

## Timely Topics By Norman Thomas

Ominous for Labor's Future—Problems of the Miners  
—Unhealthy Labor Conditions—New Interest  
in Socialism—Tammanyized Labor Men  
—Governor Roosevelt's Dilemma

### INEFFECTIVE LABOR ORGANIZATION

It is as ominous for the future as it is puzzling in the light of the past that so far there is so little mass organization of and by the workers who have been the victims of such tragic disaster as the present unemployment. Discontent, yes. Disillusionment about capitalism, plenty of it. But still effective organization lags.



Norman Thomas

There are bright spots. One of them is West Virginia where in the midst of serfdom and near starvation the reorganization of the miners proceeds. It has to proceed outside the Lewis organization which has betrayed and abandoned the men. The new union was, of course, deserted by the Illinois organization when Walker and Lewis made a peace which their opinions of each other ought to have made impossible. Some of our old Socialist comrades are in the very forefront of organization in West Virginia. To help this union is not to encourage dual unionism, for there is no real Lewis Union, only ghosts of dead locals which walked for Lewis cash. The Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief at 112 East 19th St., New York, of which I am chairman is glad to transmit relief for the local strikes incidental to organization and also incidental to near starvation!

### THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

VERY wisely, it seems to me, the rank and file miners convention at St. Louis did not try to start a union. It did bring men together to talk over the desperate problems of the coal industry and mapped out a program for the education of miners organized and unorganized. It declared that ultimately the miners must have a new union: clean, militant, inclusive and intelligent. It rejected the Lewis-Walker compromise in Illinois as a basis for real peace. It formed a continuation committee—but did not risk everything by premature efforts to form a union. I understand that different groups which did not see eye to eye, although all were opposed to the Lewis machine, are pretty well together behind the sensible program adopted at St. Louis.

### NEED OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

HOW desperately urgent is economic organization is clear to me in every part of the country I visit. In the South for instance, even if workers in the textile and tobacco industries are steadily employed—which they are not—they average less than \$850 a year. On such wages there is no recovery from business depression. The textile industry itself might recover relative prosperity if the workers of the South could buy underclothes! But that doesn't mean much to the individual boss who goes on cutting wages. In such circumstances the hope of relatively peaceful progress depends on organizing the workers on a large scale. This in turn depends in no small degree on the enactment of a national labor code with standards of hours and wages so that the reservoir of half starved agricultural workers cannot be used by employers to force down living standards. Hence the vast importance of our Socialist amendment to the constitution on this point.

But laws won't organize unions. The defeat at Danville was very serious for the whole South and the North as well. That defeat might not have occurred if the A. F. of L. had made a special assessment to finance relief. But any special per capita tax, however small, would have compelled Lewis to reveal the truth about the terrific loss of membership in the U.M.W. or else to pay a per capita on his padded roll. So Danville had to depend on voluntary relief and the strike was lost. In other words, the unhealthy condition of the United Mine Workers, of which I saw something on a recent trip to Wilkes Barre in the anthracite region, as well as on previous trips to bituminous territory, helped to hurt the general cause of labor everywhere.

### POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

HARD times theoretically make economic organization of the workers more difficult and political organization easier. Certainly I can testify by personal experience of the last week to the vigor with which Socialists are again tackling the job in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Richmond and Hopewell, Virginia, and last but not least, Utica, New York. There our candidate, Ray Newkirk, has a chance to make an impressive showing in the special election for state Senator, which election was made necessary because the Democrats stole the Socialist nomination at the primaries. Their winning candidate was unseated by the State Senate late in its session.

In some of these and other cities which I visited I saw gratifying signs of new interest in Socialism on the part of what may be called the official labor movement. But we are still a long way from having any militant union labor program for these bitter days. Let me illustrate this by reference to the New York City situation.

### TAMMANY AND LABOR

LAST week in a stirring front page editorial entitled "Smash Tammany—Don't Reform It!", the concluding sentence reads: "Socialists are frankly ranged with Labor and a Labor victory alone can wipe out all that is associated with the rule of the Tammany scoundrels." True enough. But, alas, it is also true that the official spokesmen of labor in New York City are now on the side of Tammany. Ryan of the Central Trades and Labor Council openly defended the pay grabs when decent citizens were at least quiet on the subject. He has never put the strength of the central body behind the demand of regular unions for the prevailing rate of wages. His body has led no fight against the disgraceful failure of the city to bring even a decent measure of relief to the unemployed.

Worse still. With very few exceptions our nominally Socialist unions and their representatives have either acquiesced with, or gone along with this Tammany policy of the A. F. of L. Their delegates do not attend the central body or if they do are silent even when the Socialist Party is outrageously attacked. It is a well known fact that some nominally radical unions have directly or indirectly contributed to the campaign funds of Democratic judges and District Attorneys. Crain himself was one of the beneficiaries. Yet in the millinery field where Tague Jack operates his racket in behalf of the non-union houses Crain's activities against racketeering seemed to be directed against the union which by the way, had not contributed to his campaign fund. President Zaritsky's fine letter on this subject was one of the high lights of our situation. Nevertheless in spite of such tactics by Tammany nominally Socialist unions in some cases have gone along with "the boys".

The only people who ever tried to call me off from attacking the bad record of a fixer in office, a record reported to me by a Socialist attorney, were union leaders. It seems to me as plain as daylight that the Socialist Party wants no members who will not within the unions fight on Socialist lines. Officials and representatives of so-called Socialist or radical unions who intend by silence or more open approval to play the game of Ryan and Tammany Hall have no place whatever in the Socialist Party. They deny New York's only hope which is hope in the power of the workers not only to smash Tammany but to build a city without slums where the power of the city is not used in the service of landlords and profiteers but for the help of the workers.

### BANKRUPT PROGRESSIVISM

Governor FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT wants to be President of the United States as he wants nothing else in the world. History and logic show that a New York Governor who wants to be president must appear to the rest of the country as separate from if not in opposition to Tammany. On the other hand, if Roosevelt, who did everything Tammany told him to do during his first term, fights Tammany too hard Tammany might turn to Smith or Owen D. Young against Roosevelt, and Tammany controls a big block of votes. What is the poor Governor going to do?

Well, he has given his answer. He enthusiastically welcomed the charges against District Attorney Crain, thus proving to the country that he is not a Tammany man. He threw out at least as definite charges against Mayor Walker, saying they were too vague, thus pleasing Tammany. Finally, he signed the preposterous bill to add the unnecessary expense of 12 new judges in the Second Judicial Department. This gives new patronage to Boss McCooey who has already rigged up a deal with Republicans on passing the law and dividing these judgeships. This is the Governor the Western progressives seem inclined to flirt with. What a bankruptcy of progressivism!

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Is Combined

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## A CALL TO THE WORKERS OF AMERICA

May Day Summons Producers To Fight For A Nation Where  
Poverty And Injustice Will Be Unknown

### Workingmen and Women of the United States:

THIS May Day is not a day of rejoicing. It is a day of sorrow, of suffering and tragedy. Throughout the republic millions of workers and their families face privation. Over six millions have no work. Several millions more work part time. Millions are kept alive by the hateful charity of the rich.

Millions of farmers and their families are ragged and hungry. No foreign army levying contributions on a conquered population could have brought more desolation to the tillers of the soil.

In every city of the nation the soup kitchen and the breadline feed destitute workers. Apple vendors at every corner advertise their stark poverty. Aged women beg alms in every street. Children of the jobless offer trinkets for sale from house to house.

Desperate men, recruits of the jobless army, break the law in order to obtain prison beds and meals. Others end their life by suicide. Out of this hell into oblivion is their deliberate choice.

Stark want, slow starvation, fearful uncertainty, brooding anxiety, have come to millions of men, women, and children. It is a hideous fate to overtake those who feed and house and clothe the people of this country. It should not be endured. It must not be endured. It must come to an end.

### Workingmen and Women Of the United States:

Is this always to be the reward of our labors in the field, the mine, the factory, the shop, and the store? Are we to be sentenced to servitude, to destitution, to a jobless existence, to a life of torture, and accept it without action to end it?

The masses have been patient, too patient, hoping against hope that this calamity would pass. They have looked to the legislative halls for sweeping legislation that would bring swift relief. They have awaited vigorous action by city councils, by state legislatures, and by Congress.

We have been patient for two years and six months and the agony of privation continues. The millions in the breadlines have increased. Women still beg in the streets and children offer wares for a few nickels from door to door.

Meantime what has occupied the attention of the men in the legislative bodies? In the cities they have increased salaries for themselves while jobless men faint of hunger in the streets. They are mired in the filth of dirty deals. Plunder, graft, extortion, theft and private enrichment have occupied their time.

In the states the legislatures have not used their important powers to cope with the disaster. Some of them are simply bureaus of the railroads, or of copper, coal, oil or manufacturing corporations. The jobless man who looks into these legislatures turns away with hope blasted and relief spurned.

The Congress of the nation tenderly legislates for the great masters of capital and then adjourns! It arranges a sop of charity for farmers to be administered through a private organization and passes into oblivion. Dull, stupid, heartless and indifferent, Congress has done nothing constructive in the greatest calamity in forty years.

Awake! You have trusted others with the welfare of yourselves and families. Write

He is dull indeed who does not see that we have reached a turning point in the history of this country. Either we will drift into a hopeless stage of bondmen and bondwomen or we will rise by millions to the call of independent action in the next few years.

On this sad May Day let us make a new resolve. So long as we live we shall trust no one but our own class. We have the power to reorganize the nation and its institutions for better purposes than the enrichment of an upper class. Let us inspire all who share the miseries of our industrial hell to organization and action for a better world!

In all modern nations but the United States Socialism and Labor are one. Let us make them cooperating armies here and march forward in human solidarity to abolish the causes of the sufferings that now overwhelm us!

## Workers! Here Are Your May Day Rallies!

Philadelphia, Pa., Batley Hall, 2748 Germantown Ave., 8 p. m. Speakers, Franz Daniel, Molly Allen of the British Labor Party, Dr. Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore College, and J. B. Matthews of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Richmond, Va. In the Workmen's Circle Hall on Friday, May 1, at 8 p. m., and at Hopewell, Red Square, Saturday, May 2, at 7 p. m. Speakers, G. August Gerber and Dr. David Breslow of New York; Marx Lewis of Washington, and Mary Winsor of Pennsylvania.

San Francisco, Calif. California Hall, Polk and Turk streets, at 8 p. m. Robert Whitaker and others. J. A. McDonald, Chairman.

Pittsburgh, Pa. Speakers, Jane Tait, William Van Essen, Robert Lieberman, and Maurice Schneirov.

Buffalo, N. Y. Elmwood Music Hall. Principal speaker, H. H. Hahn.

Rochester, N. Y. Principal speaker, J. Vint Laughland of the British Labor Party.

Boston, Mass. Tremont Temple, 82 Tremont street. Principal speaker James H. Maurer of Reading, Pa.

New Haven, Conn. Herman-

son Hall, 158 Crown street, 8 p. m. Principal speaker, Samuel E. Beardsley of New York City.

Los Angeles, Calif. Auditorium. Principal speaker Frank R. Crosswath of New York City.

NEW YORK CITY

Union Square between 2 and 5 p. m. An elaborate program has been prepared and a number of organizations will parade from halls to the meeting.

In the evening, the following meetings have been arranged:

MANHATTAN

7 p. m.—Banquet of Upper West Side Branch. Cecil Restaurant, 2512 Broadway. Speakers, William Karlin, Louis Waldman and others.

8 p. m.—Banquet of Jewish Socialist Verband, Irving Plaza, 15th street and Irving place. Speakers, Norman Thomas and others.

7 p. m.—Banquet of Chelsea Branch, Cherry Lane Tea House, 42 Commerce street. Speaker, Tucker P. Smith.

9 p. m.—Meeting and concert, Workmen's Circle Branch No. 210, Broadway-Central Hotel. Speaker, William E. Bohn.

8 p. m.—Concert and meeting, Finnish Socialist Branch, 2054 Fifth avenue. Speakers, Minnie Silampea, Anslis Tokoi and others.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, 8th A. D.

Branch, 337 East Ninth street. Speaker, Samuel Seidman.

BROOKLYN

7 p. m.—Banquet, Bronx County Socialist Party, Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Louis Hendin, Samuel Orr, Esther Friedman, Henry Fruchter, August Claessens.

8 p. m.—Concert and meeting, Amalgamated Cooperative Houses. Speaker, August Claessens.

BROOKLYN

8 p. m.—Mass meeting and concert, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Jackson street. Socialist Party Branches. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon, A. I. Shipilacoff, James Oneal.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, Young People's Socialist League, Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon and others.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, Boro Park Branch, Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 32nd street and 14th avenue. Speakers, James Oneal, William M. Feigenbaum.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, East Flatbush Branch, 18th A. D., 3820 Church avenue. Speakers, James Oneal, William M. Feigenbaum.

8:30 p. m.—Sociable, Downtown Branch, Socialist Party, 122 Pierpont street.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, Coney Island Branch, Pythian Temple.

8:30 p. m.—Meeting, Branch Astoria, Socialist Party, Bohemian Hall, Woolsey and Second avenues. Speaker, Nathan Flax.



Drawn by Arthur Fassberg.

## Racine Socialist Mayor Vows Fight For Jobless

### Workmen's Circle Holds Convention

Baskin Tells of Significant Accomplishments During Last Year

THE 31st national convention of the Workmen's Circle will open in Washington, D. C., Sunday, with a record of accomplishment during the year just ended which should rejoice all of the delegates. The officers of the great Jewish labor fraternal organization will have the pleasure of reporting that during a year in which every comparable fraternal society has slumped, the Workmen's Circle has not only held its own but has gained in membership.

Joseph Baskin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle, discussing the convention this week, declared that during the last year, seventy new branches have been added to the society, and over 5,000 new members. This brings the membership to the 73,000 mark. Other reasons for satisfaction, Baskin said, is the exceptional progress made in bringing women into membership and in attracting the sympathetic ear of the young. Twenty-five Young Circle Clubs are now in existence.

Pausing in the midst of making arrangements for the convention, Baskin had the following to say concerning the approaching event: "Our convention in Chicago was the most constructive convention ever held by the Workmen's Circle. After many years of internal strife, of obstruction and friction, the Chicago convention finally and emphatically demonstrated the inherent strength of our organization, the reserve forces it possesses, by elaborating a complete plan of constructive work. We doubt if any convention in the history of the circle has looked forward with

(Continued on Page Three)

### Lithographers Strike Against Wage Cuts

JOLIET, ILL.—(FP)—Following a reduction in wages of from 12½ to 33%, 800 workers of the Gerlach and Barklow Co., Joliet, Ill., lithographers of art calendars and greeting cards, struck. The company refused to consider the workers' suggestion of shorter hours and rotation of work. T. R. Gerlach, president of the company and president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Assn. is a member of the Hoover Relief Commission and the Emmerson Relief Commission. Both commissions are on record against wage reductions.

### Women Now Lead In The Sub Contest

By The Contest Editor

BRINGING into the office of The New Leader the largest number of subscriptions yet received in one day from one person since the circulation contest started, Gertrude Well Klein, ardent New Leader supporter, has entered the contest and finds herself credited with 460 points. An excellent beginning! Minnie Welsberg, however, is still far in the lead, having started two weeks earlier. With such competition the contest really begins to get interesting. While about 60 persons have already entered the contest, in a week or two we shall know more definitely the names of those who can really be considered as having a chance to win first prize—to board the S.S. Majestic on July 8 for the glorious six-weeks' trip to Vienna.

Last week announcement was made of the hearty welcome awaiting the winner of the contest in Berlin, and now word comes from J. Van Roosbroeck, general secretary of the Belgian Labor Party, which the 33-year-old mayor is so deeply interested.

(Continued on Page Four)

### Swoboda Is Inducted Into Office

Socialists From Many Cities Attend Ceremony—City Hall Is Jammed

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
RACINE, WIS.—With the applause of hundreds more than could crowd into Racine's council chamber ringing in his ears and deepening his voice, young William J. Swoboda delivered his first message as mayor of the city last week.

The occasion was the first council meeting after Swoboda had been sworn into office as Racine's youngest and first Socialist mayor. His oath of office he had previously taken in a private ceremony.

It was an occasion of greater proportions than Racine's city hall had been built for. Many minutes before the new and old mayor arrived to sit on the rostrum of the council chamber together for the important climax in Racine's civic experience, the 150 places provided for spectators had been filled. The good-natured crowd had even crowded the chairs to allow an additional 100 in the rear. The doorways, corridors and stairway down to the street were lined with those who came to hear Mayor Swoboda's first official greeting to his fellow citizens.

A Young Executive  
With serious face, jaw slightly set, the young mayor opened the meeting, heard the routine of business read by the city clerk, put various motions and resolutions. They had to do with street lights, parks and unemployment, about which the 33-year-old mayor is so deeply interested.

In front of them sat the equi-



## Socialist Leader Who Rose From Servant Girl To Member of Finnish Cabinet Arrives in U. S.

A woman leader of the Finnish labor movement, Milna Sillanpaa, has arrived in America to study social conditions. She arrived in New York April 30th on the Leviathan. New York Socialists have arranged a great program and reception in the Finnish Hall at 2036 Fifth Ave. for Friday night, May 1. Comrade Tokoi, first Socialist premier of Finland, will come from Fitchburg and deliver the principal address of welcome.

Comrade Sillanpaa, who started her career as a servant girl and as an organizer of domestic servants, has represented the Finnish Socialists in the Diet ever since 1905 when the Socialists attained victories in the elections. After the civil war Sillanpaa lived in exile, but returned to Finland and was again elected to the Diet. She served in Tokoi's administration as minister without portfolio, and had the honor of being the first woman to hold an administrative post. Later when Comrade Tanner formed a purely Socialist administration Sillanpaa served as assistant secretary to the Minister of Social Affairs and when one of the cabinet members became Finnish Ambassador to Germany and the cabinet was reorganized she took the post.

