

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Sharp Divisions of Opinion—A World Bedeviled—Disarmament Means Disarmament—The "Two-Gun" Bandit—Piety and Patriotism—The May Day Celebration

PUZZLED POLITICIANS AND CAPITALISTS

BENEATH surface courtesies the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce showed sharp divisions of opinion and proved once more how difficult it is for the capitalist world to unite even on salves for the open sores of its own inherent follies have caused. Why do the men starve in the midst of plenty? "The war," answers the President of the United States, "and Europe's increased armaments following war." "America's speculation boom, tariff increases in the world in general and especially in the United States, the burden of debts and reparations," say various European savants in various accents. To which unnamed American Senators, according to the newspapers, reply, "No, it is the Treaty of Versailles." And Senator Borah in a radio address adds that the demonization of silver in India was a big factor.

Now all these answers with their implied recriminations are true and all of them together are less than the truth. All these evils: war, armaments, the iniquity of the Versailles Treaty, debts and reparations, soaring tariffs, unsound fiscal policies, are the natural children of the two deities of the Western world: capitalism and nationalism. But even without them it is the nature of the profit system to give us both technological unemployment and the crises of hard times. Only planned production for use, not profit, will remedy these tragedies.

A JOB FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

ANY immediate program for world peace which seeks to prevent particular wars while changing the politico-economic system which is the mother of war cannot specialize too much. We cannot keep great armaments and have true peace and prosperity. But we are wholly unlikely to get or deserve disarmament in a world bedeviled with rival economic imperialism and debts and reparations.

Those who see this most clearly ought to be not business men nurtured in capitalist notions of competition and exploitation but workers aware that there is no true or lasting peace and prosperity for them in a system which sets American, British or German toilers in competition with one another for the bones that are the workers' share of the great grab game. No tariffs can truly protect American workers against Germans forced to pay reparations out of their skilled labor at an annual wage averaging for half the workers less than \$300 a year. Neither does the Hamish Russian policy mean anything but disaster for American workers.

THE ROAD TO RECOVERY

ONE moral of all this is that the American lovers of peace who are beginning a campaign to interest America in the forthcoming disarmament conference must have more than a disarmament program to get disarmament. They must at the very least favor recognition of Russia and no embargoes, the wiping out of debts and reparations—let the rich who hold private foreign securities and profited by the war pay for that increased income taxes—and a general move toward tariff reduction.

Finally let us remember that disarmament means disarmament—not a little reduction here and there. Will Rogers asks how disarmament can bring prosperity when only soldiers and sailors get their pay envelopes. Yes, but they get them for unproductive work. Suppose instead of battleships and cruisers at 15 to 30 million apiece nations went in for housing at that scale. Wouldn't that mean a thousand times more for prosperity? And by the way, if you want an arsenal of facts and arguments on peace, let us recommend to you our fellow socialist, Kirby Page's latest book, "The National Defense" (Farrar & Rhinehart).

A SOCIAL CONTRAST

NEW YORK papers resounded with the praises of the police when more than a hundred of them captured alive a "two-gun" boy bandit and his "Moll" in a spectacular siege of a room in an apartment house. A day or two later the same papers told of an honest worker literally starving because he was ashamed to beg. No connection? Let's see. The same society produced the bandit, graduate of a children's farm, and the worker. It had police and tear gas bombs and notoriety for the dangerous, morally twisted underdog youth whose gun was the only source of his own self esteem or his fame. It had only bread lines and demeaning charity for the worker. But New York—take it from the Mayor—is the "best governed great city in the world."

NOISY PATRIOTS AND CHURCHMEN

JIMMY WALKER and his Tammany cohorts have recently become both noisy patriots and conspicuous churchmen. It was at a Communion breakfast of the police and fire department branches of the Holy Name Society that Father Coughlin and the Mayor made their now celebrated attacks on the Mayor's critics as Communists. A Communion breakfast of the same organizations was the occasion of an ardent eulogy of the city government by District Attorney Geoghan of Kings County.

Father Coughlin's eloquence over the radio and otherwise is a little more than mere clerical demagoguery. It is an example of the fairly honest but thoroughly muddled headed radicalism which persists in much of America. The good Father hates and denounces Henry Ford and the treaty of Versailles and the selfishness of capitalists and the sins of bankers almost in the same breath that he damns Socialists and Communists without understanding what either group of us stands for. Then he comes East to eulogize Jimmy Walker, that great friend of the people who helps unemployment principally by keeping "up to date" with his tailor. It must be added that this jumble of Father Coughlin's gets a big and approving audience. This last fact is a testimony to the power of the radio for propaganda and an argument for building up WEVD.

When Jimmy "stole" the police parade by marching at its head, one of his stunts was to rush up to kiss Cardinal Hayes' ring as that dignitary sat in his robes on the steps of St. Patrick's cathedral. The next day the Mayor and Superintendent O'Shea answered all attacks on the schools—including, we presume, the Comptroller's attack on the Board of Education's method of acquiring school sites—by denouncing the critics as enemies of their country and their city.

Why Jimmy and Tammany need the props of piety and patriotism is fairly obvious. But we should think that even the DAR might object to the Mayor's wholesale additions to their patriotic blacklist. As for the church—well, if its dignitaries like the Hon. James Joseph Walker as its devotee and exemplar, orator extraordinary at Communion breakfasts, that's their business. They have a right to their own opinion and the rest of us to ours.

THREE JUDICIAL DECISIONS

PROBABLY the high point of the fine Socialist demonstration on May Day in New York was the enthusiasm for Tom Mooney evoked by reading his message. This is as it should be. While he and Warren Billings are in jail there is no innocence that is safe from being sacrificed to class interest masquerading as justice.

By contrast with the Mooney case and many another judicial crime three recent judicial decisions are worth mentioning. Judge Wanamaker of Ohio declared the state criminal syndicalism law unconstitutional. Federal Judge Woolsey in New York saved Dr. Marie Stopes' book on Married Love from a prurient censorship. And "education" within the meaning of the income tax law was saved from complete subservience to the status quo by the decision of Judges Manton, Swan, and A. N. Hand of the Circuit Court that the L. I. D. whose object is "education for a new social order based on production for use not for profit" was as educational as if its purpose were more respectably Republican.

FREE:

"AMERICA'S WAY OUT"

By NORMAN THOMAS

SEE ANNOUNCEMENT ON PAGE THREE

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
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In This Issue:

**HEYWOOD
BROWN:**
"THE NEW YORK WE
MIGHT HAVE"

N.Y. Socialists Sound Call For City Fight

Convention Appoints
Committee to Make
Plan for Municipal
Reconstruction

A PROGRAM for the reconstruction of New York City government which will bring to the working people of the metropolis the full benefit of the community's organized resources was outlined as the Socialist alternative at a city-wide Socialist convention last Saturday, held in the Peoples' House.

The convention—169 delegates from sixty-three functioning branches—in forceful language stated the Socialist case against Tammany rule. It denounced Tammany's role as broker for the business and utility interests in the course of which it has enriched itself by corruption.

