment we are making our inspection, the first two places in this extra line are held by a white-haired old man and a boy of sixteen. The old man looks seventy at least; he is stooped, hollow-cheeked, but he stands with dignity, his sad, bovine eyes of the aged look at nothing. The boy is a straight young sapling, with curly brown hair under his cap. He is embarrassed—nearly all these men are embarrassed in their plight, as so many children in a school play. He does not plead with the policeman as some of his fel-

lows do; he merely stands there looking ahead, scornful and ashamed."

In these days, this scene is repeated on other streets besides the Bowery. At the doors of many churches, at the employment agencies, the Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and the Municipal lodging house. In fact, wherever one turns, there is a line of men, waiting for a morsel of food! At the Municipal lodging house the line is even longer, and more compact. The line here forms early. For the capacity to accommodate the unfortunate is not unlimited, and if one comes early, and has not been there five times during the same month, his chances for a meal and shelter are good. A friend and I had occasion, not long ago, to spend an entire evening in the Municipal lodging house. The superintendent showed us the members of our human society—"Can this be all? For this the struggle, the humiliation, the suffering? . . ."

Unemployment, like a chronic illness, cannot be cured today. It can be checked, it can be relieved. A great deal has been said about unemployment. The daily press has devoted much space to the "seriousness of the situation." Explanations of the cause of unemployment are even now offered freely. Some blame the present crisis on seasonal occupations; some on cyclical depressions; others on technological changes in industry, and stock gambling. But what does it matter to the man and woman in the street who caused their present enforced idleness? All they know is that they are weary from days and weeks of fruitless job-hunting; are reduced to begging for a bit of bread and a charity bed in order to continue their existence. Indeed there is still much talk about unemployment. But no one seems to do anything about it. I mean something fundamental, something that would give a man or woman a chance to earn his or her bread without going to charity about it. Explanations—may they come from the great and the mighty, or the lowly—do not feed the hungry, clothe the naked, or house the homeless.

Unemployment exists not alone in America but practically all over the world. We are not alone in facing this problem. We are, I think, alone in doing nothing to find a solution for it. Countries which are much poorer in mechanical and technical equipment, as well as in natural resources, have some measure of responsibility toward the unemployed and the aged. We today, the richest country in the world, leave this problem to charitable institutions. Charitable institutions, be they

ever so willing, cannot cure this evil. They cannot prevent the physical, mental and moral deterioration which is bound to come to millions of men and women facing starvation. It is not the function of charity to do anything but give relief to emergency cases. And even that it cannot always do. Is there, then, nothing that our cities, states and Nation can do in this matter? Various suggestions have been made by prominent government officials, economists and labor leaders. Senator Wagner, for example, urges a system of national employment agencies, a commission to study the causes of unemployment; the setting up of a national system to unify present labor placement systems and create new ones; appropriation of large sums of money for public works which would absorb surplus labor in emergencies. Frances Perkins, Commissioner of Labor of New York, suggested that industries spend last year's profit to stimulate this year's trade. The expenditure could be made in plant expansion and reducing prices to stimulate buying. Manufacturers, she suggested, could help by manufacturing staple articles and thus stimulate the buying power of wage earners and by distributing work evenly instead of laying off the workers. Commissioner Perkins states that unemployment can be eliminated, as the greater part of child labor was eliminated, and the infant mortality rate cut in two. She also advocated the carrying by every industry of its own fluctuations by means of an unemployment reserve fund. The five day work week as a relief measure is advocated by President Green of the A. F. of L.

All these plans and suggestions are fine. They would unquestionably help to reduce unemployment to a minimum. The only difficulty is that, no matter how good the suggestions, if they are not put into operation, they remain quite useless. But to put these suggestions in operation, we need government officials who will have the courage to accept and work for a program of social insurance even if the program does come from the Socialist Party! Perhaps it is, after all, too much to expect in the year of 1930.

And yet the most that can be done for the relief of the jobless is not sufficient under the present social order. Periodical unemployment for millions is a disease of our capitalist civilization, an ailment that is deeply rooted in the system. This disease cannot be exterminated without socializing industry and through democratic control guaranteeing employment to all.