Secretary Senior Attends

Two large baskets of red roses and carnations came from the Socialist parties of Racine and Milwaukee.

Racine labor and Socialists were represented in the early comers, some of whom jokingly declared they had occupied the front seats since 3 p. m., "just to be sure of them." Among them were H. M. McConnell, chairman of Swoboda's campaign; L. P. Christensen, member of the state Socialist party executive committee, and others.

Many cases from outside Racine to attend the meeting. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist party, headed a delegation from Chicago which included Oscar Eket, Edward D. Lowenthal and Henry Duell, all officials of the Cook county Socialist organization.

Several automobiles brought Milwaukee Socialists, headed by William Coleman, state secretary. They include:

Walter Ryback, police and fire commissioner; August Neitzel, J. Phillips, Raymond Schmidt, Henry Hellerman, secretary to Mayor Hoan; Ida Bagemihl, Mrs. William F. Quick, Mrs. Helen Reynolds, William Quick, Jr., Charles Madison, John C. Ritter and Morton S. Shaw.

Telegrams and long distance telephone calls greeted the new mayor before he left his office in the city hall to cross to the council chamber for the meeting. Among them was one from Robert Busch, Milwaukee, former Socialist sheriff.

Will Not Dodge Jobs Issue

It is sheer hypocrisy to blame the rest of the world for the economic distress in which the United States now finds itself, declared Mayor Swoboda.

In his first address to the city council after being inducted into office, Swoboda pointed out that while the rest of the world suffers from want of the necessities of life, America is suffering because of having too much of everything.

"While we recognize the nationwide aspects of the problem of unemployment and consequent want, our city government must not shrink its duty to advocate and support such federal and state legislation as will effect a partial remedy," he said.

"And in as much as recurring periods of unemployment are inseparable from the present economic system, adequate provision should be made for those who do not want to do but employment."

employment insurance has been a boon to millions of workers in Europe and it will do away with breadlines and soup-kitchens as well.

Swoboda referred to the Social-unemployment insurance bill now pending in Madison, which, he declared, "differs from others in that it places the burden where it belongs, on those best able to bear it and not merely on industries, some of which are being forced into bankruptcy because of the depression."

This and other bills he urged the Racine common council to go on record as favoring. The gasoline tax and the highway law he coupled as legislation which will save lives and jobs for thousands, and recommended that a committee of Racine citizens be appointed to confer with Gov. La Follette's unemployment commission to the end that as many grade abolition

projects as possible be undertaken in Racine.

Urges Council OK

After outlining other Racine projects which would help to cut down the total number of that city's unemployed, Mayor Swoboda went on to attack the theory that public utilities should be "guaranteed a big profit while small merchants and business men are struggling to avert bankruptcy."

"While all lines of private business have been more or less hit by the depression, and prices of various commodities have been reduced, our public utility corporations continue to charge the same high rates as in normal times," he declared.

"This virtually amounts to an increase in rates, because the increased purchasing power of the dollar now makes the high rates of normal times relatively higher. In the exercise of my duty to protect the taxpayers of Racine from the unwarranted exactions of public utilities, I urge you to adopt a resolution instructing the city attorney to institute proceedings before the recently reorganized state rail commission for a reduction of electric light, street car, telephone and gas rates to a level corresponding with reduced prices of other commodities."

Had the city of Racine taken advantage of the opportunity in 1921-1922 to acquire its gas plant, it would not be necessary now to ask the state rail commission for a reduction in rates, he added. Because, he said, the plant under municipal ownership would now be operated for the benefit of the people, as the Racine water plant now is, and not "for the enrichment of a few Wall Street utility magnates."

Urges Citizens' Committee

"It is to the interest of the people of Racine to learn from an unbiased source all of the facts pertaining to municipal ownership of power plants," Mayor Swoboda continued.

"I therefore, recommend that a citizens' committee be appointed consisting of representatives of the various elements of our population, to make a thorough study of the power bills passed by the state legislature and determine the feasibility of acquiring a municipal power plant. An impartial report covering this vital subject would have greater weight with the taxpayers of Racine than the onslaughts of paid propagandists of the power trust."

Racine's new mayor pledged himself to carry out Socialist principles and programs. The only permanent cure for economic ills is Socialism, he concluded.

Thomas Speaks Friday

At the Midtown Forum

The Midtown Forum is arranging an important lecture by Norman Thomas as the speaker, and a large crowd is expected. The lecture will be delivered Friday, May 8, at 8:30 P. M., at 100 West 72nd street, Manhattan. The subject is "The Necessity of the Socialist Party."

We have One Big Union in England, and that is the workhouse. Why can't we have another?—Jack Jones, British Labor M. P.

## Phila. to Have Two Meetings On May Day

Daniel, Holmes and Others to Address Rally in Textile Area

(By A New Leader Correspondent) PHILADELPHIA.—Further evidence of the continued growth of the Socialist movement in the textile area of Philadelphia is seen in the first May Day meeting of the Party in that area for many years.

The meeting will be held at Batley Hall, 2743 Germantown Avenue, promptly at 8 P. M. The speakers will be Franz Daniel, Lomax College; Molly Allen, of the Professor of Philosophy at Swarthmore College; Dr. Jesse Holmes, British Labor Party, and J. B. Matthews, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A packed house seems certain in view of the large attendance at the Sunday evening forums that the Party has been holding in this hall. Also crowds of one hundred to five hundred have been attending all street corner meetings in that area.

The Jewish branches of the Party, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Workmen's Circle are uniting for a meeting at the Labor Institute on May Day night. This event of long standing is also expected to draw a capacity audience. Harry Berger of the Forward will be Chairman of the Forward and the speakers will include David Braginsky of the United Hebrew Trades, Morris Levinson of the Workmen's Circle, Joseph Schwartz, Manager of the Labor Institute, and Dr. Lewis Hinkin of New York.

Had the city of Racine taken advantage of the opportunity in 1921-1922 to acquire its gas plant, it would not be necessary now to ask the state rail commission for a reduction in rates, he added. Because, he said, the plant under municipal ownership would now be operated for the benefit of the people, as the Racine water plant now is, and not "for the enrichment of a few Wall Street utility magnates."

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## W. Virginia Miners Clash With Deputies

Wage Cuts Stir Workers in Harlan Fields to Spirit of Revolt

By Bruce Crawford  
(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
HARLAN, Virginia.—Wage reductions in the Harlan coalfield of Kentucky have started an ugly industrial war, in which thousands of men have been discharged for joining the United Mine Workers organization. Both sides are prepared and determined to fight it out if the conflict paralyzes the industry. Already clashes have taken place between miners and armed deputies.

More than 7,000 of the 15,000 workers have joined unions since the middle of February, when organization began, according to W. E. Jones, union secretary at Ewart, near the operation of the Black Mountain Corporation. It is predicted by union leaders that ninety per cent of the miners will be organized in another two months.

The Black Mountain company, owned by the Peabody-Insull interests, already has discharged 460 of its 1,000 employees for joining the union. Most of these men have been either exiled from company houses or notified to vacate, by order of the Harlan county court. So far the court actions have been detrimental to the workers' interests.

### Oppose Company Stores

There has not, at this writing, been called any general strike in the field, which numbers more than eighty operations. But there is threat of such a strike in the intensive organizing being carried on. The workers will demand removal of their organization, removal of the "yellow dog" contract, removal of armed guards, and reinstatement of men discharged because of membership in the union. They declare that they do not intend to let strike-breakers take their jobs. They have automatic revolvers and high-powered rifles, although such arms were confiscated recently at one place, where a deputy sheriff was slain in the encounter. Food supplies are being shipped in by motor truck, but not in quantities sufficient to prevent starvation in certain communities. The Red Cross has helped reluctantly.

The workers protest against reduction in wages which, they say, averaged only seventy-five cents a day, from January 15 to February 15, for the one thousand men at Black Mountain.

They protest against the company's policy of compelling trade at the commissary on peril of losing their jobs. Little as the jobs are worth, the men must hang on to them, as there is nowhere else for them to go.

Superintendent E. B. Childress at Black Mountain sends a stereotyped letter to those found trading at outside stores. "I wish you would call on me at my office," he writes, "and explain your reason for this, and we can possibly discuss matters in a way that you will decide to give us your trade in the future . . . as we like your work and would like to keep you as an employee."

**Few Draw Cash**  
Union men have compared prices at outside stores with prices at the commissary of one of the companies. A bill of groceries that was \$15.90 at a chain store amounted to \$19.95 at the company store, while flour selling outside for 59 cents a bag, is \$1.50 at the commissary.

Deductions on the payroll, which leave the men little or nothing to draw on payday, amount to about \$80 a year for each man at one mine. Such deductions, or "cuts," are for hospital, doctor, school, coal for household use whether received or not, hauling of such coal, insurance premiums, and church. Rent and burial fund are not included in these cuts.

Scrip drawn between paydays is used at the commissary, where prices are high, or discounted about 30 per cent at outside stores. Very few of the men draw cash on payday.

The workers claim that they have difficulty in receiving compensation for time lost on account of injuries. When offered a compensation check, the worker is given the option of cashing the check or leaving the company's employ, or of not using the money. Many carry their checks until the checks are worn out, rather than endorse them and lose their jobs. What becomes of this unused compensation money is not definitely known, but the men say compensation at some of the mines is a sort of racket.

**Unions' Arrest Falls Through**  
Bail in the excessive sum of

## "Workers Rights" Amendment Is Urged In Penn.

Rep. Wilson, Socialist, Puts Forward Proposed 20th Amendment to Guard Labor Legislation From Assaults of the Courts

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
HARRISBURG, Pa.—Luther Wilson, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania House has introduced a resolution memorializing Congress in favor of a "Workers Rights Amendment" to the United States Constitution. The first version of the amendment long discussed in Socialist circles as a move to destroy the property-owners bias woven carefully into the Federal Constitution thus reaches official printing for the first time. The resolution reads:

Whereas—Under present law practically every measure for the advancement of the interests of the workers must be fought out in each of the forty-eight states, and when a victory is won, there is danger that the Supreme Court of the United States will declare legislation for the protection of wage earners unconstitutional; and

Whereas—In order to abolish this condition, there is being advocated an amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as the "Workers Rights Amendment", which if adopted would permit Congress and the several states to enact social welfare legislation, and which reads as follows:

### ARTICLE XX

Section 1.—The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to provide for the relief of aged, invalided, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodic grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions from employers from employees or wage earners, or from one or more of such sources; and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers in the United States.

Section 2.—The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired under this article, but no such legislation shall supersede, abridge, or conflict with any act of Congress under this article.

While his resolution settings forth the proposed amendment will be used as a basis of Party discussion it will be also used to collect another roll call for the Socialist members' Domesday Book.

### Insurance Bill Killed

The only unemployment insurance bills introduced in the Pennsylvania General Assembly this year have been killed in the House Pensions and Gratuities Committee. The bills are House No. 30 and 34, introduced by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the House of Representatives from Reading. Hoopes has served notice that on May 5th at noon he will move to discharge the Committee and thus place every member of the House on record on this key working-class legislation. Every organized force in the state that has expressed its support of this legislation to relieve the agency of the countless legion of unemployed has been called upon to have representatives present on this critical day of May 5th. In a statement calling for a display of the support for this just measure in a show of force of numbers present in the chamber and gallery of the House on that day, Representative Hoopes declared:

"Unemployment Conferences of trade unions and other interested organizations have been organized in support of these bills in nearly a half-score principal cities and counties of the state. Resolutions have been passed and some work in the way of organization of local sentiment has been accomplished. In the short time remaining between now and May 5th the giant petition for the bills that has been organized into ETTA OINSHDLN slowly building must be rushed to completion and placed in the hands

\$45,000 was required recently of Jones, the union secretary, for his release on a charge of "making, possessing and selling ninety-five gallons of whiskey." Jones says the charge was a frame-up to get him out of the way. On April 15, he appeared before the federal court at Erie, where he was charged, but the company guards who made the charge failed to appear, and he was dismissed.

It appears that merchants and business men generally are still in sympathy with the workers, depending on their trade. Forced buying at the company stores deprives the merchants of much patronage. In fact, the independent towns have grown up as the result of trade from the mining camps.

Not all of the eighty or more companies in the Harlan field compel trade at the commissaries. Conditions vary. But wage cutting is general in the field. "The operators have brought all this on themselves," said a union leader, "by scabbing on one another. They have been cutting coal prices to get contracts."

A plan for merging the larger companies in the Harlan field has been proposed by a visiting New York capitalist. The industry is top-heavy with wartime capitalization, and the coal market is very unsettled. Composition among the operators is so keen that they are violating agreements among themselves and slashing wages as the first step in reducing operating costs.

## WEVD Given An Extension For Sixty Days

Costly Battle Is Put Up at Week's Hearing in Washington

THE existence of America's only Socialist radio station was threatened by the Federal Radio Commission again last week and was saved only by a desperate effort which entailed the expenditure of nearly \$4,000 and the determined efforts of ten men.

WEVD, which has always been a "Patsy" as far as Washington is concerned, was assailed by a small Brooklyn station, WFOK, which sought its wave length. To prove that the station was serving the "public interest, convenience and necessity," G. August Gerber, managing director of the station, and prominent Socialist, and his assistant, Lawrence Van Camp, were forced to spend a week in Washington. Eight other persons were also kept there testifying at the station's expense for various lengths of time.

It was the support of labor all over the country that to a large extent afforded the prestige which its station needed in order to win. When the case was brought up before Examiner Elmer Pratt, WEVD was supported by petitions and resolutions, principally from labor organizations, representing 1,047,000 names. Replies were received from 33 states. There were 6,767 petitions and 223 resolutions from International Union of Paper-Makers, United Hatters of America, United Textile Workers, N. Y. Typographical Union No. 6, United Hebrew Trades of New York, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies Garment Workers, Sheet Metal Workers I. A. No. 28, Joint Board of Waistmakers' Union.

A record was set at this hearing—it lasted for a solid week—longer than any hearing ever held before—and by its length entirely disrupted the schedule of the Examiners as well as disturbing the executive offices of WEVD.

Many of the artists and staff members of the station accompanied their chief to Washington for the battle. Among these were the Reverend David Cory, Socialist speaker; Lucille Marsh, radio artist and impresario; Benjamin C. Marsh, treasurer and secretary of the People's Legislative Service in Washington. These three persons gave direct testimony as to the program material of WEVD as did Joseph Viola, announcer. John L. Hagan, radio engineer; William H. Reuman, consulting engineer of WEVD and owner of WWRL, and David Winter, WEVD operator, gave technical testimony as to the quality of the station's transmission. The attorney for the labor station was Louis Caldwell who was formerly attorney for the Federal Radio Commission.

One startling bit of information not brought out in the trial is that anti-labor interests control WFOK. The Brooklyn station is owned by the Paramount Broadcasting Company, of which Salvatore D'Angelo is president. Mr. D'Angelo also heads the Black and White Laundry, an enterprise which does not employ Union labor, and shows a marked disinclination to welcome organization.

**Record of Difficulties**  
A brief history of the troubles which have always assailed the station "dedicated to social justice and peace" may be of interest. It was threatened with extinction in November of 1928 when the sweeping reallocations in broadcasting were made. Only the support of the Socialist party won for it its right to remain on the air. Then again in October, 1930, WEVD was ordered to show cause why its license should be renewed. The station complied with the request, but three days later was informed that its license had been revoked and that a new hearing must be held. Again the Party rallied to the support of its only voice on the air, and the station's license was renewed for 30 days. It has been operating on 30 day renewals ever since until the present renewal which is for 60 days.

In order to maintain the station and to build it up into a more powerful voice for the Party, it is necessary that individuals and organizations continue to support it, not only by signed petitions and passing resolutions, but by actual cash contributions whenever possible. Even without the heavy drain on its resources required to maintain it on the air (such as the \$4,000 expended last week) the station operation is costly. To carry on its work requires a large and specialized staff and money must be spent to keep transmission equipment and studios up to date.

Grass and dandelions already were the entire food of many, the report declared. Children with wasted cheeks and shrunken figures gave mute testimony of helplessness paying the cost. Denouncing the misrepresentation by the Governor's puppet not only as callous but as a dangerous incitement to violence on the part of the suffering ones who were thus mocked, "Some of you," said Hoopes, referring to the invasion of the House by the hunger marchers the day before and their bitter insolence to the Assembly and Governor in presenting their demands, "didn't like the way these people came here nor the way they spoke, but I am warning you that the workers of Pennsylvania are in thousands of cases threatened with starvation and they are not going to starve quietly. What you saw and heard here yesterday is but the beginning and this legislature will bear the great part of the responsibility for whatever happens if it adjourns without taking effective steps to relieve unemployment suffering. It is no answer to the plea of hungry men to say that they are radicals and their demands are ridiculous and impossible. The needs of these people must be met and your heedlessness and such statements by officials in high places as that of Dr. King are but sowing the wind of which you will reap the whirlwind." The bitterest and sharpest debate of the session followed between Representative Hoopes and Representative Sowers, leader of the Philadelphia delegation, climaxing with the Philadelphia member challenging the Socialist to "do something besides talking."

Hoopes, with an eye to May 5, accepted the challenge and sent it back.

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### THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE

sends its greetings on Labor's holiday, May Day, to Labor's own organ, *The New Leader*. The People's House invites labor, fraternal and other sympathetic organizations to use its beautiful Debs Auditorium at a very reasonable rental. For information call AL gonquin 4-3094.

## Workmen's Circle to Open Convention

(Continued from Page One)  
tory of the Workmen's Circle had drawn up so many plans, so many new forms of organizational activity in various fields, as was done by the Convention of 1929.

"The new work of organizing our women into independent women's branches and our young into youth branches infused fresh life into our ranks after the convention, and our members applied themselves to the tasks before them with renewed energy and confidence.