On the other hand, the convention carefully distinguished the Socialist program from that of the "good government" advocates and the respectable Republican machine. Not efficient and honest government for the benefit of business, but efficient, honest and Socialist government for the benefit of the masses, this was the program on which the convention planned to make the Socialist fight of the next few years.

Five Issues Stressed

The resolution stressed five issues as typical of the tasks to which a Socialist government would apply itself: housing, schooling, transit, unemployment relief, and the police department with special reference to its part in industrial disputes. To substantiate the Socialist case and work it into a detailed program for civic reconstruction, the resolution created a special committee. This committee will bring its report to the investigating committee appointed by the legislature and above all, to the workers of the city.

There was but one disagreement on the resolution which had been prepared by a special agenda committee which included Morris Hillquit, James Oneal and Leonard Bright. The original resolution attacked the forthcoming investigation as engineered by partisan Republicans for partisan reasons. A substitute paragraph moved by Paul Porter and supported in debate by Edward Levinson, welcomed the investigation as an opportunity to expose once again the corruption and subservience to business of Tammany and the Republican machines. The Porter amendment carried by a vote of 54 to 39.

Test of Resolution

Here is the resolution as adopted, and which will form the basis of Socialist municipal policy: "Our city government is grossly inefficient and notoriously tainted with dishonesty and corruption."

"Public office and judicial robes are sold to the highest bidder or awarded to political favorites regardless of qualification or character. Bribery is rife and unblinking. Speakeasies, gambling dens and disorderly houses flourish under an infamous partnership of professional law breakers, public officers sworn to enforce the law and influential political leaders. Gangsters and highway robbers terrorize the city. Racketeering holds whole industries in its criminal grip. Revolving methods of violence and torture are applied to poor prisoners, while men of wealth and influence are treated with indulgence, if not immunity. Elections are stolen. City funds are squandered. Crimes go undetected and unpunished."

"Responsibility for these disgraceful conditions does not rest primarily on the present administration. The government of New York has been criminal and corrupt ever since it fell under the rule of Tammany Hall and its political allies in the other boroughs."

"The Republican political machine has never been truly concerned about the purification of the city government. Its leaders have as a rule connived at and participated in the Democratic pillage and spoliation of the city."

"Whenever the Socialists of New York seemed to have a fair chance to wrest office from Tammany in a public election, the Republican organization came speedily to its rescue by uniting with it on candidates."

"Under the rule of the two old parties, both of identical make-up and political philosophy, and both dominated by the employing classes, corporations and public utilities, government

Socialist Minister in New Spanish Regime Greets International

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
MADRID.—Francisco Largo Caballero, Socialist Minister of Labor in the Provisional Government in Spain, has sent the following telegram to the Labor and Socialist International: "On taking over the office of Minister of Labor, I must send you and the comrades of the International my fraternal greetings and express my complete faith in the success of our cause."

Friedrich Adler replied, on behalf of the L. S. I.

Painters Fight Tammany for Legal Pay Rate

Walker Regime Cuts
Wage on City Jobs Below
Prevailing Rate

By Louis Stanley

Not the least of the difficulties besetting the Painters Union in New York City is its attempt to get a square deal from the Tammany administration which poses as a friend of labor. Painters District Council No. 9, through its secretary, Philip Zauner, has been making an effort to enforce the union scale on work performed for the city but the authorities have managed to evade their obligations.

While there are only about 300 painters employed directly by the city the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to them is also important to those painters who may be employed for contractors doing city work. On new construction work the organized painters have nothing to fear. There all the union building tradesmen stand together to enforce union conditions and do not hesitate to hold up the completion of a building if the union rate is not paid. On alteration work, however, it is another matter. The alteration or repair of buildings consists mostly of painting. There is but very little of carpentry, electrical, metal or other work. The building trades unions other than the painters have not supported the painters in enforcing the union scale on alterations jobs. As a result, contractors have been able to obtain contracts from the city to repair school buildings, hospitals or other structures with the expectation that they could "chisel" down wages below those demanded by the union. Since alteration painting is chiefly done on school buildings during the Summer months the securing of the re-decoration work for union painters would not only give jobs to union members but would also regularize employment.

Dodging Union Rates

In the present controversy over the prevailing rate question the painters have been among the worst treated. Director of the Budget Kohler reported that his investigation showed that the prevailing rate for painters in New York City was \$9.38 instead of the \$13.20, which was the union wage. Incidentally letterers and strippers or sign painters were listed at \$10.66 as compared with the union scale of \$14.70. At one of the recent off-posted hearings on the Board of Estimate Kohler even went so far as to deny that he had reported on the painters. Subsequently in a conference attended by President of the Board of Aldermen McKee, acting for Mayor Walker, and various trade union officials Secretary Zauner challenged the figures.

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Penn. Defeats Employment Insurance

Jobless Stage Silent
Demonstration as
House Votes Down So-
cialist Bill

By Arthur McDowell

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
ARRISBURG, Pa.—"I know that you are anxious to go to lunch, that you are hungry, but I am going to discuss the plight of hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvanians who are hungrier and have no lunch to go to."

With these words, Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, opened his attack on House committee machinery in which he attempted to take his bills for unemployment insurance from the committee which has killed them. The move was defeated by a record vote of 85 to 107. The bills which propose the accumulation of an annual unemployment indemnity fund of \$50,000,000 to be raised half by state from income tax and half from employers of labor were the only measures of unemployment insurance ever proposed in the Pennsylvania General Assembly.

Proceeding on a question of personal privilege, Rep. Hoopes introduced a massive roll containing the petition of eleven thousand Pennsylvania workers for unemployment indemnity. The Socialist member then discussed the problem of unemployment as created by capitalism. When he attempted to describe the demand for unemployment insurance he was gagged by the invocation for the first time this session of a rule preventing discussion of the great mass of legislation which is in committee and never reaches the floor. Evading this attempt to rule him from the floor, Hoopes introduced a motion to discharge the House Pensions and Gratuities Committee from consideration of the unemployment insurance bills. Speaking on this motion he was again halted and the Speaker ruled that he could not speak on the merits of the bills which he desired the House to bring to the floor.

Arraigns Committee

Turning then to a discussion of the history of the bills, Hoopes described how the Committee had originally denied him a public hearing only after hundreds of labor and fraternal organizations had deluged committee members with resolutions on behalf of the bills and members of the legislature had been waited upon by workers' committees in their home cities. "The committee felt," Hoopes related bitterly, "that unemployment was too acute to agitate the matter by a public hearing." When a hearing was granted and the mayor of the state's fourth largest city, Mayor Stump of Reading, James H. Maurer, former President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Estelle Lauder, of the Consumers' League and member of Governor Pinchot's unemployment committee, Helen Hall, nationally known social worker and student of unemployment conditions and P. J. McGrath, vice-president of the State Federation of Labor, and secretary of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union, all urged the bills in company with Harry W. Laidler, President of the National Bureau of Economic Research, the committee professed itself much impressed but the following week decided to kill the bills. No one

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29 Kentucky Miners Indicted For Murder; Troops Enter Towns

Flowers, Sentimental Speeches
And Highest Maternal Death
Rate Mark Mothers' Day Here

MOTHER'S DAY always means to America flowers for mothers and profits for florists. On May 10th Americans probably led the world in flower purchases, candy-eating, and fine sentiments of home and mother. But the United States also led the world in a more sinister detail. Out of twenty-two civilized nations, we have the highest maternal death rate. Sixteen thousand mothers die every year in the United States—they die bearing children.