Standing behind the counter and watching the men, one can tell that they are not habitual idlers. They try hard to find a job. Some of them begin the search as early as six in the morning. And if they find nothing they return to the lodging house. As they check their "valuables," one can read in their faces what goes on within them. One gets a peculiar feeling standing so close to misery and despair. One feels that the young ones who come here may yet win in the

Socialism Mis-stated

ECONOMICS may be a "dismal science" and yet a knowledge of economics has never been more important than today. The capitalist system of production is going through a period of remarkable change and even its political guardians have no fundamental knowledge of its workings. One of the most amusing episodes of American life is that at the moment when the prosperity chorus had reached its highest note they suddenly slowed up and the singers had to retire behind the curtain. It was either a matter of retiring or face a general demand of "get the book" for the singers.

For these reasons our curiosity was aroused by the announcement of the translation from the German into English of a book by Othmar Spann (*The History of Economics*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., \$3.50). With 311 pages the author has attempted to present a popular history of economics, beginning with the Mercantile System and carrying the narrative through to the contemporary period. Obviously, the limited space assigned to this history of the book will differ regarding the measure of success achieved but they will probably agree that the result is a useful introduction to the history of economics.

The author's method is at least admirable. He presents an objective digest of the main characteristics of each school of economics, quoting from authorities, selecting the leading men of each school for a brief biographical sketch, giving a list of the more important works of each school, and following with a critical examination of the theories of each. Where one school is the offshoot of another one the origin of dissent and the evolution of one theory into its successor is traced.

The section on the individualist school of classical economics should prove of special interest considering that presidents, congressmen and other economic literates still babble the economic lingo of a century ago. For example, as this is written, President Hoover's speech to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce appears in the press. In this address the

before our ruling Babbitts while at the same time the speaker affirmed the need of cooperation and of a national body representing business, economics, labor and agriculture to avert the very evils of the "individual initiative" which he worships. Like Harding and Coolidge, the man has not learned how to think and there are millions like him in the United States.

The author's presentation of Socialism and the economics of Marx convinces us that if 1 per cent of the professional economists prove candid and objective they register a high average. What is to be said of Spann who writes (p. 211): "The idea that every one is to have and to enjoy the fruit of his labor for himself alone, is individually an economic process so ordered as to render this possible?" Marx is not only plainly recorded against this absurd view ascribed to him but he made it the chief reason for criticizing the German party program in a notable letter written in 1875. Not only Marx but Kautsky and other Marxists have been particular to point out the impossibility of the view which Spann ascribes to Marx.

The author also credits Marx with subscribing not only to the theory of the "iron law of wages" but with presenting it in its extreme form (p. 227). This completely sweeps aside Marx's criticisms of Lassalle on this score and also ignores his "Value, Price and Profit" of which the central theme was rejecting this argument made by Citizen Weston. When we come across such glaring absurdities we are justified in raising the question of the honesty of the author of this work. If he is honest in making these statements the only conclusion is that he is not competent to discuss Marx and his views.

This performance, so often repeated by other economists, also raises the question as to whether it is possible for economists to be emancipated from the subtle coercion of ruling class opinions. A few brave souls have achieved this emancipation, but they are so few that a case can be made out for the "iron law" that bourgeois economics is the hopeless slave of the capitalist class.

War And Profits

IN a recent magazine article the opinion was expressed that the recent war novels, even the best of them, do not make for pacifism. The readers suffer a bit vicariously and the results are much the same as reading a mystery, detective or any other kind of literary thriller. It happens that novels like *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *Sergeants*, *Grisham*, *Death of a Hero* and even some of the *Sweetness-and-Light* post-war novels by Americans are the vogue. When the "style" changes, as it soon will, the change will not be in the direction of books such as *War for Profits* (King Pub. Co., N. Y.).

War for Profits is not a book for gold star mothers. In fact, about the best job that a military organization could do would be to buy up all the copies and plates of the book. In its 175 pages the author packs a mass of documented evidence to prove that the armament makers are more powerful internationally than before or during the World War. The world union of proletarians is also working along lines that will bring about another universal catastrophe.

Not all the victims in the world war had cause to complain that they were the targets of ammunition and chemicals manufactured in their respective countries for which they were fighting. When the next war to end war takes place, there will be less cause to complain that soldiers and sailors are being slaughtered for the direct benefit of the munition and chemical interests of their own countries, for at the present rate of consolidation, the steel, ammunition, chemical and oil interests will have become so international in character that there will be no "fatherland" or "enemy" nation.

Dr. Lehmann-Russblott shows that not only do the chemical and armament makers fish in troubled waters of nationalistic hates and suspicions, but that they exert all possible methods to keep the waters roiled. Since the close of the World War, the war makers are more firmly allied with international banking interests and those in control of the basic industries of the world.

"War for Profits" is the most powerful weapon we know of in the fight to prevent the plans for the next international slaughter.