"Our foes within our ranks nevertheless planned a new attack. They were out to capture the Workmen's Circle by storm or else to destroy it; and inasmuch as their assaults had invariably been repulsed with heavy losses to them, they decided to resort to secessionist and destructive tactics. They certainly cherished ambitious dreams. They imagined that they would win away thousands upon thousands of members from the Workmen's Circle, and that their defection would work havoc in our ranks. But all their plans and designs proved futile. True, they succeeded in taking a couple of thousand members with them, but their secession brought back into our ranks many a member who had left us, or else had been inactive and dispirited on account of the endless squabbles and bickerings in the branches. The falling away of the malcontents and trouble makers encouraged the backward and inactive members on the one hand, and on the other it doubled and trebled the energy and zeal of our active members, causing them to apply themselves more energetically to the task of making our organization bigger and better. And so our membership campaign spread far and wide and was waged with such intensity as had never been equaled before in the history of the Workmen's Circle.

"And if under the unfavorable conditions now prevailing we have lost no members but, on the contrary, strengthened our ranks a little! If in spite of the defection of our internal enemies, we have gained in membership in the year since last May, we may truly congratulate ourselves on our achievement. We may well be proud of our members, of their devotion and love for our organization.

"About thirty-five honorary delegates from various branches will come to our 31st Convention as special envoys and will by their presence serve as living symbols of the energy and loyalty of our members. And not only have a number of branches earned the right to send honorary delegates to our coming convention in Washington, but some have also won the right to send one of their members to Europe at the expense

of the Workmen's Circle, the prize offered by the National Executive Committee to ranches which succeeded in enrolling 150 new members.

We may therefore, characterize our Convention in Washington as a harvest festival, the season when we reap and glean the fruits of our labor. And, from these exalted moments our Thirty-first Convention will draw fresh energy and enthusiasm for the future work, for improving and enlarging the structure of our organization so that light and enlightenment may radiate from it to all parts of the United States and Canada.

"The Thirty-first Convention will contain in its midst all the elements, the audits and the young, who have lately swelled our ranks. At the convention we are going to have direct representatives of the Women's Clubs, representatives of the younger generation, of the Young Circles and Youth Branches, and representatives of our school movement. All these elements will blend together into a beautiful harmony, into a beautiful symphony of voices which will spread to all parts of American labor, calling its attention to the great achievements of a powerful labor institution in America and summoning it to join our ranks and to work with us for our ideals, which are also the ideals of progressive labor everywhere."

The convention will open at the Belasco Theatre on Sunday with addresses by Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Nathan Chavin, president of the Workmen's Circle, and Baskin. The regular sessions will be held in the auditorium of the Press Club, beginning on Monday. It is expected the convention will last until Saturday when B. C. Vladeck will deliver the closing address. The arrangements for the convention are in the hands of B. Melman, of Washington, chairman of the arrangements committee.

### May Day in Upper West Side

The Upper West Side branch of the Socialist Party will celebrate May Day in the evening with a dinner and social get-together of members and friends at the Cecil Restaurant, 2512 Broadway, near 93rd street, Manhattan. The dinner will begin at 7:30 p. m. The speakers include Louis Waldman, Dr. Simon Berlin and William Karlin who will act as toastmaster.

**DEBATE!**  
"Shall the Workers Support the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in Preference to the Communists?"

**A. J. MUSTE**  
NO!  
**ALBERT WEISBORD**  
LABOR TEMPLE  
14th St. and Second Ave.  
SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1931 at 8 A.M.  
Admission 35 Cents

## May Day, 1931

### The AMALGAMATED BANK of NEW YORK

Sends Its GREETINGS to the Workers of America on Their International Labor Holiday

### The Amalgamated Bank

11-15 UNION SQUARE  
Corner 15th Street  
NEW YORK

### SEE THE CHANGING WORLD

#### CLARENCE SENIOR

Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party

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12 DAYS IN RUSSIA

7 DAYS IN VIENNA

During the Socialist International Congress, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, and the Tyrol too. Sailing July 1 on the "George Washington." The largest steamer on the Atlantic. Other sailings every week.

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#### THE GROUP

A Clearing House of Opinion  
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 25 St.  
Tuesday Evening, May 5th at 8:30 P.M.  
PROF. J. C. CHATTERJI  
will speak on:  
"EINSTEIN AND TAGORE"

**THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP**  
Luna Masonic Temple  
1301 Boston Road, Near East 172nd St.  
Sunday evening, May 3rd, 1931  
8 P.M.—REV. LEON ROSSER LAND on  
"The Practical Value of Fellowship"  
9 P.M.—JOSEPH BRANDON on  
"What is Wrong with the Labor Movement?"  
MUSIC ADMISSION FREE

#### DEBATE

WM. Z. FOSTER vs. A. J. MUSTE  
Policies and Tactics of Trade Union Unity League vs. those of Conference for Progressive Labor Action

**NEW STAR CASINO**  
107 St. & Park Ave., N.Y.C.  
Sunday, May 10—2:30 P.M.  
Admission \$5.00 and \$1.00  
Auspices JOHN REED CLUB

## Reward for Labor of Love

By JACOB PANKEN

THESE are the days of opportunity, golden opportunity for young people in the Socialist movement. In my day we worked our heads off without any hope of compensation. Such compensation as is now offered cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

Who ever heard of a trip to Europe as a reward for work which one was impelled to do and one could not refrain from doing!

I wish I were young again. A trip to Vienna—that in itself is a valuable prize. Coupled with the opportunity of attendance at the International Congress is a prize priceless, incalculable beyond measure.

\* \* \*

To meet the leaders of thought—to rub shoulders with comrades who are shaping the destinies of nations—giving direction to peoples, laying the ground work for the future world is something to be dreamed of—something to stir one's sensibilities—something to hope and work for.

To shake hands with Kautsky, to meet Bernstein, to talk to Bauer, to break bread with Blum, with Henderson and countless others who are international figures in our own movement and also in world affairs should inspire the young people to work hard to get that opportunity. Besides, what a fruitful contribution their activities will come to! The spoken

word is important—the written word is invaluable. The spoken word impresses but may be soon forgotten. The written word—becomes imbedded—it lasts—it is indestructible.

With the concentration of the press into fewer and ever fewer hands in our country, the possibility for liberal, radical, progressive thought to be disseminated through that channel is becoming more and more difficult. Even the most liberal newspaper, when it becomes part of a large newspaper enterprise, watches the business department when it attempts to voice the needs of the times.

The cash register controls the pen. It was said that the "pen is mightier than the sword"—it should now be "the cash register is mightier than the pen."

A free, uncontrolled pen is necessary—a free, an independent, an uncontrolled and courageous press for the expression of the interests and needs of the masses of our people is imperative.

The *New Leader* must be made that instrument. It is that now. It can be made a most effective agency for the propagation of the ideals of our movement and a source of inspiration to us all in our work.

What an opportunity for the young people. A trip to Vienna for doing that which all of us are in duty bound to do!

### ENTER THE NEW LEADER CIRCULATION CONTEST TODAY!

Prizes include a six weeks' trip to Vienna and a two weeks' vacation at Camp Tamiment with all expenses paid, or the cash equivalent. For full details regarding prizes and rules of the contest, write to The New Leader office. The contest closes on June 1. Get started! Mail this coupon without delay.

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# Marxism: The Basic Philosophy of Socialism

A SUMMARY AND AN APPRECIATION OF THE GUIDING BASIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

By Morris Hillquit

In recent years it has become the fashion in Socialist circles, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries, to rail at Marxism or to dispose of it condescendingly as an outworn political dogma.

At the risk of being classed among the hopelessly retrograde and old fashioned, I confess that I still adhere in full to the fundamental principles of the Marxian philosophy.

Perhaps I have not had to "emancipate" myself from the Marxian doctrine because I never was enslaved by its literal formulae.

I never regarded the writings of Karl Marx as revealed truth, although they seem to me unsurpassed in the literature of social science for keenness of analysis, depth of penetration and logic of reasoning.

I never felt that his economic theory of surplus value, or his historical philosophy of economic determinism, or the rigidly formulated concept of the class struggle, each standing alone, is final and unassailable, although I believe that they are all practically helpful and fundamentally true.

What I see in the philosophy of Marxism above all is a key to the understanding of the mechanism of our economic, political and social order and a guide to the formulation of a rational Socialist program and in the adoption of effective methods of Socialist combat.

The essentials of this philosophy are to my mind more clearly indicated in the first twelve pages of the Communist Manifesto, written eighty-three years ago, than in the three elaborate volumes of "Capital" or any of the other writings of Karl Marx.

Let us briefly summarize the guiding thoughts of the Manifesto in an effort to test their present validity. They are as follows:

The ever changing forms of social and political organization in human society are not fashioned by arbitrary causes, but are determined by the changing modes of wealth production. The modern economic system is that of capitalism, which is characterized by mass production, the factory system and by the separation of the worker from his tool. Under this system industrial society tends to a division into two main (though not sole) interest groups or classes: the capitalists of all categories, who own the sources and instruments of wealth production and appropriate the profits of the industrial process, and the modern workers, who are compelled to work for wages, to "sell themselves piecemeal" to the capitalists as a commodity.

Between these classes there is not a mere lack of understanding and fair dealing, but an inherent conflict of interest, which results in an uninterrupted struggle, open or hidden, conscious or unconscious.

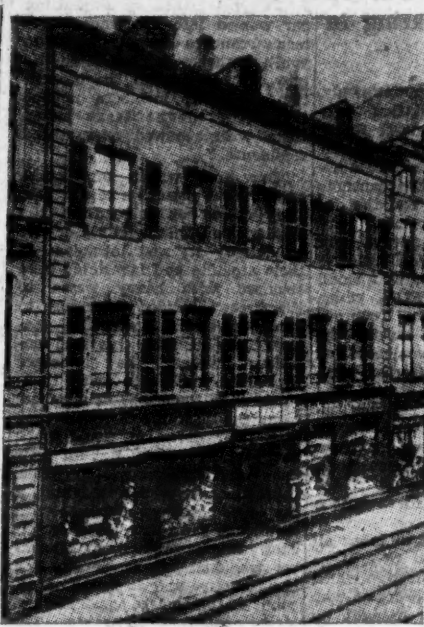
The history of our time and politics are largely shaped by the struggles between the capitalist or possessing classes and the propertyless producing classes.

In this struggle the workers have the advantage of being steadily increased in number and trained and organized by the very process of capitalist development. The eventual triumph of their cause is thus facilitated by the laws of economic progress.

But while the victory of every new class in the past has entailed the subjugation of another class, the victory of the industrial working class must inevitably result in the freedom of the human race as a whole. Dependence in modern society is primarily economic. The working class can free itself from this economic dependence only by abolishing the private ownership in the means of wealth production and making them the common property of society as a whole, thus ending all class distinctions and removing the causes for class struggles.

The social philosophy outlined in the Communist Manifesto, and particularly in my sketchy summary of it, is undoubtedly somewhat crude and, above all, too absolute and categorical, as any formulation of a social philosophy for practical political purposes is bound to be.

In any attempt to translate the leading thoughts of the Manifesto into a sober work of social, economic and historical analysis, allowance must be made for substantial modifications, reservations and amplifications.



Birthplace of Karl Marx at Treves, Germany



Garden at Highgate Cemetery, London, where Marx is buried

Nobody realized it more keenly

or was more ready to admit it than Marx himself.

Moreover, when the Marxian philosophy was first formulated, the Socialist movement was in its

infancy and the capitalist world was comparatively new. Universal suffrage, parliamentary government and social legislation were things practically unknown. There

were hardly any methods for the accomplishment of radical political and economic changes except violent revolutions. There was very little in the prevailing social order worth preserving. It is at least very doubtful that Marx, if living today, would insist on the inevitable necessity of a violent revolution or advocate the abolition of "all existing social conditions."

The developments of capitalist industry, organization of work and formation of classes have taken a course not entirely foreseen by Marx. In many other details history has corrected the views expressed in the Communist Manifesto. It could not be otherwise. No genius is infallible, particularly when undertaking to forecast all directions of the bewildering course of social and political development.

But Karl Marx has given us the first realistic formulation of the nature, aims and methods of modern Socialism.

There were Socialist movements before Marx and there were Socialist programs before the Communist Manifesto. The utopian schools of France from Babeuf to Fourier, the English Owenites and the German followers of Wilhelm Weitling all envisaged a social order based on the common ownership of productive wealth. But their philosophies and programs sprang from nebulous ethical concepts. They combated the social system of their day as "unjust" or "irrational." They advocated

their plans of social reconstruction in the name of fairness and reason. The evils of capitalist society appeared to the imprudently as aberrations from the eternal path of righteousness which only had to be persuasively pointed out in order to be corrected. Their principal methods were propaganda and "demonstration" by social experiment. Their appeal was directed indiscriminately to all classes of society.

To Karl Marx belongs the merit of having rescued the Socialist movement from its sterile and utopian ways and thoughts by converting it primarily into a movement of labor and fixing its field of battle in the industrial and political arena.

His historical forecasts may have gone wrong. Isolated statements and theories may have proved erroneous. Methods of combat advocated by him may have been rendered ineffective. But the all-important fundamentals of the Marxian philosophy, the economic basis of politics and history and the reliance on the working-class as the main instrument of human emancipation have remained unshaken.

Marxism as a simple social theory undiluted by nebulous revisionism and unmarred by scholastic commentaries or absurd literal interpretation, Marxism as a living force, not as an ossified dogma or oracular priestcraft, still remains the safest basis and surest guide of the international Socialist movement.

## Marx and The Labor Movement

By Norman Thomas

EVERY now and then in human history, men become symbols as well as initiators of movements. They have the significance that attaches to the founders of religion. So it has been with Karl Marx. What he sought to do and what he succeeded in doing, in no small degree was to make Socialism scientific rather than Utopian. Nevertheless, with the progress of the years, the movement—or movements which look back with veneration to Karl Marx, the man who believed that the other supernatural religions were superstitions for the people, have taken on many of the psychological aspects of religion.

It is a fascinating subject for speculation to try to decide what Socialism would have been without Marx, or whether it would have been at all. Perhaps if Karl Marx had not appeared when he did, another man would have been chosen, thinker and spokesman for the point of view, we now call Marxism. However that may be, Marx gave an indelible impress to the Socialist and Labor movement, even that part which is non-Marxian in its philosophy. It would be hard to make any list of the great and significant men in history which would not be so small that Karl Marx would not be among them.

But I have been asked to speak, not about Marxism in general or Karl Marx in particular, but rather about Marx' influence on the Labor movement. My own answer is that Marx did three things which have affected the whole Labor movement, more particularly, of course, that part of it which is consciously Socialist.

First of all, Marx gave to the Labor movement a sense of the dignity of the working class and its relation to great world processes and a conviction that the future belongs to those who are now exploited by the evils of wage slavery. It would be difficult to exaggerate what this meant to the workers of the nineteenth century and still means today. It put foundations under Utopian dreams; it made Socialism, not a matter merely of ethical hope, but of reasonable scientific expectation. At one and the same time, it gave the workers confidence and delivered them from the danger of ill-thought out, ill-organized and ill-timed revolt. In modern psychological terminology, Marx gave to the workers a philosophy which helped to redeem them from a weakening inferiority complex. He gave them a philosophy which was at once the philosophy of courage to organize and agitate and to endure. In short, he gave the workers the courage of expectation rather than of desperation. Some of my readers may recall Harold Laski's eloquent tribute to Marx for this great service.

A second service, which Marx did for the Labor movement was to emphasize the importance of international organization. He was not an arm chair philosopher who expected a sound dialectic to work itself without organization and agitation. I do not think that Marx of himself was a great organizer, but it was a great gain for the Socialist movement that its teacher and prophet should have been so aware of the necessity of international organization and so willing to spend time and energy on international conferences.

A third great service to the Labor movement for which we cannot too much thank Karl Marx was the example he set by his

painstaking search into facts in order to get material for his thinking. Marx was never content with general denunciation or with large general statements not related to the work-a-day world. CAPITAL is a perfect mine of information about actual working conditions, especially in the England of Marx's day. Consider for instance, the immense amount of information in the section in which he considers machinery and modern industry. While Marx mastered, as did no man of this time, the bitter facts about the conditions of the workers, he never made the mistake of saying "the machine or the merger is of itself the enemy—smash the machine." He knew that what had to happen was to bring about the ownership and the control of the machine by the workers. That is the lesson that not all unions have learned to this day.

In other words, Marx dared look facts square in the face without turning from them in hopeless despair or crying out for purely emotional and instinctive rebellion. He sought to understand facts as they are in order to foretell the social movements to which a better picture will belong.

### Society for Ethical Culture

Prof. Harry Ward, widely known and influential teacher on religious and social problems, will lecture at the Society for Ethical Culture Meeting, House, Friday evening, May 1st, at 8:15 o'clock, on "CHANGES THROUGH EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION." The meeting is open to the public.

### A Victorian May Day Cartoon



FLOWERS FOR LABOUR'S MAY DAY  
'ALL A' BLOWIN' AND A' GROWIN'

Drawn by Walter Crane

## MARXISM AND AMERICAN HISTORY

By James O'neal

THERE are two methods of testing our beliefs. We may start with a theory and then engage in research to learn to what extent the evidence supports our belief, or we may begin by investigation of the facts and then draw our conclusions from the evidence. Either method is legitimate and in accord with the scientific approach to problems.

But theory may degenerate into dogma if it is not continually tested by research. This is especially true of theories relating to human society and its problems. Society today is not what it was yesterday and tomorrow it will not be what it is today. It is constantly changing and this imposes upon us the need of re-testing our ideas as our knowledge of the changing world accumulates.

Nearly thirty years ago Marx's theory, which has become generally accepted by Socialists, that the material factors at the basis of society provide the most satisfactory explanation of history and social change, attracted the writer's attention. That Marx himself did not start with a dogma is evident from the preface to his "Critique of Political Economy" in which he describes how he came to formulate his view while Engels was independently reaching a similar conclusion.