The total seems more tragic inasmuch as adequate preventive and remedial measures were close at hand. Information assembled by Hoover's Child Conference in February showed the effectiveness of the work of the Children's Bureau. Through this means, 688,000 expectant mothers were reached in the period, 1921-1929. But on June 30, 1929, the \$1,000,000 annual appropriation for maternity aid ceased. The Jones-Copple bill to continue this appropriation to the Children's Bureau failed to pass the 71st Congress.

Mothers Find

Hoover's Door
Barred to Them

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Flat refusal by President Hoover to meet a delegation of six women, wives of unemployed workers, with one child from each household, marked the visit of this group to the White House, May 11, when they arrived to appeal for federal unemployment relief through a special session of Congress. The People's Lobby arranged for their coming to Washington, and emphasized the significance of their errand on the day following Mothers' Day.

"We wish the President would spare one week-end from the Rapid to come down to the coal fields in West Virginia," Mrs. Pearl Shiffet, wife of a miner of the Kelley's Creek Colliery at Ward, W. Va., said to Walter Newton, patronage secretary to Hoover, when Benjamin C. Marsh, director of the People's Lobby, persuaded Newton to face the visitors. Newton cautiously replied that he would carry their message to the President.

At Red Cross headquarters they met Chairman John Barton Payne, who has assured the country that the need for relief has largely disappeared in rural areas. Some weeks ago Payne said he "might" send an agent to West Virginia to investigate whether the hungry coal miners in that state needed help. They have not received any.

Mrs. Shiffet was accompanied by her 9-year-old son, Joe. Her husband has had only two and a half months' work since last August, although he has been with the one mine for five years.

Opposition from the wealthy manufacturing states and indecision on the part of the President were responsible for its failure.

Socialists should remember that the great majority of the 16,000 who died were working-class mothers. In the South, of course, the victims were almost without exception Negroes. Superstitious old women calling themselves midwives were the sole medical attendance given the mothers of 21,000 babies born in Georgia. Out of 100 typical cases in Idaho, almost one-half of the mothers who died in child-birth were unattended by a physician.

President Hoover may call conferences and deliver speeches, but he will do nothing to save the lives of working-class mothers. His hypocrisy is matched by those groups which oppose the dissemination of information on birth control among the workers. The evil consequences of such an attitude is shown by the fact that 25 percent of all maternal puerperal deaths follow abortions.

Court Quashes Four Counts in Hoffman Case

One Indictment Re-
mains in Case Arising
From Stroudsburg
Strike

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

STROUDSBURG, Pa.—The anti-union drive of the authorities of Monroe County hit a snag this week when the Judge who issued the most sweeping injunction in recent injunction history was forced to throw out of court four indictments brought against Organizer Alfred Hoffman of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Judge Samuel E. Shull declared three counts in the indictment illegal entirely and only permitted one count to stand at all and that one had to be sent back to the Grand Jury for correction. The Judge, sitting as a magistrate, held Hoffman under bail while the Grand Jury is fixing up the case against the hosiery organizer.

District Attorney Ira LaBar had attempted to charge Hoffman with conspiracy to throw stones, to assault scabs, slashing auto tires and pushing autos off the highway. Quoting the laws of Pennsylvania, which set out the legal rights of trade unionists, and which nullified the older conspiracy laws, Attorney Forrest Mervine and Orrin E. Boyle, counsel for the Union, showed that the indictment was directly in contravention of the status. Evidently, in his haste to get Hoffman before the court on some charge—at the bidding of the Bar Association, which has declared the strike itself a conspiracy—the District Attorney slapped together the first charges that suggested themselves to him.

Meanwhile an assault case against a striker is being heard as a sort of filler-in pending the time when the case for murder against the four strikebreakers will come up. The surprise move of the defense created a sensation in the town but the evening papers played down the fact that the indictments were quashed.

Meanwhile the injunction still prevents all picketing at the Monmouth mill and all strike meetings are under the ban. The strikers are not permitted to advertise the fact that a strike is in progress or in any way transmit this news to others. Judge Shull has, however, indicated by his ready acceptance of legal argument today that the anti-union crowd here will have to act a little more discreetly from now on—at least it will have to be careful about how it draws indictments. Incidentally Judge Shull himself during the injunctions hearing suggested to the District Attorney that Hoffman be prosecuted for conspiracy. He made this suggestion after a couple of strikebreakers testified that some one they thought was Hoffman, at a union meeting, made some statements about ditching the cars of out of town scabs if any should be brought in.

Union Leader, Sheriff
Foe of Gunmen Are
Thrown Into Jail in
Harlan

HARLAN, Ky.—(FP)—The move to unionize Harlan county is to be met by the courts now that the gunmen have been whipped in their battles with hungry miners. This was indicated when 29 indictments for murder, "banding and confederating," and other charges, were handed down by the special grand jury. Troops are on hand, making the arrests and ready to smash any resistance.

Chief of Police Asa Cusick of Evans, who said when the militia came that the gunmen had caused the trouble, was the first arrested. His assistant, A. L. Benson, and City Clerk Joe Cawood followed. W. B. Jones, secretary, United Mine Workers of America local, was arrested for murder. Cawood ran against Sheriff Blair, head of the gunmen, at the last election and won on the face of the returns, but his election was thrown out by the courts.

The special grand jury had been impaneled to investigate conditions in the coal fields near here which have led to the killing of several deputy sheriffs and company gunmen by coal miners and the death of one miner, the burning of 16 houses of the Ellis Knob Coal Co., the dynamiting of a mine at Shields, Ky., the looting of stores for food, and several pitched battles.

While these fields have had practically no union for several years, extremely bad conditions during the last few months, with short work, low pay, grafting, by the bosses and hunger for the miners, have driven the men to form unions. There is no widespread strike, but several mines have been closed by sporadic strikes as conditions became unbearable.

New Labor War Seen In Colorado Coal Fields

DENVER, Colo.—(FP)—Another attempt to reduce wages in the Colorado coal mines is being made. The first companies filing notice of pay cuts with the state industrial commission are the Alamo, Oakdale, Caliente, Barbour and Columbine Anthracite corporations, followed by the Vickers Coal Co. and Temple Fuel Co., headed by F. R. Wood of Trinidad, former worker for the Rockefeller interests and "feeler" for them today.

John D. Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. is not among the petitioners, but it is well known that the smaller companies, like those controlled by Wood, are followers of C. F. & I. policies. A reduction of wages allowed to the lesser firms would certainly be taken advantage of by the Rockefeller company, which has long contended that wages are too high despite the fact that many of its miners earn from \$400 to \$1,000 a year. The operators are seeking to have the basic day rate for miners reduced from its present standard of \$6.52 to \$5.00 a day, reductions to go into effect not later than June 1.