Briefly stated, the material conditions of life, including climate, soil, geography and the economic structure of society enables us to explain the "social, political and spiritual processes of life," the decay of old classes and the rise of new ones; the political and class struggles of each period; the rise of new parties and the death of

old ones; the ruling ideas, popular myths, prejudices and habits of thought that are typical of a nation or the people of a distinct area in the nation.

This does not exclude ideas that apparently have no relation to a given period. Old prejudices, beliefs and ideas do not automatically die with the extinction of the period that gave rise to them. They survive as myths. There are men in the South who still think and vote in terms of Jacksonian Democracy. Until recently, the State of Mississippi, the most backward of the Southern States, opposed all forms of corporate capital. Politicians had to conform to this survival of Jacksonian views, but the old ideas re slowly being washed out with the flow of modern capital into all areas of the South.

Geography explains the survival of the spinning wheel and the hand loom in the mountain regions of the South and of colonial manners and customs in this region. The uphill population peopled this region in the colonial period. They and their descendants have been isolated from the general current of economic and social change by the mountain barrier behind which they live. Their development having been arrested at the colonial stage they present many of the characteristics of colonial habits, speech, ideas, religion and prejudices. A modern labor movement is no more possible in these communities than it was in the colonial Massachusetts of John Adams.

Another striking example of the Socialist view is drawn from the history of slavery in the United States. The fertile land and warm climate of the South formed an ideal basis for Negro slavery and the development of a landed aristocracy that in some measure resembled the aristocratic old English gentry. In the last twenty years of the life of the slave system the ruling class consisted of about 5,000 rich families. This class guided and controlled the economic, political and religious life of the South.

This upper section of the slaveholding class found in the Episcopal mode of worship its ideal of a gentleman's creed. This also was suggestive of the old English aristocracy. It was suspicious of manufacturing capital and few could be induced to invest in manufacturing enterprises.

The rocky soil of New England as well as the cold climate provided no enduring basis for Negro slavery. While a few slaves were owned in New England, the merchants invested in the traffic of supplying Negroes to the southern planters. In New England the established church was Congregational, largely representing a merchant and shipping aristocracy which jealously guarded its privileges against the encroachment of the King and the Episcopal Church.

There was one important exception to this economic, social, political and religious life of New England which can only be explained in terms of the Marxian interpretation of history. In the middle of the eighteenth century and in the southern corner of Rhode Island there was a class of large landowners, the Narragansett Planters, whose incomes were obtained from the soil, not from investments in mercantile and shipping enterprises. Here was a ruling class whose society was thrust into New England, was largely similar to the society of the Virginia and Carolina aristocrats. In a district twenty miles

long and from two to four miles wide the soil was the most fertile to be found in New England.

Here Negro and Indian slavery thrived and was supplemented with indentured white workers. The slave code was similar to the slave codes of the Southern States. Here an exclusive society of aristocrats arose, bearing with it the Episcopal mode of worship as the established church within the shadow of the Puritan oligarchy. This ruling class and its social order had no other parallel in all that region.

"The English Church flourished and grew until it had conquered for itself a place among the institutions of the South County," declares Channing. "Nevertheless its presence there does not account for the peculiar social features of the community in which it obtained so firm a foothold that even the Revolution could not shake it. It was because the Episcopal form was well suited to the time and place that it became almost the established church of the country, and added a pleasing color to the social life of the Narragansett farmers."

This rise of a landed oligarchy in the back yard of the New England ruling class, an oligarchy which reproduced many of the important features of planter society in the South, which embraced the Episcopal creed of Virginia and the Carolinas rather than the Puritan sainthood across its border, is an unusual example of the influence of material factors in shaping organized society.

But the same influence may be seen at work in the movement of population across the continent. As wealth accumulated in the more settled communities conservative views developed with these accumulations. To the West were the farmers and laborers with agrarian interests. They were always ranged against the wealthy classes in the centers of population. As a rule they were in debt to these classes. They were the victims of urban land speculators and grafters. They paid high prices for the supplies purchased in the urban centers.

Whether it was the slave society of the South or the "free" society of the North, this antagonism between the workers of the west to the settled communities or wealth was exhibited. It was expressed in political struggles and occasionally it broke into armed conflict. That conflict between urban capital and agrarian interests has continued into the modern period through the Anti-Monopoly parties of the seventies, the Greenback Party of the eighties, the Populist Party of the nineties, and the later Nonpartisan League of recent years.

As capitalism moved across the continent it has outgeneralized this agrarian radicalism but within capitalist society itself has appeared the antagonism between the owners of the means of production and the wage working class. That conflict of interests has broken into terrible labor wars at times.

One should not confuse all this with the absurdity, too often ascribed to Socialism, of the "economic man," the idea that every human being is solely prompted by economic interest. Marx lavished much satire on Bentham and others on this score and yet there are those who naively ascribe this view to Marx.

What is meant is that over a large area and in a given society the underlying material factors form the basis for explaining the

general structure of society, its institutions, its social, political and religious trends, its class struggles, popular beliefs, prejudices and myths.

Psychology may explain variations of behavior in individuals but in the mass, in society as a whole, with its institutional life, its organizations of groups and classes, its conflicts of interests and opinions, something more than individual or group psychology is required to explain social evolution.

One cannot pursue the study of American economic, social and political history without being impressed with the fact that the socialist interpretation of history has ample support in the evolution of American society. In fact, much of the best work of interpretation in the past twenty years has been due to scholars approaching their problems from Marx's point of view. No acknowledgements are made to his pioneer work but his spirit is embodied in their work.

Capitalism is today a sick society all over the world. No man has helped the working class so much to understand the capitalist system of society as Karl Marx. Some exaggerations and some unfulfilled forecasts of Marx one may well concede, but his intellectual work on the whole remains the greatest contribution to the liberation of the working class of any man in history. And that will be the verdict of mankind when capitalism is no more and human beings begin to assess the great thinkers of the capitalistic epoch.

### Women Hold Leading Places in the Contest

(Continued from Page One)  
pleasure to greeting the lucky individual at the Maison du Peuple in Brussels, and to extend all the courtesies usually shown to a Socialist visitor from a far-off country.

Although accounts of the contest in the last two or three issues have played up outstanding contestants The New Leader heartily appreciates the support and co-operation of all who are busy securing prizes. There are five major prizes, as well as copies of Norman Thomas' new book to be awarded the winners.

Newspaper Squad Starting  
Among those who continue to send in quite a number of subs are Charles R. Bradford of the 8th A. D. Socialist Party branch, Bronx; Irving Salert, Chelsea branch, and Louis Sabloff, Midwood branch. From out of town during the past week active contestants heard from are Henry Koelzer of Philadelphia, and Kurt H. Sell of Detroit.

In addition to the general interest in the contest, what is most heartening is the fact that there is more enthusiasm about The New Leader than ever before, and unquestionably the by-products of the contest will be lasting, making for a steady growth in the circulation. Lately comrades have visited the office with suggestions for meetings in their localities with the object in view of boosting The New Leader. Others, particularly younger Socialists, upon the initiative of Jack Altman, are organizing into squads to sell The New Leader on Saturdays at subway stations and other strategic points. So far the following have enlisted for this work: Jack Altman, Robert Dolson, Max Eisenberg, Arthur Fasberg, Irving Granich, Phil Heller, Jack Kaufman, Harry Lopatin, Harry Munsar, Ben Senitser and Charles Sunarsky. Those who would like to join this group of enthusiastic New Leader boosters should get in touch with Jack Altman at the Rand Book Store.

## Karl Marx and The Scientific Method

By Bela Low

THE first Congress of the Second International in 1889, which decided on the annual May-Day celebration as a demonstration of the international character of the labor movement, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the socialist movement, that of the organization of mass parties, some of which now stand on the threshold of political power.

That the Second International had failed in uniting the Socialist parties of different countries, is due to the fact that the various parties had arrived at the same fundamental conception of modern Socialism. In Germany, this was the case from the inception of the Social-Democracy. In France, the utopian tendencies of Proudhon and the Jacobin traditions of Blanqui were more and more driven into the background. Among the Russians, a Social-Democratic party overcame the tendencies of the Narodniki. In England, where this process was delayed, the gradual acceptance of the theories and policies of modern Socialism is taking place before our eyes. It can be said that the coming to maturity of a Socialist and Labor movement always coincides with its becoming imbued with Marxian principles.

This is only natural, if one realizes that Marxism is essentially nothing else but a scientific presentation of what actually is going on in the capitalist world in general and in the working class in particular. That the working class has interests distinct from those of the capitalist class resulting in a class struggle, that every economic struggle is also a political one necessitating the formation of labor parties, that labor can free itself from the exploitation inherent in capitalist production only by socializing the means of production, that for this purpose it has to gain political power, these essentials of modern Socialism are merely statements of facts, which of necessity would have been expressed at some time by someone and been accepted by labor, if Marx had never lived.

Socialist ideas and tendencies preceded Marx. The great Utopians like Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, all members of the bourgeoisie, were motivated by pity for the miserably exploited working class. At their time, it seemed inconceivable that the weak and downtrodden proletariat could ever free itself, so it was only logical that they would appeal to the sympathy of the rich and mighty. Other Utopians, of proletarian origin, like Weitling, instinctively distrustful of the rulers, but equally unable to see the potential and future ascendancy of the working class, sought a solution in the theory that an intelligent and resolute small group of workers could transform society by force, a point of view which still emerges where the proletariat is immature. All pre-Marxian Socialists lacked a knowledge of social and economic development; for them, a form of society is like a building, which can be constructed in any desired form, at any time and at any place.

It was the accomplishment of Marx (and whenever his name is mentioned that of Engels should be added), to put Socialism on a scientific basis. What Darwin later did for biology, Marx has done for sociology. He looked upon human society as in a process of change; with the materialistic conception of history, he found the

driving cause of social evolution, namely that the change in the mode of production determines the changes in social and political institutions as well as in the religious, philosophical, ethical and aesthetic ideas of society.

According to this conception, Socialism is not a scheme or idea of well-meaning and enlightened people, who must try to put it over, but the next step in social evolution as the natural product of economic development of capitalism. It is not up to Socialists to invent a perfect society, but to discover the elements of the new social order in present-day society. For this reason, the life-work of Marx consisted in the analysis of capitalist production. His discovery of surplus value was the key for the understanding of capitalism, which enabled him to forecast its further development with such astounding accuracy: the gradual destruction of small-scale production, the centralization of industry into gigantic establishments, the concentration of capital, the growth of the working class in numbers, in organization, in intelligence and understanding. This development makes the final victory of the working class and with it the realization of socialism a certainty.

As long as it is not shown that the direction of capitalist development is different from that outlined by Marx, and as long as no other material basis for the realization of socialism can be set forth, the scientific theory of Marx will stand. But Marx, in his historic materialism, has not given a formula which will mechanically explain all past history or tell us what to do in every contingency; it is a scientific method, a most valuable tool which, if properly used, will interpret the past and guide us in the present and future. In its very essence, by stating that a change in material conditions determines other changes, it is again a doctrinaire point of view.

It may appear as if the fundamental conceptions of Marxism do not apply to the United States. Here we have a highly developed capitalism, but the important result of capitalist development as outlined by Marx and found in all other industrial countries is absent; here the working class does not yet organize itself into a separate party and is not imbued with the socialist spirit. It would be beyond the scope of this article to explain the origin of the attitude of the American workers, which is rooted in previous conditions and now forms a tradition. Ideas have the habit of lingering, after the conditions which brought them about have changed; but sooner or later they will be brought to conform with the actuality, and sooner or later therefore American labor will awaken to consciousness.

It is this political backwardness of the working class of the United States which explains certain tendencies among socialists here, which are not found where there is a strong socialist movement. Despairing to win the majority of labor, some American socialists incline toward the idea that a resolute minority can bring about socialism by force, while others tend to obliterate the working class character of the socialist movement and appeal more to liberals, civic minded persons and to progressive elements in general.

Both of these attitudes are similar to that of the old Utopians, (Continued on Page Five)



## FOR THE HONORABLE ROBERT LUCE

AS A matter of fact I should have gone on my knees in humble thanks to "whatever gods there be" for the opportune appearance of the Honorable Robert Luce, Congressman from Waltham, Mass., employer of labor, frequently mentioned as a possible successor to the late Nick Longworth as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and from his own expression of his philosophy, one of the most deliberately cruel and venomous men in public life today.

He came in a big automobile, driven by his chauffeur, to a conference of the liberal clubs of Amherst College, Williams, Smith and Massachusetts State College held at Amherst last week-end to discuss the need for a new political alignment in this country.

Luce spoke for the Republicans, Professor John Dewey spoke for the League for Independent Political Action, and I represented the Socialists.

Dewey spoke the first evening. He charmed everyone by his sly and glinting humor, his confessed political naivete and the fact that at the age of seventy-two, America's greatest philosopher should be standing up there in the old Amherst Chapel, surrounded by buildings erected by Standard Oil money, with pictures of Cal Coolidge, the Patron Saint of Amherst looking down on him from almost every wall, and be openly crying the capitalistic lions in their very dens.

It began to look as though there would be little for me to get lathered up about, after Dewey's speech. I wondered what the Honorable Luce would have to say and I suspected that he would be condescending and kindly about "those in the van" and tell the students that while it was all very well to try political pioneering, in the long run, and by and large, it would pay them best to stick to the old parties and try to get their "progressive measures" through them. I have been to enough of these conferences to know that line very well.

Luce drooled all through this Republican regimen exactly as I had expected he would. In one part of his speech he boasted of the fact that with the exception of sixteen years, his party had been in power since Lincoln's time. It was a bit surprising to hear him praise the advantages of majority rule, prate of huge Republican majorities and then later on in his speech say that the majority of Americans were "morons" whose only interest in Massachusetts at any rate was in rum. It turned out that he was a "dry." Of course he was a "dry." The desolate, intellectual wastes of such an arid lump as is Luce could grow nothing but desert plants.

Then, too, he pulled a line, novel to me at any rate, to the effect that the Republican Party is the party of "collectivism," whereas the Democratic Party is the party of "individualism."

Well, boys and gels, what do you think of that? All the time the Republicans have been sort of secret collectivists. I hope that neither Ham Fish nor Jimmy Walker finds this out. There will be hell popping around the next breakfast meeting of the Holy Name Society and the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, radio red baiter of Detroit, will split a couple more mikes.

But it was when it came to the discussion after the set speech of the Honorable Robert Luce that the true character of the man was stripped naked before the wondering gaze of the decent youths assembled to ask him questions.

He had said that the farmers were being forced to destroy their crops because there was more food than people wanted. Someone suggested mildly enough that maybe there was some hitch somewhere, inasmuch as the six million unemployed, to say nothing of the drought sufferers, didn't seem to be getting all the food they wanted. "That is not true," boomed the Honorable Robert Luce, "no one is going without food in this country. The present world-wide depression is nowhere near as bad as the depression of 1893. No one is really in need. At the worst, only one out of every ten needs help and the other nine are taking care of him. A big manufacturer in my home town in Waltham told me the other day that he did not know of a single case of real need in the entire town. I employ ninety men in my New York plant and we have not cut wages nor discharged a single man. As for the Arkansas hill-billies, I am reminded of what a Governor of Virginia once said, 'If they won't work, they shan't eat.' These hill-billies don't want to work."

At this point, when he began to advocate that hill-billies who won't work be taught a little lesson in starvation. I got up and went out to get some fresh air. I take my hat off to the self-control and patience shown by the other members of the conference. They did not arise and slaughter this vile thing that was sitting so snugly back, licking at his cigarette and talking about people who "won't work." To be sure, they devastated him with their questions. One student asked what about that considerable number among us who don't work but live on unearned increment. Luce crawled at this, of course. He wriggled and squirmed throughout the rest of the questioning and then fled those parts in his nice, shiny machine, lacking the guts or decency to hear what I might have to say. I am writing this here to give him some indication of what I did say and I will see to it that he reads this, provided he can read and write.

Of course, this is no private row. We are always busy telling one another that it is the system that we are after, not the individual. We have done this even in the case of that cheapest of cheap skates, the Honorable Jimmy Walker.

I know that the system has made the Honorable Robert Luce, what he is today. I hope it is satisfied. But never in all my long contacts with Republicans and other of the lower forms of animal life have I come across quite such a shining example of what nastiness the system is capable of as the distinguished Congressman from Waltham, Mass.

McAlister Coleman.

The working class is the only class which is not a class. It is the nation; it represents, so to speak, the body as a whole, of which the other classes only represent special organs.—Frederic Harrison.

Young Senator LaFollette declares that he may support a Democratic candidate for President if the platform is satisfactory. Well, you never heard of platforms written so they would be "satisfactory," did you Bob?

## From Our Foreign Correspondents

# The German-Austrian Union

## SOCIALISTS OF BOTH NATIONS FAVOR ALLIANCE; GAINS FOR WORKING CLASS EXPECTED

By Benedikt Kautsky  
VIENNA.

THROUGH the unexpected announcement of their intention to form a customs union, Germany and Austria are now the tender spot of European politics. While this plan had been under consideration in Vienna and Berlin for some time, its publication came as a surprise to almost everybody in the two republics, as well as in foreign lands. There is every reason to believe that the Herren Curtius and Schober (the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Austria, respectively) felt themselves compelled to come out rather suddenly with their scheme for a "Zollverein" in order to prevent Austria from being drawn into some sort of commercial "Danube Federation" under the influence of the Little Entente and to take the edge off the German extreme reactionaries' repeated assertions that the Government in Berlin was a mere slave to England and France.

As a result of this hasty action, it was some time before the public in Austria and Germany realized that both countries were to maintain complete independence in every way and that other States were welcome to join the customs union on the same terms, something being seriously considered in certain economic circles in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

In Paris and Prague Foreign Ministers Briand and Benes at once voiced violent opposition to the "Zollverein," alleging that it was in conflict with the Peace Treaties and with the Geneva Protocol of 1922, in which Austria, in connection with the receipt of a loan guaranteed by the League of Nations had agreed not to give up its political or economic independence without permission of the League.

In reality the German and Austrian Governments made allowance for the Geneva Protocol in working out their project. There is no doubt that the customs union is in formal agreement with the existing treaties. So the real reason for the powerful opposition manifested against it is the belief that it constitutes the first step toward the political union of Austria with Germany.

Now nobody can deny that the

setting up of the customs union will bring the two States closer together in more than an economic sense. But that it must not lead to an "Anschluss" with Germany is by no means certain. There is an actual possibility that other non-German States, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, might join such a "Zollverein." Such a development would hamper, rather than promote, the political union of Germany and Austria.

At all events it is hard to understand why France and its vassal States oppose the rapprochement of Germany and Austria. Nationally the two countries belong together, for both are inhabited by Germans. The right of self-determination of nations, supposed to be one of the most important moral pillars of the Peace Treaties allows States to combine. Certainly the little national States born out of the ruins of Austria-Hungary and Russia ought to know from their own history that national consciousness cannot be suppressed by force.

And there is no reason to believe that a greater Germany would be a threat to the peace of Europe. It is quite characteristic that the reactionary groups in Germany and Austria are the ones opposed to the "Anschluss." The wing of the Austrian Clerical Party headed by Mgr. Seipel is against the Anschluss because it would spell the end of the dream of bringing the Hapsburgs back to Vienna. And the German monarchists know that the Anschluss would strengthen the anti-Hohenzoellern sentiments of the German people. The National Socialists (Hitler reactionaries) are opposed to the Anschluss because they have much fewer followers in Austria than in Germany and because they justifiably fear the sound Republican common sense of the great majority of the Austrian people.

In France they forget that the separation of Austria from Germany precludes the separation of Alsace-Lorraine from France by any five years. If the latter countries haven't forgotten their ties with France, why should Austria forget hers? Besides, the republic of Greater Germany always has

## Hail, The Republic!



From El Socialista (Madrid)

been the dream of German Democrats of those of 1848 as well as of the German Social Democracy which became their heir. August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht always held that the German parts of Austria belonged to Germany and one of their principal reasons for warring upon Bismarck was

the fact that he had separated the Germans living in Austria from Germany. It is one of the ironies of history that today France is vigorously defending the Bismarck creation of the German Reich, although otherwise France claims to be fighting the Bismarck policy. But in the end even France will

not be able to prevent the application of the principle to Austria which it appealed to in the case of Alsace-Lorraine.

In the meantime no definite action about the customs union is to be expected until after the League of Nations has examined the proposal at its meeting in May. It is probable that the International Court in The Hague will be asked for its opinion.

In both Germany and Austria the Socialists have lined up for the proposal, although they had received no more advance information about it from the governments than foreign nations. Their attitude is due on the one hand to their respect for the right of self-determination of nations and on the other to the economic and social advantages bound to result from the leveling of the customs barriers between two European States, especially for the working class.

It is true that the goodwill of the Socialists in this matter is being put to a severe test, particularly in Austria, where the government considers it a good time to undertake a material cutting down of the benefits of the social insurance laws. Especially the benefits of the insurance against unemployment and sickness are to be limited. As a sop it is intended to institute a quite insufficient old age pension system, which doesn't offer old workers any more than they can demand under existing legislation. The anti-social character of the government project is made clear enough when we hear that the government hopes to save from \$4,000,000 to \$6,000,000 a year by it. For the present the plan is merely in the preparatory stage and it is to be hoped that it will be shattered against the determined resistance already being manifested by the workers.

On April 15, the day after Comrade Kautsky wrote his article, it was reported that Dr. Joseph Reich, the Minister of Social Welfare, mainly responsible for the plan to hamstring social legislation, had resigned because of the opposition to his scheme being evidenced by both workers and employers.

# The Price British Labor Pays

By Fred Henderson

LONDON, April 15.

AT the moment of writing, a new Parliamentary crisis has arisen in the precarious life of the British Labor Government; and all the papers are full of scare headlines and forecasts as to whether the next few days will not see the end of it and plunge us straight away into a general election. You will know before this letter appears in print what the upshot of it has been; but whether or not the Liberals will by then have at last carried out their oft-repeated threat to turn the Government out, is now only a matter of minor importance. The real importance of this new crisis is in its value to us as experience of the dilemmas of taking office without a majority or without power.

(Since this letter was written, the Labor Cabinet has met and survived the test vote in Commons.—Editor.)

Whether the Government stays in or is thrown out makes no difference whatever at the stage we have now reached. We should be no more impatient for any real Socialist purpose out of office than remaining in, so far as any actual accomplishment on the lines of our own purposes is concerned, the experiment of trying to govern by permission of a hostile majority of our opponents in Parliament is by this time absolutely conclusive as to that. What really matters now is that the lessons of such an experiment should be learned and applied to the future policy of the Party; and this latest exhibition of what Government by permission of your enemies means should serve to rub the lesson in.

The Conservatives have given notice of their intention to move a Vote of Censure on the Government, with special relation to the failure to do anything effective about unemployment; and a Government defeat on a direct Vote of Censure is, of course, fatal. From the moment this notice was given, the Liberals, knowing that their vote can tip the scales one way or the other, have been at their old game of putting their vote up for auction. They have tried to dictate to the Government the reply, on Liberal lines, which must be made to the Conservative Vote of Censure as a condition of Liberal support in the division. What has been going on behind the scenes has not been fully disclosed; but apparently the demand on the Government for a repudiation of a purely Liberal statement of policy has not met with the success for which Mr. Lloyd George, holding the life of the Government in his hand, thought he could bargain in such an emergency.

Hence this sudden eruption of

## CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE DEPENDS ON FANCIES OF LIBERAL PARTY; THE I. L. P. CONVENTION

threats to upset things for the Government. While it is just possible that it may come off this time, there is a pretty general feeling here that the Liberals are only bluffing as usual, and that when it comes to the point of action, a sufficient number of them will find some excuse or other for saving the Government. That probability does not depend in the slightest degree upon the merits of any public policy involved in the Vote of Censure, but on the dread which the Liberals have of a General Election on their own account.

This is the sort of game into which the whole of our Parliamentary life degenerates under conditions of minority Government. A dismal game. An altogether degrading game. It is the sort of thing into which the whole of our Parliamentary energies have been plunged during the past year or more. It is making masses of the people cynical about politics altogether. It thrusts principles into the background; and substitutes a calculation of Parliamentary chances for the high endeavor of service to a cause and loyalty to a faith as the necessary preoccupation of a Government entangled in it.

If, however, you have heard by this time the news that the Labor Government is out of office and that we are once more in the preliminary activities of a General Election, you will understand why, so far as the mass of the rank and file of us here are concerned, the event, so far from being defeat or disaster, is accepted as a welcome and overdue release from a position which had become intolerable;

a release which will be a starting point of a recovery of the soul of the British movement from the deadening effect of this period of uninspiring Parliamentary scheming for holding office which has long since ceased to be of the slightest use to us. If, on the other hand, the Liberals should at the last moment shrink from the consequences of bringing about a General Election in which their own annihilation looks pretty certain, do not rejoice over it unduly. The Government, it is true, will in that event be saved for a time. But saved for what? To continue the same sterile existence and carry on the same purposeless game to which its minority position limits it. And what there may be to rejoice over in that becomes less and less apparent to more and more of our workers throughout the nation with every day that passes.

Meanwhile, it should be noted, as the really encouraging and hopeful fact in the situation, that if we do go out of office at this juncture, we go out with our solidarity of organization practically unimpaired. What might happen if the present sterile Parliamentary phase of office without power and official existence without accomplished things to show for it were to continue much longer, is another matter. But the mischief has not as yet become disintegration. A certain discouragement and weariness there undoubtedly is; but nothing vitally to impair our prospect of recovery when we are once again free to proclaim and fight for our full faith without calculations as to whether our tenure of office will be endangered if we do so.

I pointed this out in my last letter; and the outstanding event in the past month has been the strong confirmation of that view of the matter which has been given by the annual conference of the I. L. P. It is the I. L. P., with its watchword of "Socialism in our Time," that has been the most persistent critic of the Government policy of keeping our Socialist faith in the background in order to hang on to office. But when some of the more impatient spirits of the I. L. P. proposed at the annual conference that the I. L. P. should disaffiliate from the Labor Party, the proposal was voted down by an overwhelming majority. A very striking example of what I tried to convey to you when I asked you to believe that our rank and file are wise enough to distinguish between the real and abiding things and the temporary difficulties of a situation.

James Maxton, who has been chairman of the I. L. P. for the past four years, is now succeeded by Fenner Brockway. The suggestion may have reached you that this implies a change in the policy which the I. L. P. has set itself to pursue in relation to the Government and the handling of our present difficulties; something of a departure from the attitude of which Maxton has been the spokesman. That is most emphatically not so. Maxton's leaving the chair is a voluntary retirement after a period of office longer than usual. Seldom have two men worked together with a greater singleness of purpose and that singleness of purpose—the insistence that our political activities must be kept steadily to the aim of Socialism now—continues without change or modification.

But with all its incisive criticism of the Government policy, the I. L. P. is strongly and steadily against sectional attempts at new party building. For the Labor Party is the organized working-class life of the nation become politically conscious of itself; and it

is within that organization that the work has to be done.

That the lesson as to the demoralizing effect of minority Government itself as well as by the rank and file, is pretty clear from a declaration publicly made by Arthur Greenwood, the Minister of Health and a leading member of the Cabinet. In a recent speech, he made the declaration:

"Honestly, I would not be a member of another minority Government. It would not be fair to the people I represent; it would not be fair to anyone." If we go into a General Election with that sort of assurance we shall not be voting for any possible recurrence of the experiences of the past two years, our prospects of recovery will be enormously increased. So far Arthur Greenwood is the only minister who has declared himself on the point; but a general Government declaration to the like effect would make a vast difference.

## Karl Marx and the Scientific Method

(Continued from Page Four)

resulting from the same lack of confidence in the capacity of the working class and impatience with its lack of maturity. He who takes this view, has no real basis for expecting socialism. Here, as elsewhere, it can come only as the result of the movement of the working class, and conditions are bound to eventually force American labor into its own party, which must become a socialist party. Then these existing utopian tendencies will disappear as chaff before the wind, and here as elsewhere the socialist and labor movement will be guided by the scientific method of Marx.

## WHEN

## SOUTHERN LABOR STIRS

by TOM TIPPETT

BENJAMIN STOLBERG: "I know only one book which tells the real story of that melodramatic and tragic series of strikes which in the last two years convulsed the South and attracted the attention of the world. It is Tom Tippet's When Southern Labor Stirs. His facts, I know, are indisputable. And his conclusions, I believe, are incontrovertible." 332 pp.—with an index—half-tone illustrations—\$2.50 JONATHAN CAPE & HARRISON SMITH 139 East 48th Street, New York

## The Promise of May Day



"Important Reading" NORMAN THOMAS' AMERICA'S WAY OUT A PROGRAM FOR DEMOCRACY Second Large Printing "A Stimulating book."—RAYMOND E. FODDICK, N. Y. Herald Tribune. MACKILLAN \$2.50

## The Chatterbox

### Challenge

WE whom the day once covered,  
The Long Night has drawn down beside him;  
Come cold dawn, the wheeling of winds  
And the muzzling of horns no more.  
You whom the New Day, the young day  
Soon will be calling, calling,  
Youth! Take care of your own fires,  
For this day belongs to you.

Let not the tales of magic  
Nor songs of the lovers deaden  
The thin crackling of sharp teeth  
That gnaw at the wheat's young stem.  
Hark not too long to the voice  
Of the wild swan crying, crying.  
Youth! Take care of your own fires  
For this day belongs to you.

We whom the Long Night covers,  
Have left you only our embers.  
Bend your backs to the earth's old floor  
And blow them to life again.  
Add new fuel and watch  
Till a holler flame comes leaping, leaping.  
Youth! Take care of your own fires  
For this night belongs to you.

CONSTANCE E. COLEMAN.

On this May Day, on this hour of new life shooting through the weary, barren stem and trunk of all things left standing by the storms of a late winter, we, who remain, can make high resolves. There is a virtue in this seasonal recurrence. It is a sort of stock taking of ourselves as well as a rededication to old ideals.

We have much to be thankful for, although we have little to lean on for support, but our own little battalion of comrades. We are still alive to work for Socialism. And the world was never in more sorrowful need of our plan for its happiness.

The masses are still afraid and reluctant, to join with us. Without them we are just powerless dreamers of a powerful dream. Our task is clear. We must enroll them, we must enthrone them, we must make lucid to their obscured understanding, what is so terribly simple to us.

That means redoubled and tripled efforts to educate, to stir them up, and to organize them.

We must avoid all dramatic picares with half-hearted reformers. We must, if possible, enlist their energies toward our goal. But if they are ashamed of being associated with us, the greater our shame then, for having allowed them to use us for their purposes.

We must be specially clear on what we want to do, how we want to do it, and be prepared, ever to carry on, when the task falls upon us.

We must have an "idée fixe" about Socialism. The world about us is too mad, too disorganized, and too full of muddled distractions. We must be sane, and settled and undeviating.

We have much to learn from men like Lenin and their methods of conduct; before the fact of revolution. We have no intention of following and we certainly could not approve of their consequent acts. There we have nothing in common. But the conduct of applying one's self rigidly to the accomplishment of a dream, and planning carefully, and having a definite, feasible, and inspiring program for the high end in which we are enlisted, allows for complete emulation.

Therein our self-inventory shows a lack of goods on hand. Therein lies our immediate work. Therein, this May Day can be made a Day of All Days for our cause.

Says Eddie: "Sam, you're a romantic Socialist. You have been martyred and martyring for so long a time, that a little practical success like a victory in a municipal election has no lure for you..."

I say nothing in response. There is a vast field opening up before a window whose blind is lifted by that thought. Especially in point with so many of the letters I receive from comrades way out in the sticks who are so disturbed by the tendencies of politics.

In whatever little practical work I have done or seen accomplished in my work-a-day years, all I know is, that the things that have lasted and are still working effectively, were built on solid fundamental first. And that a great deal more time was spent in planning, and much more effort was expended with the unheroic foundations, than with the spectacular results that reared themselves to the surface sight.

There isn't much romance in concrete piles one hundred and fifty feet below the street, and there isn't a whit more glamor in a Socialist's plan to build a party on fundamentals first, before he goes in for the glittering spires of victory.

As for being especially enamored of martyrdom, permit me to disclaim any such delicious and altogether virtuous trait. I like winning at tennis, pinocle, and domestic debate with all the egotism and self-appetite I possess. And these latter are not microscopic by a long ways.

There isn't a campaign I go into that is over hopeless. There isn't a fight in or out of the party that ever finds me defeative... If that last word isn't in the dictionary, let's put it there... For such use, of course, as is made above.

I don't think Socialism has ever been defeated. The Socialist parties have been held back from time to time. They will continue to wait at times in their onward march. But our way is onward, as long as we are led by the precepts that made Socialists out of us. We retreat, and we are beaten every time we listen to the fifties of reform, or we are distracted by the soft greens of petty triumph that tempt our road-worn feet.

I could substitute a sheaf of fact out of the dull past for the phrases I offer here. It is difficult enough to keep a subject like Socialist tactics interesting without handicapping your essay with names, dates and figures. So I refrain and just continue hammering away on principle and precept. No, Eddie, there are no little practical successes worth while unless these petty victories are based upon the surge of a worker-farmer-mass movement conscious of a clean Socialist program and system as we know it. Nothing else is worth the candle of our efforts. Nothing else is reward enough for the lives that have already been given in full-hearted tribute for our end.

And May Day is always a glad time to mull this over with ourselves, take renewed vows for our continued service and struggle... whatever may be demanded of us to be given gladly and freely, and with no other return except the joy we find in battling the great fight for freedom, peace and plenty for mankind...

S. A. deWitt.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, are these castles, lies of capitalism.—Paul Lafargue.



# The Living Influence of Marxian Socialism

A PHILOSOPHY, A PROGRAM AND A METHOD WHICH RALLY THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD

By William M. Feigenbaum

KARL MARX died nearly half a century ago, his greatest written work completed many years before that. The Communist Manifesto, in which the basic principles of what is called Marxism were first set down was written and published to the world 88 years ago.

Since that February day in 1848 when Marx read the Manifesto to the executive of the Communist League, at a moment when Europe was boiling over with revolutionary activity, many things have happened and a new world has been made. The political, economic, scientific and the ideological structure of the world of 1848 has completely disappeared. Neither Marx nor Engels would recognize the world of 1931, nor would the men who followed them and built up the great Socialist movement.

And yet Marxism is not dead. Rather, in a real sense Marxism is the greatest living force in the world today, the greatest political influence, the only economic system that can stand up in the face of the facts.

These words are written with the echoes of the Spanish revolution still in our ears. The whole world marvels at the magnificent organization of that revolution, as those who have taken the trouble

to investigate the underlying facts marvel at the perfection of the Socialist organization that made the revolution possible. For years, beginning with a tiny party of confused Socialists and Anarchists founded in 1832, Socialist agitation and organization continued until today there are 200,000 dues-paying members in a disciplined party. The party and the trade unions work hand in hand, and together they took a leading part in making over the Bourbon kingdom into a republic.

The consummation of years of sacrificing work came to pass in 1931, the most modern even of this modern year. And yet in every detail it follows the lines laid down by Marx more than three-fourths of a century ago.

Socialists are realists and emphatically reject the idea that dogma can be made to take the place of reason. Socialists emphatically reject the idea that there is such a thing as perfect truth formulated and expounded by men now dead, and deviation from which is to be treated and punished as heresy. That we leave to the followers of the leaders who mislead their doctrines Communism.