Thirty days' notice of intention to reduce wages is required by law but the coal companies propose immediate reduction because of the claim that their employees voluntarily signed petitions agreeing to the plan. In answer, John E. Gross, secretary, State Federation of Labor, said, "It has been a common practice for employers to obtain such petitions. Subsequent investigations have disclosed the coercion and intimidation by which these petitions have been obtained."

Hearings will be held by the state industrial commission, the first, set for May 11, at Walsenburg, in the heart of the southern Colorado field. After the southern hearings there will be a general investigation of the entire mine wage question in Denver by request of the State Federation of Labor.

PENNSYLVANIA MINERS HUNGRY

PITTSBURGH.—(FP)—Mining conditions in western Pennsylvania present a picture of infinite pathos. There would seem to be a limit to wage cutting, but reality disproves it. In many of the small mining towns wages are being cut to an unbearable extent.

In Uniontown, where the South Fayette Coal Co. has its mine, wages have been cut from \$4 to \$3 a day for inside workers.

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Pessimism of Capitalism Rules Parley

Reparations and Tariffs Blamed for Breakdown of the System

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Pessimism as to the time and conditions of emergency of the world from its deep economic depression was the keynote of private discussion among the hundreds of foreign delegates who met at the Sixth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, which closed May 9, in Washington.

This pessimism was well expressed by one manufacturer, chairman of his national delegation, who declared that "we are all so damned jealous of one another," that agreement upon any drastic measures for economic restoration was impossible. They all adhered to the same line, and they looked forward to a jungle decision of their fates.

Business men and economists pointed to three main causes of the ruinous slump in sales and production and purchasing power. One was the disruption of normal exchange of goods through the huge burden of war reparations, which has forced Germany to become—in 1930—the world's leading exporter of goods. German business has achieved this task by reducing wages—thereby virtually enslaving her working class and creating a new and dangerous problem of social and political insecurity.

These goods are forced upon the world market without any sale of goods to Germany in return. Because of the private competitive character of business in other countries, the presence of German goods creates unemployment in these other countries. Unemployment reduces buying power, and the vicious circle of distress is extended throughout the capitalist world.

The Tariff Craze

Second of the basic causes of the depression they named the demonization of silver in India, and the consequent drop in the world price of silver, which has wiped out half the purchasing power of India, China and other silver-currency countries—half the entire population of the world. American and Oriental speakers showed how this manipulation of silver values had destroyed billions of dollars of international trade and shaken the whole business fabric in the Far East and in Latin American nations.

Third of the causes of the breakdown of employment and commerce was the tariff craze, best exemplified in the American tariff wall but initiated in most of the other countries since the war. The British especially pointed out that America refused to take half as much in goods from Europe as she sells to Europe—her refusal being enforced by the tariff law. Britain abandoned tariffs when she became a world creditor nation; the United States, instead of realizing that with her new position of creditor to the rest of the world went the need for lowering her tariff barriers, built them higher while insisting that all debtors jump over with their annual payments on the debts. This tariff wall compelled them to grind their workers deeper into poverty, they argued, and that in turn reduced the buying power of their people.

Hoover Unsympathetic

Throughout the week of argument the chairman of the American delegation, J. Edgar Hoover, of Chicago, kept in touch with the White House and refused to agree that any of these three economic crimes be righted. He did agree that a conference on the silver situation should be proposed to the various governments, but no specific action was to be recommended to that conference. The tariff was not to be questioned by American business which had built it. And war debt cancellation was not to be considered—no matter how many million American workers were thrown out of work as a result.

In the background hovered the spectre of the Soviet Union, with its rapid development of industrial plant that is arranged to supply at low cost the needs of 160,000,000 people through mass production and mass distribution without any private profit. Various speakers mentioned the efficiency of the Soviet handling of one or another phase of production or distribution. They deplored the apparent fact that Soviet wheat would soon dominate the world market—due to scientific socialized productive methods. But one after another the Chamber spokesmen declared that Socialist production would never be able to meet capitalist production in general, if capitalist governments did not dictate too much to employers as to labor conditions.

Teachers' Union Discussion
Members of the Teachers' Union will discuss the question, "Should Teachers Affiliates With Labor Party?" at a meeting to be held in the Ethical Culture Building, 2 V. 4th street, May 15th, at 8:15 p.m. The results of the Teachers' Union election will also be announced.

Stimson Delays Lifting Lid on Real War Crimes

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Dr. Tyler Dennett, tired of waiting for Secretary of State Stimson to approve publication of important documents in the volumes of diplomatic correspondence dealing with the political and economic aspects of the World War, which Dennett has resigned. He goes from his post as historical adviser to the State Department and lecturer on American history at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, to be professor of international relations at Princeton. He had hoped to stay long enough to display before the peoples of the world the secret history of the negotiations which governed Allied relations with the United States during 1917 and 1918, and which culminated in the Treaty of Versailles.

Stimson's endless postponement of study of the material, and his unwillingness to make decisions, have made it impossible. The volume of political correspondence covering 1917 and 1918 which is now being indexed and will be issued about July 1 will contain a great many documents revealing the attitude of Woodrow Wilson, the French, British and others toward Russia in the early period of her revolution, but it will not be complete.

Three Socialist Locals Formed In California

Two Young Organizers Achieve Good Results In Tour of State

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—A special organization tour, arranged by the Socialist Party, has been successful beyond all expectations. In less than a month two organizers, Roger Rush and Hyman Sheinin, members of the Young People's Socialist League of Los Angeles, working between Los Angeles and San Diego in a Ford, have organized locals in La Habra, Santa Ana, San Diego, and a Young People's Socialist League in Santa Ana.

The Santa Ana meeting drew more than 150 people to a small hall, which was filled half an hour before the meeting was scheduled to start. A larger hall in the same building was engaged and was filled to capacity.

Fourteen new members were secured for the Santa Ana local. A Young People's Socialist League was organized with about fifteen young people and a county Central Committee was organized with the Santa Ana local, the La Habra local, and the Santa Ana Yipsels sending delegates.

In San Diego a local was organized and a large meeting was held in Germania Hall, filling all the auditorium, which seats nearly 200 people. At the next meeting, the following Tuesday, there were 37 people present and 23 joined the local. Plans were made to put San Diego back on the active list as a strong Socialist local, and committees were appointed to go ahead with the work.

The two organizers are now working in the famous Orange Belt around Redlands, Riverside, and San Bernardino. After finishing in the Orange district, the two will return to Los Angeles for two or three days and then start up the Ridge route for the northern part of the trip.

Letters praising the work of the organizers are coming into the state office from every local they have visited. They believe that the movement in California will soon surpass that of all other states.