Socialism is scientific, and if there is one characteristic of science that distinguishes it above all

others it is that it accepts nothing as settled. Science is constantly seeking new facts, sifting them, testing them, testing generalizations in the light of facts, accepting those that stand up and rejecting those that do not.

Progress did not die with Karl Marx on March 14, 1883, because the world did not die. Men and women continued to live, new discoveries were made, industry took new forms, people and states and nations and the world continued to develop.

Those who look for a Messiah insist that everything written by their prophet must be prophecy and that there must be no deviation from what he wrote. If Marxism means merely an acceptance of everything Karl Marx wrote as gospel not to be examined and reexamined in the light of other minds and later developments, then Marx was right when he himself said, "I am not a Marxist."

But those who made a rigid dogma of the writings of Marx and seek to interpret everything by his written words as the Moslem interprets everything by the Word of the Prophet in the Koran, those are the ones who make Socialism and Marx's teachings ridiculous.

For, after all, Marx taught a method. Even if everything he wrote were rejected and only the method remained, Marxism would still stand.

Marxism is a system of economics, a philosophy, and it is a movement. Karl Marx was one of the greatest economists of our time, a man who took the "dismal science" of Adam Smith, of Ricardo and of Malthus, and made it live. He infused it with life, and he applied to it the scientific spirit that had just been born with the scientific awakening that will always be associated with the name of Charles Darwin.

The researches of Marx are important, and his conclusions are even more so. Generally speaking, they stand up today. But more important than anything else in his works is the scientific method he brought to the study of economics, and the application of the principle of material determinism that is accepted by all historians and economists today.

Today with the application of that scientific method and the principle of determinism we are able to study and understand the economic forces of yesterday and today and tomorrow. It is amazing how that interpretation explains the world in which we live,

and how nothing else does.

For several years after the war, when a great boom of pseudo-prosperity based on nothing at all seemed to create a new form of domestic market for the products of capitalism, there were many who said that Marxism was wrong, that it was proved that the workers could actually consume all the wealth they produced. For several years, with widespread pseudo-prosperity, with radios in every home, cars in every garage, silk stockings on every pair of legs and considerable money in circulation, these critics said that a world had grown up that proved Marx was wrong.

But those voices are now silent. Since the black days of October, 1929, when the whole world crashed about the long ears of those who thought they could beat the game, there are none who dare say that Marx was wrong in his interpretation.

The processes of capitalism go on. Vertical trusts and voting trusts grow vastly. Chain stores supplant the corner grocery and drug store. Finance capital is entering into every business, and today we are rushing toward the great concentration of capital in the hands of finance faster than anyone dreamed in the days when Marx applied the scientific method to a study of the feeble beginnings of what has grown into the giant of modern capitalism.

No one can understand the world in which we live without a grasp of the principles that go back to Marx.

But Marx was more than an economist and philosopher. He was the founder and leader of a great movement. When the Executive of the Communist League met in Brussels in February, 1848, the voice of Marx reading the Manifesto was drowned out by the thunder of guns and the clatter of horses' hoofs on the pavements of the capitals of Europe.

Taken by itself, the Communist League, of which the Manifesto was the program, was a failure.

The revolutions swept away all theories, and the failure of the revolutions crushed all parties.

But the Manifesto laid down certain principles that are used as a guide today. Those principles were the basis of the International that Marx organized in 1864, and upon that basis the various Socialist parties were organized.

Those principles are: The object of the movement is to end the exploitation of the proletariat. The means by which that exploitation is to be ended is by the capture of the socially necessary means of production, distribution and exchange by the useful workers; in other words, the abolition of all classes and the conversion of society into one class of producers.

The immediate objective is to advance the welfare of the workers at all times, under all circumstances. The means to be employed are the mass power of the workers, democratically used. In order that the masses might be able to wield that power certain evils must be removed.

The first objective of the movement, then, was the winning of national liberty by all peoples, so that the struggle for Socialism might not be hampered by the struggle of non-proletarian elements for national determination. As a perfect example we can look upon the struggle for Polish independence, participated in by workers and Junkers together; and when the victory for independence was won, the workers began at once the struggle for democracy and liberty.

The next objective was the winning of democracy everywhere. That meant the establishment of freedom in all countries, and where there was no freedom, the suppression of all other aims until that freedom could be won.

When there was oppression, when there was political corruption, it is the task of Socialism to win liberty and freedom in order that

the battle for Socialism might be waged unhampered.

Socialists battle against political corruption because such corruption is usually a peculiarly mean form of exploitation of the workers, because such corruption renders masses cynical of the value of political work, because Socialists must be in the forefront of every battle for decency in order to win the confidence of the masses in their integrity and sincerity.

But when rascals are thrown out, when crooks are jailed and political honesty prevails, then the battle is only beginning.

Marx could not foresee a Curry

or a McCooey; he could not predict a Jimmie Walker or a Tazman. But he could foresee infinite obstacles against which the masses would have to contend in order to prevail.

Marx supplied our movement with a scientific method, and an outline of a fighting program. But more than that he supplied a spirit in which we fight today.

In sober earnest we can claim Marx as our own because we accept as ours his method, his outline program and his spirit.

In sober earnest we can re-echo his rallying cry of 83 years ago: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

## Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

## Stuart Chase Observes Unemployment

And Suggests a Book He Might Write

By Norman Thomas

A BOOK by Stuart Chase is an event. He writes on economic subjects as other men write on biography, or adventure. He makes facts and figures and new machines exciting. And his opinions are always suggestive.

THE NEMESIS OF BUSINESS, (by Stuart Chase, Macmillan, N. Y.) is a collection of his most recent essays, most of which have appeared in magazines. The general theme is unemployment arising from various sources but he writes one of his best essays, "The Luxury of Integrity," in our modern world. The first essay which gives the title to the book is particularly interesting because of its effective contrast between the self-contained, poor, but economically secure handicraft civilization he found in certain parts of Mexico, which he has visited and the bread line in front of his apartment when he got home.

Mr. Chase's role, as always, is interpretative. He does not denounce. Despite his interesting "Private Utopia" and his oft-repeated suggestions for better planning in our social order, one scarcely feels that he seeks to chart a path or try to lead a crusade toward any sort of Utopia. On the whole, this book strengthens my wish that the author would face more directly and go into more fully such questions as these: Granting the necessity for planning and the possibility for it, how can we impose plans and planning commissions on a system where private ownership, run for profit on hoped-for profit, is king? Granting the reasonableness of this suggestion or that—the shorter working week for instance, and the increase of wages—where is the power to come from to get it?

It is, I suppose, never fair to try to tell a man what sort of book he ought to write or criticize what



STUART CHASE  
Author of "The Nemesis of Business" (Macmillan)

that he has, I wish he would turn more directly to these questions, not merely of what is happening or even what might be done—that he has told us—but of what we should do or try to do and how and when. What has he to say about unions and politics—municipal, state and federal—as they are or might be in this America, which he has done so much to help us understand?

### The Frontier

SINCE the period of the first settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, the West has had an important influence in American history. This West has been not a definite geographic area. Its location has changed with the movement of population, the term first applying to the frontier regions west of the early coast settle-

ments and then shifting every few decades westward till the frontier disappeared.

William Curry Holden has written a new local study of the West (Alkali Trails, Dallas, Texas. The Southwest Press), which is of interest to students of economic and social history. The subtitle, "Social and Economic Movements of the Texas Frontier, 1846-1900," is more definite in indicating the character of the study.

The author tells the story of the brutal slaughter, the rise of the cattle kings, the economic antagonism between the kings and the small farmers, the cattle trek to Kansas, the economic antagonism between West and East Texas, the coming of the freighter and the railroads, the influence of immigration, journalism, droughts, amusements and Grangerism in the history of Texas.

The slaughter of the buffalo was one of those economic crimes associated with our frontier history, a by-product of that ruthless "individualism" that took no account of social values or the future of society. The cattle kings were associated with the rise of a "big industry" for that period and carried with them something of the aristocratic arrogance of the southern planters. "The cattle baron was a more lordly person in many respects than the ante-bellum cotton planter," writes Holden. "More medieval, to be sure, not so polished, not so elegant in dress or manner, he exercised within his domain a power all but absolute. Small wonder that the small sheep herder complained that the cattle baron 'assumed that God Himself was a Cowman.'"

This study of the cattleman supplements the larger study by Osgood published two years ago. The other aspects of the work largely relate to the other factors of West Texas history mentioned above. The social life of the people bears a striking similarity with the life of the people in frontier Illinois, Iowa and other regions. All of which indicates that, given the same material factors at the basis of society, its customs, manners, and folkways in general will be much the same. The book is another addition to informative studies of frontier history.

James Oneal.

### A Good Labor Novel

THE setting of the lumber industry of the Northwest, Louis Coleman has laid the background for a grim, tragic story (Lumber, Little Brown & Co., N. Y.). As a picture of the lives of the mill workers it deserves to rank with the one drawn of the stock yards toilers in Sinclair's *Jungle*. The story is written in a simple, unaffected manner, devoid of bookish phrase of word. The dialogue rings as true as any written by Ring Lardner; the characters, especially Jimmy and Pearl, are as real as those drawn by Hemingway. "Lumber," in subject matter and treatment is truly in "the American grain." It takes a high place in the all too few labor novels.

During the war to make the world safe for democracy, the price of lumber sold to the government was tripled and quadrupled. Incidentally much of the lumber was green and unsuited for its purpose, the building of ships. In an effort to share in the increased prosperity and to meet mounting living costs, the lumber workers went on strike for an increase of a dollar a day.

How the forces of law and order met this demand is graphically told in "Lumber." Bodies of workers were found dangling from trees. In every case, the verdict of coroner's juries and "public opinion" was "suicide." The strikers and those thought to be in sympathy with them, were rounded up, kicked and clubbed. While the Star Spangled Banner was being sung and flags waved, stones were thrown into the prisoned ranks. Frodded by bayonets, hundreds of wobblies were packed into freight cars, fifty to sixty in a car, headed to "some place in the desert." The reign of terror continued; homes of the workers were wrecked; women assaulted.

There are but a few to whom the names Centralia and Everett bring up memories. To these and others who but vaguely know of the struggles of the I. W. W. to raise the standard of the lumber and migratory workers, Coleman's novel recaptures the setting of one of the most tragic chapters in the annals of labor.

Ben Blumenberg.

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## Precedent Written In Hope It May Free Tom Mooney

"SOMETHING tells me that despite the Drama's habitual effort to rectify the wrongs of civilization, Mr. Mooney will be in jail long after 'Precedent' has turned its toes up in the Potter's Field of the Theatre." So wrote Percy Hammond, dramatic critic of The Herald Tribune, in reviewing the effective drama now at the Provincetown Playhouse.

Nevertheless, "Precedent" was written because its author had been bitten by an overpowering sense of the injustice in the Mooney-Billings case. "It was on my mind and in my heart," says the playwright, I. J. Golden, a St. Louis attorney. But it was not only that he wanted the sense of release in getting this indignation "off his chest" in a play, he also wanted to be able to do some good for the labor leaders who are falsely imprisoned.

"In gathering material for the play," says Mr. Golden, "I consulted scores of magazine articles that clearly demonstrated the innocence of the two men. But no matter how convincing these articles had been, they had not effected the release of the prisoners. They were too cold analyses of the case. They marshaled facts in an orderly, unemotional way. They made their appeal to the intellect. I knew a more forceful implement than magazine articles was necessary to spring the jacks on the cells that hold Mooney and Billings. Their case had to be told dramatically to stir up any ap-

preciable amount of public sentiment.

"And thus I thought of dramatizing their story for the stage. In the theatre, the story could and naturally would take on more impassioned qualities than rightly belonged in magazine articles. A dramatization of the whole tale of corruption and bribery that put Mooney and Billings in jail, and of the double-dealing that took advantage of obsolete precedents of law to prevent a new trial, was bound to be more effective in making clear the outrageous injustice of the case than any calm discussion might be. I counted on the enactment of the tragedy before the eyes of audiences as a convincing argument that might completely change the tone of public opinion from indifference to the fate of these martyrs to a demand for justice."

How well Mr. Golden succeeded in his design for providing an "effective" statement of the Mooney-Billings case, is testified to by the capacity audiences that are nightly crowding the Provincetown Playhouse in MacDougal street, to see it, and by the critical acclaim of the newspaper critics.

Mr. Golden still believes that agitation in behalf of a worthy cause can and does bring results. He is not a defeatist. He has no patience with the complacent people who say "Things are bad, but that's how they must be inevitably, so why try to do anything about them?"







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On May Day, 1931, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America look back to a year of accomplishment and forward to a year of achievements. We greet the workers of the world in the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

Onward to the Triumph of the Working Class!

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Extends First of May Greetings to all the workers and expresses the hope that the lessons of solidarity and brotherhood which the First of May—Labor's International Holiday—symbolizes will inspire them to renewed efforts for their emancipation.

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## First of May Greetings

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## MAY DAY GREETINGS

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for the part it is playing in the struggles of the oppressed. We are confident that its power to enlighten the workers will increase until the industrial and political emancipation of all the toilers is accomplished.

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On May Day And All Days

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Greeting to our fellow workers. May the dawn of another May Day see the workers further advanced on the road to solidarity and emancipation of all who toil.

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from LOCAL 110

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to

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1931 May Day Greetings

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7 East 15th Street New York City

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Powerful Weapon of the Working Class

J. BELSKY, Secretary

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J. MELHADO, Sec'y.

## Greetings on May Day

## EXECUTIVE BOARD

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## May Day Greetings

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LOCAL 17

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# Alice Brady In Strong Play On Color Problem

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## In Russian Repertoire This Week at the Cameo



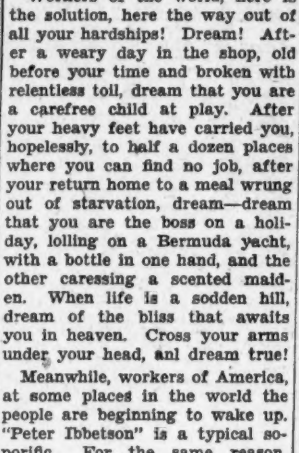
At the Cameo theatre this week is a program of Russian Repertoire. Above is Nikolai Simonov in "Cain and Artem" which will be the attraction Monday and Tuesday.

## Begins Second Week at RKO Mayfair



Two stars, one, the youngest in the world—Constance Bennett and Wilfred Bjorkland in the RKO-Pathe picture, "Born to Love," which goes into its second week at the Mayfair theatre.

## Mystery Thriller Begins Run at the Globe



At last, that long awaited mystery thriller, "Subway Express" reaches the screen of the Globe Theatre. In the interesting scene above, we see Jack Holt, Eileen Pringle and Jason Roberts.

## Concerning Constance Bennett, Star of "Born To Love," Now in Its 2d Week at the Mayfair



Constance Bennett is unquestionably one of the most interesting personalities on the screen, and just as interesting in her private life. She is in motion pictures because she chooses to make her own money. She has an independent fortune, settled upon her when she divorced Phil Plant, but she is out to earn one million dollars by her own work.

The oldest of Richard Bennett's three daughters is blonde, and weighs 99 pounds—sometimes. After a day's work she weighs less. She is a tireless worker, is fond of tennis and loves to ride horseback.

Her work is characterized by such outstanding pictures as "Common Clay," "Sin Takes a Holiday" and her latest, "Born to Love," which is now in its second week at the R. K. O. Mayfair Theatre. The latter production, in which she is supported by Joel McCrea, Paul Cavanaugh, Frederick Kerr, Anthony Bushell and Louise Closser Hale, was directed for R. K. O. Pathe Pictures by Paul Stein.

No sooner was her work in "Born to Love" completed than she was given Robert W. Chambers' "Common Law," which went into production almost immediately.

Lew Ayres in "Iron Man" and Eight Acts On Hipp's Big Bill

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Bottom, which played to large audiences at the Waldorf Theatre. For his third production, it seems justifiable for Mr. Bulgakov to select "Devil in the Mind," originally entitled "Thought"

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wenn die Veilchen blühen...  
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**"THE GREEN PASTURES"**  
MANSFIELD  
4th St. W. of By. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100  
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# "Give Me Yesterday" Now At Summer Prices May Continue Through the Summer at the Booth

Its subscription season having about ended, providing for seats at the box office of the Booth Theatre, Charles Hopkins has inaugurated a scale of special summer prices for the A. A. Milne success, "Give Me Yesterday," featuring Louis Calhern, Sylvia Field and Gladys Hanson. This policy will enable many more theatregoers to see this "best of all" Milne plays, and at a reduction from the prices for seats that has obtained since the opening of this comedy-drama. This should be a boon to theatregoers in nearby suburban towns, especially to whom this whimsical little comedy of cheer should appeal very greatly.

But, speaking of whimsies, Mr. Milne suffers from a crick in the neck from this eternal talk. It seems that every time he writes a play, "the policeman of the drama," to borrow a phrase from the late James Humecker, belabor him with, "Why, here again we have the whimsical Mr. Milne!"

In the springtime of the critics' fancy, the phrase is apt to run like this: "Here we hear Mr. Milne once more capering about with his whimsies."

To Mr. Hopkins, who is to A. A. Milne what the Theatre Guild is to G. Bernard Shaw, producer extraordinary in his plays, well acquainted with both Mr. Milne's books and plays, these statements are, to say the least, nauseating. "Mr. Milne's plays are charming and literate. They are devoid of rhetoric flubdub. To be accused at every turn with having resorted to whimsy must, to so capable an artist in the theatre, be a cause for insufferable boredom. To resort to homely language, this whimsy nonsense must give Mr. Milne a crick in the neck. I can vouch for it—does."

Anyway, "Give Me Yesterday" plays merrily on in the Booth Theatre with.

## In Colorful Romance of German University Life



Above is an artist's impression of "Student Sein, Wenn die Veilchen Blühen" or "Student Days" (When Violets Bloom)—the new German musical film now at the Little Carnegie Playhouse. In the foreground are Anita Dorris and Fred Louis Lerch who supply the romantic interest in the picture which was produced at the famous old University City of Wurzburg. Others in cast are Franz Bauman, German Tenor; Edith Schollver, Else Reval and Ernst Behmer. Heinz Paul directed.

## "Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" Continues At the Europa

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" (Two Hearts in Waltz Time), German screen operetta, is still playing to capacity audiences in the eighth month of its run at the Europa (formerly 55th Street Playhouse). This film is to enter the thirtieth week of its continuous run, commencing Friday, May 1.

## Ed Wynn at the Palace

Ed Wynn, original master of ceremonies, headlining the new bill beginning at the R. K. O. Palace Theatre Saturday, announces he will write and produce a new show this coming season. Star of a host of musical comedies and revues, he is one of the few who has essayed

## The role of actor, author, composer, manager and producer-owner.

In his act at the Palace he will use not only outstanding song hits and comedy from his past successes, but a few fast bits from his coming production.

## Nazimova to be Guest Artist at Civic Rep.

Madame Alla Nazimova will appear as guest artist at the Civic Repertory Theatre for two special performances of "The Cherry Orchard." These will be on Monday evening, May 4, and on Thursday, May 6.

## Murnau's Picture of South Seas, "Tabu," 8th Wk. at Central Pk.

Theatre-goers, who prefer an evening of quiet and restfulness while watching a production of rare beauty, continue to crowd Leo Brecher's Central Park Theatre, where F. W. Murnau's native romance, "Tabu," is playing. This picture of the South Seas, enacted by a native cast, enters its eighth week at the "movie by the parkside" this coming Tuesday.

So rare nowadays are silent pictures, and especially good ones, that "Tabu" has become the Mecca of entertainment seekers who welcome a change from the current talkies.

The nation is governed by all that has tongue in the nation; democracy is virtually there—Carlyle.

## Milton Aborn's Civic Light Opera Co. Offers "Mikado" at Erlanger

The cast for Monday night's "Mikado" premiere offering by Milton Aborn's Civic Light Opera Company, at Erlanger's Theatre, is made up of artists whose names, most of them, are pleasantly familiar to devotees of comic opera, and especially the Gilbert and Sullivan works.

Howard Marsh, as the "Wandering Minstrel," Nanki-Poo, has a character said to cleverly fit his vocal talents. He scored brilliantly as such during his recent Newark engagement in the G. & S. favorite.

The incomparable Ko-Ko of Frank Moulton will be in evidence with his "Tit Willow" song, "The Flowers that Bloom in the Spring," "Taken from the County Jail," and other comedy song hits, while he will once more enumerate for his hearers those whom he still has "On the List," who never will be missed.

In the title part William Danforth, who has long held the championship in that inimitable character, will tell of his "Object All Sublime," and Herbert Watrous, as "Lord High Everything," will be the Poo-Bah. The lordly part of Pish-Tush will be in the hands of William C. Gordon, and that of the love-lorn Katisha will be sung by Vera Ross.

The "Three Little Maids," so promises Impresario Aborn, will prove a delight to comic opera enthusiasts.

## "Liebeswalzer," an Ufa Film

At the 8th St. Playhouse Lillian Harvey and Willy Fritsch are co-starring in "Liebeswalzer" (The Love Waltz), Ufa's latest Viennese musical operetta and talking picture, which will have its American premiere at the Eighth Street Playhouse Saturday, May 2. George Alexander is in the supporting cast in this picture, which is an Erich Pommer production, directed by Wilhelm Thiele.

# UNION DIRECTORY

### BONNAI EMBROIDERS UNION

Local 88, L. C. W. U. 12 E. 15th St. Algonquin 4-3871-3888. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 2 E. Freedman, President; Leon Hattin, Manager; William Altman, Secretary-Treasurer.

### BRICKLAYERS UNION

LOCAL No. 8, Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor League, 169 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 5421. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Pfaff, Pres. Sec'y: Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Smith, Sec'y; William Weinger, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Sec. Sec'y.

### THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL No. 18, L. C. W. U. Office, 189 W. 23rd St.; Telephone Wt. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Perlmutter, Manager; Sec'y: Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Gotsky, Asst. Manager.

### LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Union and its members. 3 E. John St., 2nd Floor, New York City. Rooms 2700-14, New York City. Sec'y: Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Gotsky, Asst. Manager.

### BUTCHERS' UNION

LOCAL 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 7 East 15th Street Tompkins Sq. 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY ISIDORE LEVINE Secretary Business Agents

### BUTCHERS' UNION

LOCAL 174, L. C. & B.W. of N.A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A.M. Employment Bureau open every day at 9 P.M.

### CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office, 402 E. 17th Street, Algonquin 5568. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Philip Orfely, Manager; L. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York Joint Board, 31 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tomkins Square 5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 4th Floor. Telephone Algonquin 5568. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Joseph Schindler, Gen. Sec'y; Treas.

### N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union Office, 123 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9800-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M. at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

### INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 8 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunter's Point 0608. Morris Kaufman, General President and Secretary.

### FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.

LOCAL 181, 182, 183 and 185 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. & C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 6-7322. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

### FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and Headquarters, 249 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, Tel. 778. Regular meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Sam Kroll; Business Agent, Frank Kroll; Secretary, Samuel Munde; Treasurer, H. Helt.

### PAINTERS' UNION

Local 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, 123 E. 15th St., New York City. Regular meetings every Wednesday evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St., New York City. Sec'y: Philip Gotsky, President; Robert Rothman, Secretary.

### NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 7022. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed. Gotsman, Secretary-Treasurer.

### NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION

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### STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN Tuesday, May 5, 8:30 p. m., 7th Street and Avenue C. Speakers, A. N. Weinberg, Ethelred Brown. Friday, May 8, 8:30 p. m., 6th Street and Avenue C. Speakers, Samuel H. Goldman, Hyman Blumberg, Molly Weingart, Edward Gottlieb. Saturday, May 9, 8:30 p. m., Columbus Circle. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Henry H. Layburn, Warren Montross. BRONX Thursday, May 7, 8:30 p. m., 174th Street and Walton Avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Abraham Molin, Philip Paul. Friday, May 8, 8:30 p. m., 163rd Street and Prospect Avenue. Speakers, David Kaplan, Henry Fruchter, Irving Kleinman, Sol Marcus. QUEENS County Committee Sunday, April 26, the committee met at Jamaica. Absentees were Doering and Steinberger, Astoria; Goodson, Elmhurst; Goros and Trevas, Far Rockaway. John Beach was selected as the site of the county auto picnic and delegates were requested to ascertain the number of cars available in each branch. "Smash Tammany" in the New Leader of April 25 was commended for immediate publication as a leaflet. The committee voted to engage E. Clarke as organizer for Queens County and recommended an action

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## The National Office of the Socialist Party is located at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

### California

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
In San Francisco the International Labor Day Federation with which the Socialist Party is affiliated, will hold a parade at the California Hall, Folk and Turk streets, on May Day, with a lively entertainment. Robert Whitaker and other well known labor speakers will talk. J. A. McDonald will be chairman. Admission, 25 cents. Unemployed free.

San Francisco Labor College has conducted a debate between A. McDonald and Ernest Untermann on the question: "Is a proletarian dictatorship a better policy for the working class than Social Democracy?" Untermann upheld the Socialist viewpoint.

### Delaware

The May Day meeting in Wilmington was used to push plans for reorganization of the local. The Workmen's Circle, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Workmen's Circle, the Youth Club and the Yipels are cooperating in planning the rally.

### Illinois

**CHICAGO**  
More new members were accepted at the April meeting of the county central committee than at any previous meeting. Thirty-eight new members were admitted.

Reservations for the Norman Thomas banquet on May 17 are coming in full blast. Various unions and sympathetic organizations as well as Socialist Party branches will be represented by delegations. Since a capacity crowd is expected, it is essential that early reservations be made by those desirous of assuring themselves places.

### Maryland

**BALTIMORE**  
In the Socialist campaign William A. Todd, candidate for Mayor, has initiated an "open air fund" for the discussion of issues. Large crowds have been attending the meetings with good distribution of literature and the Maryland Leader, and it is expected that a record Socialist vote will be polled on May 5. The candidates are: for Mayor, William A. Todd; for comptroller, Lawrence H. Taylor; for president of city council, Morris L. Polin; for councilmen, James J. Kane, John T. Fletcher, Clarence H. Harding, Robert Kadish, John A. Orman and Robert W. Kane.

### Michigan

The Socialist candidate for Mayor of Three Rivers polled 283 votes out of a total of 1,340. A former Mayor who had been considered the strongest candidate up to the beginning of the Socialist campaign polled only 154 votes. The local is planning a hard time for cream social in the public park, with speaking and sale of party literature.

### Wisconsin

**MILWAUKEE**  
The national committee of the party has announced plans for a speakers' bureau and school to develop ability in public speaking among members of the young Socialists' organizations in Milwaukee, as well as others who wish to improve themselves. The class will be in charge of Attorney Max Raskin.

### Colorado

**DENVER**  
Local Denver is holding a May Day rally at the Evans Chapel, 12th and Bannock, on Monday, May 4, at 8 p. m. The musical program will be given by Mr. Soosa, violinist; Miss Clara Blansphill, vocalist; Mrs. Kramer, pianist; and others. On the speaking program William C. Stone, state secretary, will preside. Lester Michael Shulman, Carl Whitehead, both of Denver, and Israel Mufson of New York, and Charles Giroux of Montreal, will be the speakers. A big turnout is expected.

### Connecticut

**NEW HAVEN**  
Local New Haven entertained the state executive committee at the close of its monthly meeting Sunday,

April 26, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion avenue. Many comrades were present from a number of towns and cities. A lunch was served, short talks were given by National Committee member, Martin Plunkett, a former state secretary; State Organizer Fred Cederholm and the editor of the Commonwealth, Fred Schwartzkopf.

A liberal collection was taken for the Commonwealth. McLevey urged members to increase their activities, put up fighting campaigns in their district in the coming elections and to increase the distribution of the party literature. May Day meetings and Derby May 1 and 2 with Samuel E. Beardsley as the main speaker. Orders for copies of Thomas' new book were taken at this meeting.

The state secretary reported that a spirited referendum is on for the election of members of the state executive committee at large. There are six candidates, three to be elected. The candidates are Walter E. Davis of Hamden, Sven Ottoson of Hamden, Mayer Kanoff of New Haven, Charles H. O'Connell of West Haven, Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford, and Martin Rhodin of Meriden.

### STATE NOTES

Thousands of leaflets have been furnished locals advertising the three Thomas meetings in May.

May 6 will be a big day for Norwalk. More than half the seating capacity of the Benjamin Franklin Junior High is sold out and tickets still selling.

Comrades in Meriden are working hard to make their Thomas meeting a big success. Ford Hall on Pratt Street is being used for the meeting. The hall is sold out and tickets still selling.

Comrades in Hartford are on the job. Unity Hall on Pratt street, will be filled to its capacity for the Thomas meeting on May 26.

Comrade Beardsley of New York is to address a street meeting in Shelton on Saturday, May 2, at 7:45 p. m. at the corner of Howe Avenue and Bridge street. The subject is "The Butchery of the City Charter of Shelton." Local Shelton is holding its drive for membership and are in the day by going and getting one or more new members for the organization.

The Bridgeport Polish Socialist Branch are holding their May Day celebration on Saturday, May 2, with a big parade out to the Polish speaker in their headquarters, 291 Bunnell street. A large attendance is expected. A short talk on organization will be given by Jasper McLevey.

### Pennsylvania

Two new branches are reported by the Jugo-Slav Federation. One is at Imperial, where Frank Augustine, Ex. 303, is the secretary, and the other is at Central City, where Steve Koren, Box 543, is the head. The first is in the oil region, the other in the central coal field.

### PHILADELPHIA MEETINGS

Saturday, May 2, Front street and Allegheny avenue; 4th street and Catherine street.

Monday, May 4, Passyunk avenue and South street.

Wednesday, May 6, 5th street and Lehigh avenue; 5th street and Dickinson street.

Friday, May 8, Germantown avenue and Lehigh avenue; Passyunk avenue and Morris street.

Saturday, May 9, Front street and Allegheny avenue; 4th street and Catherine street.

Wednesday, May 13, there will be a meeting at the home of Emanuel Kline, 5th street and Ellsworth. All comrades and sympathizers in the neighborhood are asked to be present at 8 o'clock.

**ERIE**  
Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo, former Socialist candidate for Lieut.-Gov. of New York, will speak in Erie under the auspices of the Socialist local, Friday evening, May 8. The meeting will be held in Erie County Courthouse. Hahn speaks over radio station WGR, Buffalo, every Sunday at 10 a. m., discussing current social problems, and thousands of people in Erie and vicinity listen in every week.

Further information regarding this and other Socialist activities may be obtained of Samuel A. Baker, 254 East 17th street, Erie.

### New Jersey

**STATE COMMITTEE**  
The state committee meets Sunday, May 3, 2:30 p. m., at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark. Delegates from all organized counties must submit a full report on the number of signatures to nominating petitions obtained in their territory. Last day for filing nominating petitions for Assembly and other local candidates is May 14.

**NEWARK**  
The hand of fellowship will be extended by Essex County Socialists to Dr. Frank Kingston at a dinner Wednesday, May 6, at 8 p. m., in the St. Regis Restaurant banquet hall, Park Springfield avenue, or by telephone, Market 2-8356. "Ice is one dollar, including tip."

**CAMDEN**  
State Organizer Henry Jager of Camden will speak in many important sections of Camden until the municipal election of May 12. Due to the lack of "good local talent" it will be necessary to engage the services of Jager and other speakers.

Frank Jefferies, organizer and candidate for the city commission, will act as chairman at these open air meetings. Herman Niessens will act as secretary. The five city commission candidates. Prospects for a large Socialist vote seem rather promising. It is hoped that watchers will be placed in everyone of the 108 precincts and all local readers of The New Leader are urged to offer their services. Camden branch membership is growing and many young people are flocking to the party. The formation of two new branches in Southern New Jersey seem quite favorable.

### New York State

State Secretary Merrill has sent a letter to party members urging celebration of May Day by "deeds" as well as by words. Local and branch secretaries should honor the occasion by seeing that employees are paid up all arrears of dues before the warm season comes on in earnest and business meetings become unpopular; members at large should celebrate the day by going and getting one or more new members for the organization.

**ALBANY**  
A substantial sum was pledged to the Socialist Forward Drive by a meeting held in Albany last Sunday afternoon at which National Chairman Morris Kaufman was the principal speaker. Hillel and Ed Levinson questions asked him by three or four Communists. Robert R. Ritchey of Local Albany presided.

State Secretary Merrill spoke for the Socialist Party at a May Day celebration held by Workmen's Circle 320 of Albany on Friday evening.

### New York City

**CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE**  
The regular monthly meeting will be held on Wednesday, May 6, in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m.

### CITY CONVENTION

The annual city convention of the Socialist Party of Local New York City will convene on Saturday, May 9, in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 2 p. m.

### MANHATTAN

**Chelsea**  
We are celebrating May Day tonight at the Cherry Lane Tea Room with a jolly good dinner and communion, and only regret that we can't have the fun of our whole branch. A short address will be delivered by Tucker P. Smith. Both Henry Rosner and Eddie Levinson entertained the discussion group last Tuesday with contributions on the "City Affairs Committee vs. Mayor Tammany."

**Tippecanoe**  
Circle One at our branch has called off its meeting this Friday for cooperation with us on May Day. Harold Goldfinger has been elected its educational director. A little bird whispered to us that Reginald Headly is going to secure a new radio and a piano.

### 6th A. D.

Street meetings will be part of the district. Plans are being made for a lecture with Norman Thomas as the speaker. More details later.

### Morningside Heights

Members are urged to be present at the next semi-monthly meeting, May 5, at the headquarters, 556 West 125th street, to participate in the nominating campaign for the 15th District and Assemblyman for the 13th District. Also to vote on delegates to the city central committee. There will be a talk on some phase of Socialism by an outside speaker. On the Sunday night preceding this meeting, May 3, there will be a discussion of Norman Thomas' book "America's Way Out."

Francis Henson, a member of the national council of the Y. M. C. A., will review it. Visitors are cordially invited.

### Russian Branch

The Russian branch held a successful mass meeting last Sunday in the hall "Nanki," 315 East 10th street. The topic was "Unemployment and Means of Overcoming It." Speakers were Dr. Anna Ingemar, Sweden, Willard, Komakoff, Brailovsky and Dr. S. Ingemar as chairman. After a lively discussion a resolution was adopted demanding adequate unemployment insurance, the shortening of the labor day and week, and appealing to the workers to organize themselves under the banner of the Socialist Party. The meeting called on the Russian workers to participate in the May Day demonstration in Union Square.

**Upper West Side**  
The coming week will afford the branch an unusual series of attractive events. The May Day dinner will be placed in everyone of the 108 precincts and all local readers of The New Leader are urged to offer their services. Waldman and William Karlin. We announce again that the dinner will take place at the Cecil Restaurant at 312 Broadway, near 93rd street. The time is 7:30 p. m.

At the meeting Tuesday, May 5, the speaker will be Jaime Menendez, Spanish journalist and Socialist. Senor Menendez's topic will be "Socialism in the Spanish Revolution." Because of the timeliness of the topic, we expect as good an attendance as that which heard Alexander Fichandl two weeks ago.

As the wind-up of a thrilling week, Norman Thomas will speak at the Midtown Forum Friday night, May 8, on "The Necessity for a Socialist Party." Preparations are being made to accommodate the gigantic gathering whom Comrade Thomas will no doubt draw.