Waldman Demands Walker Halt Award Of Bus Franchises

The contemplated awarding of bus franchises by the Walker administration to different corporations in each borough was opposed by Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, in an address delivered over Station WEVD Tuesday night. Mr. Waldman, surveying the entire bus problem, declared franchises to private companies would be a source of corruption. The granting of franchises to different companies would serve only to aggravate further a problem which, the Socialist leader held, might eventually bring another transit "muddle". Mr. Waldman urged a unified bus system, to be owned and operated by the city.

In the course of his address, Mr. Waldman referred to Mayor Walker's promise to institute reforms after the legislative investigation has been completed. The Socialist leader criticized the Mayor for not instituting needed reforms before the investigation was ordered. He urged that a beginning on reforms be made with a solution of the bus problem which would not hand out franchises to private corporations.

Increased means and increased leisure are the two civilizers of men.

—Dizrael

New York Socialist Convention Sounds Call for City Fight

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is almost always a partnership between the party in power and predatory business interests, by the terms of which business receives privileges and immunities and the politicians obtain a license to graft.

"Lasting reform in the city government will come only when a party of clean political and social ideals, such as the Socialist Party, organically opposed to the morals and methods of the old parties, and representing the interests of the large masses of workers, will secure substantial representation in the administration of the city with the opportunity to scrutinize and power to check its policies and conduct.

"We point to the honest and efficient administration of Milwaukee and Reading, under Socialist rule and of the thousands of European cities controlled by Socialists.

"Corruption and inefficiency are, however, not our sole or principal grievance against the administration of the city. We are even more concerned about its total failure as an agency of social welfare.

Right of Jobless

"Our city is disgraced by the most disgraceful slums. A very large part of New York's population is still housed in dark, filthy and disease-breeding tenements. The children of workers are often deprived of air and sunshine and stunted in their growth and development by lack of proper parks and playgrounds. Our public schools are inadequate and over-crowded. Our transit system is archaic and chaotic. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers within the gates of the city, innocent victims of our selfish and anarchistic economic system, are allowed to suffer and starve without any serious attempt at relief by this, the richest city of the world.

"The police department has time and again used its power to prevent the organization of workers and helped employing corporations to break strikes for fair living conditions, as was glaringly illustrated in the case of the employees of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co. The city government has brazenly and persistently ignored the prevailing wage law.

"No mere change of the personnel of the city administration and no superficial administrative reform will cure these deep-seated defects of our city government. Only a radical and organic change of government in make-up, form, powers and functions can avail to transform our city into a clean and honest community and a home fit to live in by its seven millions of inhabitants.

"The Socialist organization of New York welcomes the impending city investigation as an opportunity to expose once again the corruption and subservience to business of our city government under Tammany and Republican rule. It has little faith, however, in the disinterestedness, integrity and social vision of the legislative investigating committee made up wholly by representatives of the two old parties.

"Therefore, the Socialist Party while following the investigation with close attention and interest will, through a committee of its own, continue to study the vital problems of city administration and functions endeavor to evolve a plan of far-reaching reforms, designed to provide lasting foundations for a government that will be operated honestly, efficiently, and democratically for the benefit, protection and well-being of the people.

"It will present its program to the legislative investigation committee, to the electorate, and above all, to the working people of the city of New York."

In accordance with this resolution, the convention appointed the following committee to make the survey:

McAllister Coleman, Nathan Fine, Donald Henderson, Morris Hillquit, Edward Levinson, Paul Porter, Theodore Shapiro, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman.

Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the party called the convention to order in the Debs Auditorium on Saturday afternoon. Simon Berlin, popular presiding officer of the city central committee was chosen chairman, with Fine and Hyman Nemeser as vice-chairmen. City Organizer August Claessens then submitted a report on the activity of the past year.

Claessens reported functioning county committees in existence in Bronx and Queens. New York County, he said, has 20 branches, of which nine are taking full advantage of their opportunities for Socialist work. Kings has 25 branches, of which nine function well; Bronx 13 branches; Queens 7 and Richmond 2. Twenty branches conduct forums, 24 hold weekly lectures. General activities included the picnic of last Summer, the Forward Ball, many mass meetings and debates and the May Day demonstration. Newspaper publicity has continued to

be of a generous quantity. The report concluded with a reference to the great increase in votes and registration in the last election.

Claessens' report provoked questions in a critical vein from Coleman, Porter and Jack Altman. Coleman asked how many factory gate meetings have been held, to which Claessens replied that open air meetings were the function of the branches.

In reply to Altman, Claessens said no survey has been made of the possibility of extensive open air campaigning at factory gates. Porter asked for a list of trade union gatherings addressed by party speakers. Claessens promised to supply Porter with such a list. This did not satisfy Porter, who said he wanted such information not for himself but for the use of the convention.

The convention then turned to a consideration of proposed amendments to the by-laws of Local New York. An important change was made in the dues payment system. Hereafter the dues will be 30 cents a month, of which five cents is to go to the national office, five cents to the State committee, ten cents to the city office and ten cents to the branches.

Executive Committee Debated

Much discussion took place on a motion by Nathaniel Weyl to strike from the by-laws the provision for two years membership in the party as a qualification for membership on the executive committee. Weyl felt that the membership could be trusted to fix its own qualifications without the presence of any arbitrary provision which in the existing case, he held, might act to bar able newcomers from giving the party the full benefit of their activity. Nathan Fine, Julius Gerber, James O'Neil and Meyer Gillis vigorously opposed Weyl's motion, while Morris Hillquit, seconded by Norman Thomas, supported Weyl's proposal.

O'Neil argued that the two or three years' membership qualification was a universal one in the Socialist party of the nation. No discrimination against young members of the party resulted, he said, since it applied to young and old who have just joined. Gerber felt that the executive committee, since it was the highest body in the party should be composed of trusted "generals," seasoned and trained in party organization and policy.

Hillquit pointed out that elimination of the clause to which Weyl objected would not automatically open the doors of the committee to any newcomer who desired membership. They must be elected by representative and responsible bodies, he said. He demurred to the description of members of the committee as "generals," holding that membership on the committee should be regarded as an opportunity for service. He continued: length of membership was not a test of Socialism, necessarily. He had seen "old-timers"—referring to the desertion of the party during the war by many members of years' standing—fall by the wayside as well as the young ones. He urged that the provision be wiped out from the by-laws as a "gesture of welcome to the new members."

He wasn't afraid of anyone "running away with the party" and pleaded against "knocking new members on the head every time they get up." When the vote came, Weyl's motion was lost, 64 to 30.

Toward the end of the convention Shapiro moved the sending of a resolution to A. F. M. Brockway, M. P., congratulating him on his election to the chairmanship of the British Independent Labor Party, and congratulating the I. L. P. on its Socialist programs. The resolution was defeated. It was felt the implication would be an endorsement of I. L. P. policy, and a slap to the policies of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, which have been opposed by the I. L. P. A straight telegram of congratulations to Brockway was also defeated, probably because it was associated by the delegates with the first motion.

The convention closed with an address by Algernon Lee, chairman of the city executive. Lee urged the party membership on to duplications of the great May Day rally. He stressed the need for work on unemployment and unemployment insurance petitions, saying that the New York organization had fallen behind in this work. In conclusion, Lee spoke of the coming municipal campaign in which a new board of aldermen and a borough president for Manhattan is to be elected. He bespoke a correlation of the fight for the unemployed with the aldermanic campaigns.

L. I. P. A. Dinner Next Friday

The second anniversary dinner of the League for Independent Political Action will take place at Mecca Temple, 135 W. 65th street, Friday, May 22nd, at 6:30 p. m. The speakers will include Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of The Nation; Frank Murphy, Mayor of Detroit; Paul Blanchard, Executive Director City Affairs Committee, and Eleanor G. Colt, Secretary Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers. John Dewey will act as chairman. On the Saturday following, the League will hold a session and a luncheon in The New School for Social Research. B. C. Viadec will serve as toastmaster.

Rail Employment Goes Steadily Down, U. S. Figures Show

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Only 1,316,494 employees were reported for February 15, 1931, by the steam railroads of the United States, in comparison with 1,544,337 in the previous February, according to the monthly report issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission's bureau of statistics. The drop in total compensation was from \$315,198,615 in February of 1930 to \$175,818,130 in February of this year.

The shrinkage in total number of employees in various branches of steam rail service in this twelve-month period was: Executive, officials and staff assistants, 1,017; professional, clerical and general, 59,837; maintenance of way and structures, 61,437; maintenance of equipment and stores 64,844; transportation other than train, engine and yard, 23,049; yardmasters, switch tenders and hostlers, 2,645; train and engine service transportation, 45,804.

Plans now shaping for the Socialism Forward Drive in New York City may produce one of the biggest affairs held in any state. A final decision has not been made regarding this as the committee in charge of the drive and Director Harold Coryell are not yet ready to make a definite announcement. It is hoped to put this big affair at some time in June and it is probable that a more definite announcement can be made next week.

In the meantime, enrolled Socialist voters are being canvassed by mail and returns from this source will soon be coming in. Last week was the best week of the drive, Coryell reports. Readers of The New Leader who have received letters regarding the drive have been making satisfactory responses. This is to be expected, considering that these readers are the most generous in their support of the Socialist cause because they are in intimate contact with party activities by reading The New Leader.

When these preliminary canvasses are out of the way the drive will be carried direct to the party members. They will be the last group to be approached and it is hoped that when they have been thoroughly canvassed the national, state and local organizations will be materially strengthened.

One of the obvious difficulties is the wide extent of unemployment among Socialists and sympathizers. Quite a number of letters have been received from friends reporting either unemployment or working part time. One letter received is typical of others.

The writer has been a Socialist for many years. He writes that he would be very glad to help but has been out of work since April, 1930. "I am trying my best to get work and I am still trying," he writes, "but cannot get any. I have tried all employment agencies and have been at the Municipal Labor Bureau over eight months and did not get any work. I have been on the breadline about three months because all my funds are gone and I am way behind with room rent. I need clothing, shoes and many other things but cannot buy them."

It is such pathetic letters as these that should spur every Socialist and sympathizer who never employment to give as they have gone before. They should endeavor to make up for the loss, due to the fact that these devoted comrades are unable to give at all.

membership to the guest. Minnie Weisberg's brief sentiment was that when Barney reaches the age of 100 his friends will celebrate it in Madison Square Garden. Julius Gerber was reminiscent of Comrade Riley's entrance into the party and as a member of the same branch with Hanford, Flanagan and other printers. Gerber declared that if it were not for men like Riley and Hanford there would not today be a party to join.

Barney was much moved by the reception he had received. He told a number of amusing stories about his experiences with policemen in street agitation. He believed it was proper to say nice things now rather than wait till a man is dead. Every time he rendered a service to the cause he got a kick out of it and yet the Socialist movement had done more for him than he had done for it. He extended hearty thanks to all with the hope that he would meet all again when he is 80 years old.

CHICAGO—(FP)—Samuel Insull, power grabber in chief, now owns the Gary Heat, Light & Water Co. at Gary, Ind. His Midland United Co. was announced, purchased the plant from the United Steel Corp. Insull had previously controlled the lion's share of utilities in Indiana, including power, light, water and railroad.

New Leader Conference Wednesday

Many Socialist Branches Take Steps to Boost Circulation of Their Paper

RESPONDING to a call to a conference at the People's House, May 20, to discuss plans for increasing the circulation and influence of The New Leader, signed for the Socialist Party by Julius Gerber and for The New Leader Board of Directors by Arthur Rosenberg and Leonard Bright, a number of Socialist Party branches in the city of New York have already elected their representatives, and it is expected that before Wednesday evening, when the conference takes place, every branch will have notified The New Leader office of their election.

That the strength of the Socialist movement depends to a great extent upon the number of readers of the Socialist press is accepted by every active Socialist. No one perhaps is better qualified to express an opinion on this subject than August Claessens. In a statement to The New Leader the organizer of Local New York declares:

"Through the columns of The New Leader, our members, sympathizers and friends are kept informed of what is going on and are aroused to emulate the work of those who are pushing forward. A newspaper not only keeps its readers informed and educates them, but it is also the best medium whereby all sorts of activities are encouraged.

"It is infinitely more useful than meetings and personal contact for the obvious reason that such resources are always limited. Next to the radio, the press is the most powerful medium for molding of opinion and the call to action. "I hope that every branch will be represented at this conference on the evening of May 20th and that it will result in greater cooperation between the organizations of the Socialist Party and its organ, The New Leader."

Gertrude Klein Leads In Sub Contest

(Continued from Page One)

doing all they can to get new readers. Ville Salmi of Fitchburg, Mass., sent in 13 subs. as the result of a few hours' work among Finnish comrades. Roger Rush and Hyman Sheinin, Los Angeles Yipsels, who have been on a barn storming tour for the Party, secured their first sub. in Redlands, Cal., and are out for more, while J. W. Thomas, The New Leader's subscription agent in Indianapolis, is working hard to build up both the party press and the party organization.

In New York more branches are taking bundle orders for distribution at meetings than ever before except at campaign time. While most branches give copies away free, the Chelsea branch has shown what can be done in the way of selling the paper. According to Manny Borsook, 23 copies were sold at one open air meeting.

The New Leader sales army recruited by Jack Altman got all excited about the Party's city convention last Saturday afternoon and did not get started, with one exception: "Larry" Cohen, who in less than an hour sold 15 copies in front of the Public Library at 42nd street and Fifth avenue. The boys are going out with copies this week-end without fail. Circle 9, Y. P. S. L., distributed 150 back numbers from house to house in East New York last Sunday. This they will keep up for a number of weeks, and then they will ask for subs.

Barney Riley, Honored on His 70th Birthday, Invites Socialists to Join Him Again on 80th

Despite a tremendous downpour of rain accompanied with a storm of hail which filled the streets with streams of water, over a hundred members of the Socialist Party and of the Young People's Socialist League attended the dinner given to Barney Riley last Sunday night in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Brooklyn. The occasion was Barney's 70th birthday.