### BRONX

**1st A. D.**  
A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, May 5, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 185 East 14th street. Following a brief business session, speaker will be present to discuss some current topic.

**4th A. D.**  
The next meeting will be held on Thursday, May 7, at 8:30 p. m. Part of the business will be election of delegates to the city convention. After the brief business meeting, we will listen to one of our local comrades lecture on a topic of interest.

**6th A. D.**  
A mass meeting is being arranged by the branch to which enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers will be invited on Saturday evening, May 9, in the auditorium of the building at 808 Ade avenue. Speakers will be announced next week.

**7th A. D.**  
"A man may be down, but he is never out." is a slogan that well applies to the 7th. The failure of their recent venture has not deterred them from working on a new affair. This is to be a "May carnival" to be held May 16, at 8:30 p. m. at their headquarters, 4215 Third avenue. Dancing, fortune telling and various amusements will feature that evening. The price of admission 25 cents is well in the reach of anyone. Beginning with April 30, street meetings have been started.

**Amalgamated Cooperative**  
Two large distributions of May Day leaflets were made during the past week, under the direction of the new inspector, William Lipson. The entire area of upper 8th A. D. was covered. Special mention must be made of the 4215 Third avenue. Dancing, fortune telling and various amusements will feature that evening. The price of admission 25 cents is well in the reach of anyone. Beginning with April 30, street meetings have been started.

**23rd A. D.**  
The branch heard August Claessens Friday, April 24. The topic was "Reflexive Outdoor Propaganda." It was a very informative as well as educational subject. His talk was divided into four parts, each one of which was discussed. The first four parts were: (1) platform and committee, (2) choosing corners, (3) get-

ting an audience, (4) speakers.

In Socialism, by Samuel H. Friedman, was held every Tuesday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The class is well attended by members of the Y. P. S. L. Socialist Party and other visitors. It is the purpose of Comrade Friedman to take up a different phase of Socialism at every session. At the last one, the subject of "War" was taken up.

Extensive preparations are being made to make the rally on May Day a very successful one. Comrade Ship-lacoff is arranging the concert and members have volunteered to appear before the various trade unions to people cooperation. There will be a meeting of the arrangements committee this week.

**Brighton Beach**  
At our meeting Thursday evening, May 7, delegates to the city convention will be elected. Preparations will be made for the enrolled Socialist meeting which will be addressed by August Claessens on Friday, May 8, at 8 p. m. in the Workmen's Circle Center. The speaker will be a member. All New Leader readers in the district are urged to come and aid in the celebration and hear James O'neal and Wilkam M. Feigenbaum.

### 21st A. D.

A well attended meeting was held last Monday evening. The comrades immensely enjoyed a talk by August Claessens. We anticipate both the equal attendance and interest at our next meeting Monday evening, May 4, at 55 Snyder avenue, when Ben Daublin will speak on "The Life of Daniel De Leon."

**22nd A. D.**  
A spirited debate was held at 218 Van Sicken avenue, over the attitude of the branch to the Kings County committee. At the previous meeting the branch resolved to withdraw delegates. Finally, Comrades Halpern, Hass and Kline were elected special delegates, going unopposed, but carrying the sentiments of the branch. Comrades Shapiro, Baron, Davis, Breslow and Singer were elected delegates and alternates to the city convention. This Tuesday, the branch will meet to discuss their summer activities. An enrolled Socialist voters' meeting will be arranged for Thursday evening, May 14, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 2188 Van Sicken avenue. Speakers, etc., will be announced later.

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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.

548 SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1931

## Progress

WE are all interested in progress but there is one field where progress requires definition and explanation. If progress means happiness for some and misery for others the first group may rejoice and the second weep.

A case in point is the cheerful report of the president of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce on the manufactures of the borough. He submits the figures which show that in 1929 as compared with 1927 the number of establishments have increased to a net gain of 501. That is progress. Now the value of the products increased in the same period by \$28,545,038. That is also progress.

Our attention is now directed to other figures. We are informed that despite the increased values produced the number of workers declined. That may be progress but for whom? Then the total wages paid in 1929 declined by \$7,702,025 as compared with 1927. That may also be progress but, again, for whom?

Thus we get a picture of progress that means one thing for one class and another thing for another class. For the owning class it means more values sweated out of the workers and less paid to the workers for those increased values. The total number of workers declined, a certain percentage being shifted to the breadlines. Those who still have jobs receive less wages although they produce more.

Now the picture of this progress is complete. It is an example of what is occurring throughout the United States. The owning class is making heavy relative gains and the working class is realizing heavy losses. Socialism would end this sort of progress by discharging the owners. Useful workers would then reap all the gain and that would be progress that serves the great majority.

## Political Nostrums

ONE of our favorite publications is the *National Republic*, monthly bugler for Americanism, the Republican Party, private property, invested capital, and a few other sacred things. It is for "Constructive National Policies" and against "Subversive Movements." Wisdom oozes from every page. The fight for God and Country and Capital is waged without compromise.

"There has never been a time in our history," declares the May number, "at least not within the memory of living man, when so many patent political nostrums, and finespun and elusive theories were being offered to the public in an effort to solve some of our economic and political difficulties."

We have also observed this. One of these political nostrums had wide popularity a few years ago. It is still on the market and the *National Republic* did much to popularize it. But it has made millions of people sick. Many have died. Many are in hospitals. Many are unable to eat although they have a good appetite. Many have to wear old clothes although they would like to have a new outfit.

The nostrum threw us into industrial convulsions as bad as any "within the memory of living man." Even Doc Hoover who recommended the nostrum and the *National Republic* that advertised it have not said much about it of late. Both hope that the victims who patronized it will recover.

So we agree that it is time we shunned the nostrums and the finespun theories that have brought so many millions to the edge of hell. A Socialist program could not have produced that disaster, whatever else the critics may say of it.

## The I. L. P. Program

THE British Independent Labor Party's recent international program raises the question whether it is not taking over a large cargo of syndicalism. Socialists can agree with much of its analysis of imperialism and yet question important sections of this program.

It opposes Socialist participation in coalition governments as a principle adapted to all situations. This could well be accepted when Socialist parties were mere opposition groups but the balance of power between Socialist and capitalist parties is often so even that it might be suicidal in some instances. In fact, in Belgium and Austria temporary coalitions with the consent of the party saved the parties and thwarted reaction. In Spain it would be foolhardy for the Socialists to remain isolated and give a free hand to the non-Socialist groups.

The program formulates the same idea in relation to the League of Nations. It insists that no matter how many governments may come under partial or complete control of the workers the latter should remain isolated from the League. The enemy should be free to work its will. If we apply this idea to internal politics in each nation we will abandon political action because of the character of the governments in which Socialist parties function.

The syndicalist phase of the program is even more evident in the support of "mass action" for a variety of purposes. Like the old syndicalism, this proposal does not define "mass action." It means what each person wants it to mean and no two persons will agree on the same meaning. Radical phrases can never be a substitute for a clear working class policy.

## A Labor Ambassador

ORGANIZED labor made a tremendous step forward when 2,500 diners, most of them Democrats, honored Joseph P. Ryan, said to be a delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trade Union Congress. Many prominent Democrats were on hand, including Al Smith, Police Commissioner Mulrooney, John H. McCooney, Baron of Kings County, Mayor John F. Curry and his assistant, James J. Walker. The Tammany hosts gathered to pay tribute to its delegate to the congress of the British workers.

Ryan was deeply affected for he is burdened with the responsibility of telling the British workers how difficult it is to keep the labor banner unsullied in this country. It is rumored that the workers on the Interborough Lines are considering a testimonial to Walker who said the right thing to Ryan at the dinner. These workers enjoy a company union, thanks to the cooperation of Walker's police department. As Mr. Sullivan of the State Federation of Labor said in presenting Walker, the latter is "a man who will never surrender," probably referring to Walker's services to the Interboro in a number of strikes.

Al Smith added the proper touch when he paid a tribute to Mr. Ryan and Walker added his compliments. So everything went off as it should. Tammany met to greet its Labor Ambassador and we commend him to the hospitality of the British labor movement. Perhaps he will be able to tell the delegates to the Liverpool Congress how we manage to keep the American labor movement leading the nations of the world.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Good morning. Notice any sovereign Americans in your neighborhood marching to the breadline for their dose?

Some bankers are predicting a recovery in bonds. Socialists are more interested in a recovery from bondage to the bankers.

When the working class uses its brains, three things will follow: It will know its power, seize its heritage and reign supreme.—Eugene V. Debs.

The First Families of Virginia, the Governor of the State, and President Hoover were in charge of the celebration of the landing of the first colonists in Virginia in 1607. A prayer had been just concluded when a terrific rain storm ended the ceremony which shows that God isn't always on the side of the strong.

To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason is like administering medicine to the dead.—Tom Paine.

Jimmie Walker sees a red plot back of those who want to retire him and it makes him feel very blue.

Grant us the will to fashion as we feel.  
Grant us the strength to labor as we know;  
Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,  
To strike the blow.

—John Drinkwater.

Secretary of Labor Doak forecasts aid to the jobless in new spring projects. Perhaps it is grave-digging for those who will expire in the breadlines.

They that will not be counselled cannot be helped. If you do not hear Reason she will rap your knuckles.—Benjamin Franklin.

Jouett Shouse, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, declares that his party will "show its ability" to handle the unemployed problem. Like President Cleveland, we surmise, who had the jobless arrested when they came bearing a petition.

It is questionable if all the improvements in machinery have lightened the day's toil of a single man.—John Stuart Mill.

When the worker refuses to take up arms against the worker we will face a terrible calamity. Only the generals will be left to fight and die.

Many are idly busy. Domitian was busy, but then it was catching flies.—Jeremy Taylor.

# To The Workers of All Countries

## THE MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

### TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

On the first of May, in the terrible crisis which is shaking capitalism to its foundations, the international proletariat will demonstrate with more determination than ever for its hopes for the future and its immediate demands.

Never before has capitalism so clearly shown its incapacity to assure even a bare living to the masses of workers. Never before were there such huge masses of unemployed, or short-time workers and those who are starving and desperate. Never before did the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist order of society and establishing Socialism so imperatively appear.

The employers are seeking with incredible impudence to take advantage of the suffering caused by the crisis in order to reduce wages and thereby to intensify the crisis, in which the disproportion between the enormously developed machinery of production and the power of consumption of the masses which falls short of this is expressed. The Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have jointly indicated the methods by which the frightful mass distress can at least be alleviated. They demand that unemployment insurance, which is being attacked by the employers everywhere, shall be maintained intact and introduced in the countries which up to the present have abandoned the victims of the capitalist crisis to their fate. They demand the progressive reduction of high tariffs which disorganize the world market and increase unemployment. They demand above all the ratification of the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day and, in addition to this, a reduction of the hours of labor which would adapt them to technical progress.

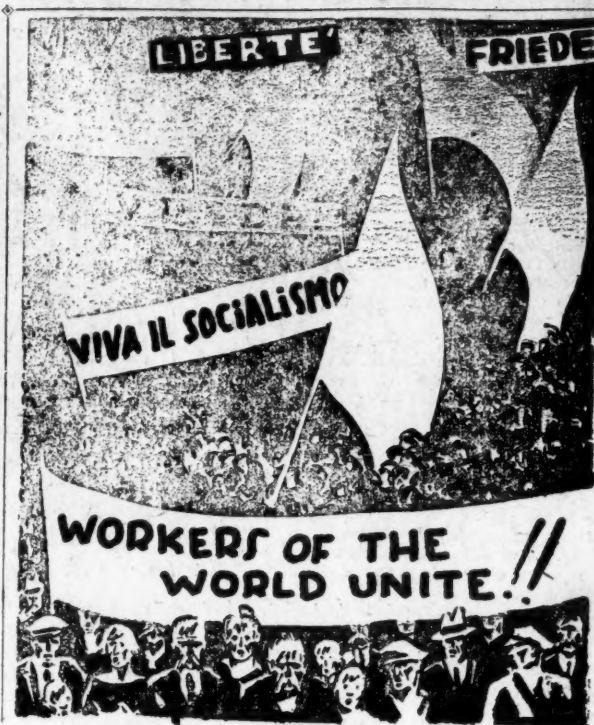
On the first of May the workers of all countries will demonstrate: Against Reductions of Wages! Against any Reduction of Unemployment Insurance! For an Increase in the Purchasing Power of the Masses! For Adequate Subsistence for the Victims of Capitalism! For the Progressive Reduction of Protective Tariffs! For the Five-Day Week!

WORKERS, SOCIALISTS!

The Disarmament Conference, which has been awaited for ten years, has at last been convened.

On the first of May the thoughts of the workers in democratic countries turn in brotherly solidarity towards their persecuted class comrades in Italy, Lithuania, Hungary and the Balkans, who are groaning under the yoke of Fascism and untiringly fighting for their liberation, and they greet them in the conviction that nothing can prevent the ultimate victory of freedom and Socialism. The workers of all countries follow with the greatest sympathy the heroic resistance offered by the workers and peasants of Poland to the dictatorship of a clique of officers who are sacrificing the opposition to the most barbarous oppression, and besmirching the reputation of the new country. The Socialist Party in Argentina is carrying on a stern fight against the consolidation of the military dictatorship. In Spain the fight of the Socialists, whose movement is gratifyingly gaining in extent, is for the overthrow of the monarchy and the conquest of a democratic Republic. The workers of Finland have arrested the onset of Fascism in their country, and the Austrian Social-Democratic Party has inflicted a severe defeat upon Heimwehr Fascism. In Germany the Social-Democratic Party is fighting not only for the German Republic and the achievements of more than five decades of proletarian class struggle, but also for democracy and peace in the whole of Europe. The result of the struggle in Germany, which is being carried on with feverish activity by the whole of the Social-Democratic Party, will be of historical importance for Europe.

In this combat between the forces of Fascism and of the working class the Socialists of all countries find it doubly painful that the Soviet Government is misusing Revolutionary justice in an infamous trial in order to still further intensify the fratricidal warfare among the workers themselves by an ignominious campaign of calumny. The workers are yearning more passionately than ever for the hour of proletarian unity, when the whole of the class-conscious work-



ing class will unitedly take up the fight against the class enemy under the banners of international Socialism. The awakening of the proletariat in all the continents of the world will bring new millions of working people into the Socialist ranks.

On the first of May the workers of all countries will demonstrate:

Against Fascism!  
Against Reaction!  
For Democracy!  
For the Unification of the Proletariat!  
For the World-Wide International!

WORKERS, SOCIALISTS!

On the 25th of July the representatives of the Socialist parties of all countries will assemble in Vienna for the

International Socialist Congress.

They will work out the strategic plan of the struggle for disarmament and the demands of the working class for lessening the severity of the economic crisis and the suffering created thereby, and grapple with the great problems of the working class struggle and of the defense of democracy. The Congress will demonstrate the earnest determination of the workers of all countries to make in international solidarity the decisions demanded by the times and by the mission of Socialism. The watchwords which will go out from the Congress will be supported in the spirit and enthusiasm which fill our May Day demonstrations:

Against Capitalistic Exploitation!  
For the Socialist Order of Society!  
THE BUREAU OF THE LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL  
Zurich, April, 1931.

# To Trade Unionist of The World

## FIRST OF MAY MESSAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Increase of Public Works, etc.

ECONOMIC machinery and innovations of all description, such as rationalization, cartels, monopolies, the credit system, etc., must be brought into better harmony with the general interests of the community.

The onslaught made by Fascist reactionaries must be met with the utmost energy, by inexorable struggle against this monstrous power which threatens democracy,

freedom and the dignity of man.

But it is not enough merely to enumerate the means for serving the interests of the working class and the community: Everything must be done to apply them; all the inner strength and persistence of the workers, all their strength of will, all their enthusiasm must be devoted to this great cause.

The present moment is too grave and too critical to waste further time in vain quarrels and barren

controversy.

If our cause is to be victorious it is absolutely imperative that all the forces of the community should unite and co-operate, which strive for greater well-being and justice.

The workers' organizations should be the center and rallying point of this great struggle.

ONE of the greatest and gravest tasks of the moment is un-

doubtedly the maintenance of world peace. As in other spheres—perhaps even more than in other spheres—it is of the utmost importance that we should put an end to all shuffling and hesitation and should close up the gap which now separates actuality and ideal, promise and performance.

The state members of the League of Nations did indeed recognize the principle laid down in the Peace Treaty, "that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments," but since that time more than ten years have gone by, and yet the first decisive step towards general disarmament has not been taken. At last, there is a prospect of something being done, for a general International Disarmament Conference has been fixed for February, 1932.

Workers and Salaried Employees! The year 1931 is for you a time for preparing your minds for peace and disarmament! You must awaken the consciences of all who desire the maintenance of our civilization and culture.

Our success depends on the continuance and growth of the "free" trade unions, the fight for decent wages and the shortening of working hours, the victory of democracy and freedom.

On May Day, 1931, the International Trade Union Movement demands:

The General Shortening of Working Hours!  
Work and Bread for All!  
The Maintenance and Expansion of Social Insurance!

Disarmament! Peace!  
THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS,  
Amsterdam, April 16, 1931.

Labor Temple to Celebrate

The New York Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th street, will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary, Sunday, May 3rd. Extensive preparations have been made to fittingly celebrate the founding of this famous institution. Under the direction of Franz Kaltenborn, a fine program of music will be given at three o'clock. Franz Baumann, tenor, will render several selections. A ball will follow the concert.

The Sunday celebration will be preceded the night before by a family gathering, including members of the Educational Association and their families. A number of singing societies will participate and there will be a free lunch feast, recitations and parades.

The Labor Temple had its origin a quarter century ago in the need of a home for meetings and social gatherings of the workers and their families. A free German school for the workers was also a need of that period and out of these aspirations grew this temple of labor which has been the scene of many notable gatherings in New York labor history.

(To Be Continued)