Louis Goldberg served as toastmaster. Telegrams were read from Harry D. Smith and wife, Arthur Rosenberg and Abraham Shipiloff. Morris Berman indulged in some early reminiscences and concluded by saying that if we all do the work that Barney did in his years of service we will have a movement greater than ever before. James O'Neil voiced the hope that ere Barney passed on he would live not only to peer through the portals of a Socialist civilization but also enter through them.

"We are glad that you have lived so long," said August Claessens, "and we congratulate you and ourselves in having been associated so many years." Claessens concluded by presenting Comrade Riley with a cigar pouch and lighter.

Abe Belsky spoke for the Yipsels and hoped that many Yipsels at the age of 25 will have the enthusiasm of Riley at 70. Harry Lopatin read a letter from the Junior Lipsels extending honorary

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Allentown Silk Mills Hit by Strike

33 Factories Shut Down as 3,000 Workers Join Textile Union

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — (FP) — Strikers from 33 silk mills gathered Sunday at a mass meeting in Allentown to rally forces for picket lines to win their struggle for a union. Vice President William F. Kelly, United Textile Workers of America, spoke with two strikers and local labor leaders.

So far no effort has been made to import strikebreakers; the Chamber of Commerce is declaring itself neutral—for the first time in Allentown—and the strike carries a gala air, although there is talk that some of the mills have closed permanently and that some of the strikers are as truly locked out as on strike.

Patrick L. Quinlan, organizer, and Joseph E. Matthews, national secretary of the Associated Silk Workers, are in Allentown from Paterson to decide what effect this strike will have on the situation there. Leaders of the striking silk workers claim that New York buyers are the backbone of the employers' anti-union activity. "There are New York houses that will not buy from a mill unless it contracts not to hire union labor," said Arthur McDonnell, U. T. W. organizer.

Has Labor's Support

Organized labor of the Lehigh valley is behind the strike of the 3,000 silk workers and will back a finish fight for better hours and wages, the strikers were assured by Secretary Clarence J. Mosere of the Valley Central Body.

The secretary praised the silk strikers for the effectiveness with which they had closed 33 mills in a field that had never been organized. The Allentown mills are mostly mills that left Paterson, N. J., to avoid the silk workers' organization there. They had never had any organization in Allentown till Arthur McDonnell, United Textile Workers of America organizer, began quiet work among the silk workers a year ago.

The raw silk industry here is practically at a standstill, with 33 of 38 mills shut down. The manufacturers say they will not open their mills till the union organizers withdraw. They claim that the workers were satisfied with the 54-hour week till "outside agitators" came in.

FORM UNION DESPITE COP TRICKS

LANSDALE, Pa. — (FP) — Cop treachery and fear on the part of the hall owner kept the Hosiery Workers' Union from holding a meeting in Lansdale, but not from getting enough workers signed up to start a local union here. After police had promised a permit if a hall was obtained and the hall owner had promised the hall if a permit was obtained, John W. Edelman, editor of the Hosiery Worker, got them together and forced from both the admission they were taking orders from business men and scab hosiery bosses. Then Edelman and his friends led the crowd which was gathering away from Lansdale and held the meeting in a hall at Colmar. The whole police force turned out to see they did not storm the hall and the excitement won a good crowd and the offer of a plot of ground for an open air meeting here. The meeting at Colmar brought several union applications.

HOSIERY STRIKE TO SPREAD

PHILADELPHIA, — (FP) — The strike of full fashioned hosiery workers in this district is to be spread into other Pennsylvania districts, according to officers of the union. Emil Rieve, union president, said that the union is making plans to carry the fight to Reading and the Berks County mills in the near future. Some of the mills in the Reading district are already out. Organizers are busy there now.

Manufacturers report that their scab employees are having difficulties with union members during off hours. One scab complained that a pot of paint was hurled through a transom into his house, spoiling his furniture. Two scabs at the Federal Knitting Mills claim that they were beaten by strike sympathizers. One striker was arrested charged with assaulting an officer, and two charged with attacking scabs are in jail.

WINDOW CLEANERS' LOCK-OUT ENDS

CHICAGO — (FP) — The Window Cleaners' Contractors' Association has called off the lockout against 900 union workers and ceased its attempt to force a lower wage scale. The general lockout was called after the union ordered a strike on one window washing firm because \$8.50 was held out from an employee. The employee, through Dan M. Agoa, association secretary, announced that no more union workers would be employed until all the union officials resigned. But after less than a week, the association told the unionists to come back to work, ordered the one firm to pay the \$8.50 and forget the demand that the union officers resign.

Kindness guided by intelligence should rule the world.—Ingersoll.



by
HEYWOOD BROWN:

The New York We Might Have

CATCH THE CROWLEYS YOUNGER

THE NEW YORK CITY administration has been under severe criticism during the last few months. But I want to go much further than any criticism of a single official, group of officials, or even a political machine. Because I do think the issue is much broader than that of any one person's conduct.

Some of you probably saw the police parade on Saturday. And I see by the papers that the Mayor led the 6,000 bluecoats and was rapturously applauded all along the line. I wasn't there. But I might well have applauded myself, for I have never denied the likability of Mayor Walker. And at the moment the police have accomplished a good and spectacular piece of work in the capture of Two-Gun Crowley and his associates.

But let me stress that word "spectacular" because many of the things which should be done for the city are not in themselves exciting. It is easy to get thrilled about a man hunt when 10,000 people line the sidewalks, watch the police cut through the roof and turn on machine guns and drop gas bombs. That's one way of handling a city problem. And at the moment involved I do not question that it was the only way available. But it would be a little smarter for us all to catch our Crowleys at a younger age, and to catch them not with gas or gun, but with parks and playgrounds and decent living conditions.

A FULL-LENGTH VIEW OF THE CITY

I stood the other afternoon at the top of the Empire State Building, and looked over this town of ours which Mayor Walker has called the Imperial City. The phrase is fitting, for like other adventures in living, we have built up a metropolis of curious contrasts. Here are tall towers reaching up to the sun, and below them vast acres in which men and women burrow into the darkness of our city canyons. And from the top of the Empire State—or, make it the Chrysler; I don't want to be a propagandist for any one single skyscraper—from the top of any of our great turrets, you can look down and for the most part you will see a drab and an ugly smudge of red and brown brick.

Viewed from a height our parks are pitiful. Only a few pinpoints of green here and there among the cell blocks in which we live.

People who say anything against New York are frequently challenged as to whether or not they are proud of their city. I have lived all my life in New York, and I mean Manhattan. I was born in Brooklyn. But when only one year old I said to my parents, "Let's move across the river." And they took my advice.

I like New York. But I don't think it necessary for a good, or even a pretty good citizen to like his city as he might like an oyster on the half shell. You don't have to swallow it whole. I'm proud of some things we have, and heartily ashamed of others. I am ashamed when I think that more than two million of our inhabitants live under housing conditions which are ugly and unhealthy and a disgrace to the Imperial City. We have been told by many wise men that improvements in such matters should be left to private initiative. But when private initiative fails, then surely the community should step in. And in the case of housing reform private initiative has failed.

Since 1926 there has been a State law offering 20 years of tax exemption to individuals who will put up model tenements upon the agreement that their dividend return shall be limited to 6%. But only one project of that sort has been carried through.

It is true that legal sanction is lacking for municipal enterprise along these lines at the present time. But this sanction can, and should be asked and won. It is ridiculous to say that the richest city in the world cannot get a move on and tear down the pitiful slum areas which afflict us. I have been fond of saying—and I imagine I've said it over the air before—that a nation which in war could break the Hindenburg Line, ought to be ashamed to say that it cannot break the breadlines.

NOT A CITY TO BE PROUD OF

WE need an entirely new dispensation, if we are to achieve a city for which all of us must hope and dream. First of all it will be necessary to arrive at the acute realization that we are literally neighbors in this municipality in which we live. The slum is your business and my business whether we live there or not. It reaches out and corrupts the town. The police caught Mr. Two-Gun Crowley. And I suppose he will be duly convicted and electrocuted. But that will hardly serve to prevent the creation of other Crowleys. Wouldn't it be better to reach down at the roots of things which cause crime? And these things aren't really motion pictures or newspaper stories or dime novels. In almost every case you will find the killer type produced by bad housing, lack of proper recreation, undernourishment, underpay, lack, indeed, of all the chances which make life worth living.

Now, of course, not every boy who comes from a slum turns into a morose bloody criminal. But if you want to ask the question, "Are you proud of the City of New York?" don't go into the slums and ask it of the people who live in the shadow and the blight of our tall towers. Don't ask rickety children playing in dirty alleys and scampering back to their burrows at night through dark and filthy hallways. None of us should be proud of that part of our city life.

Of course, James Joseph Walker did not bring these slums into being. He cannot, with a wave of his hand, give every man and woman a job and a place in the sun. But he or any other Mayor could make a beginning. I cannot see even the preliminary wind-up of such a start.

We are governed and we have been governed for years by men who insist that the City as it stands is good enough. And if it is for you and for you good enough, I can hardly command your attention. I am not even moved by comparisons between New York and other vast cities of the world. I am not talking about what has been done in any quarter of America. I have in my mind the far more difficult problem of what can be done.

A NEW DEAL, NOT A FEW REFORMS

IN some respects you might be better off if we had been less energetic. From the top of the Empire State the rivers which make Manhattan a long lead-pencil island, might be silver threads. But walk to any wharf and look into those dirty waters, and you will realize that we have made them things of baser metal.

When the Dutch struck their bargain with the Indians they inherited a garden spot, a rocky, wooded estate, filled with brooks and lakes and running green down to the water's edge on every side. All that is gone. We've built tracks, freight cars, coal pockets and barricaded ourselves away from these life-giving streams.

Those walls we should break down again and capture a way to every river with meadow and trees for an outline.

I am not talking of reform. It would be an excellent thing to find out where graft lies and root it out. But reorganization is a deeper-cutting process than reform. We must have a new dispensation in our attitude to the homeless within our city. It isn't enough to say, "Here is a bowl of soup, and there's a blanket, a place on the floor to sleep, or if you're lucky, a cot."

I don't know just how things stand at the Municipal lodging house now. Things are never quite as bad in spring or summer. But last year the wait could find shelter there only three days in a month. And some of the months have 31 days. I am not talking from hearsay. I went there last October, and that was what they told me when I registered.

Nor is it sufficient to set up a free municipal employment agency with 6,000 men standing in line outside the doors of the cramped quarters waiting in the desperate hope that something may turn up.

If we began a campaign of proper municipal housing, and if we extended our park system so that we burst into the crowded areas with spots of green, there would be plenty of work for idle men. It would cost money. It would necessitate raising the tax rate. Well, I'm for that. I am for putting the burdens on the backs which are capable of carrying them. It seems to me utterly fantastic that a few should have so much and so many nothing.

THE SPECTACULAR AND THE GREAT

IF Mayor Walker says that the criticism directed against him comes from captious radicals who find fault with all existing

Wage Cuts And Breakdown of Capitalism Bring 9 Per Cent Drop in Earnings In Year

Employers Trying to Recoup Losses by Slashing Pay Envelopes of Workers

ACCORDING TO FACTS for Workers, the monthly publication of the Labor Bureau, Inc., New York City, "revised figures for February, 1931, show a total of 231 wage reductions as against only eight gains. January cuts amounted to 341 in all, but there were seventy-two advances. More reductions in wage scales went into effect in the first two months of 1931 than there were gains in the entire twelve months of 1930. The sporadic attempts of the Hoover Administration seem to be ineffectual in preventing a weakening of the wage level in spite of all warnings that reduction in wages inevitably means loss of purchasing power.

"Average per capita earnings were nine per cent lower in March, 1931, than in March, 1930, in spite of the fact that there had been monthly gains of six per cent from January to February, and one per cent from February to March."

While no accurate data on the buying power of money wages are available, real wages are rising due to lower living costs. This is true, however, "only for the comparatively few workers who are fortunate enough to be fully employed at their old rates. For the rest—the great majority—the gain from the decline in prices is more than counterbalanced by widespread part-time employment and reductions in scales.

No Spring Revival
"While it is by now generally admitted that no 'spring revival' has come to put an end to the depression, the record shows a number of slightly encouraging signs. Nevertheless, activity in most industries is not yet within striking distance even of the low levels of last spring.

"The stock market has recently fallen below the bottom levels of December, 1930, and it is not likely to have a prolonged marked rise for some time to come. This fact is due to the reduced profits of most large corporations and to many cuts in dividends. These financial facts, which are merely a reflection of what has already happened to industry, undoubtedly

Labor Bureau Finds the "Spring Revival" Largely Fictitious — Advances Slight

furnish a good deal of the impetus for wage cuts, which has become markedly stronger. Stockholders did not care what happened to wages so long as their dividends were coming regularly, but now many of them are eager to recoup their fortunes at the expense of the wage-earners."

"One of the elements which has at times furnished a helping hand out of depression—enlarged purchasing power of the farmers—is found to be conspicuously absent this time. World production of agricultural staples like wheat and cotton is as large as ever, while the demand has shrunk or at least has not increased. Thus prices remain low and farmers' incomes suffer. This is one of the important considerations which lead the experts to think that recovery from the depression is likely to be extremely slow," the Labor Bureau says.

Boulder Dam Work Strictly Anti-Union

Government Contractor Won't Deal With Organization, Slashes Pay

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Secretary of the Interior Wilbur, who insists on naming the Boulder Canyon dam after President Hoover, who blocked the enactment of the bill for its construction until the power trust was granted a big share of the product, has made this great enterprise a strictly non-union job.

In the May issue of the Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, official organ of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is published a report by a special investigator sent to the site by the I. B. E. W. This report shows that Wilbur looks upon the job as a "cold business proposition," and not as an employment opportunity. The Six Companies, Inc., to whom the contract was let by Wilbur with Hoover's approval, do not deal with union labor.

Summing up the case, the Journal says:

1—Very few men in excess of the present working force have been or will be taken on; 2—The "prevailing wage" law is being violated; 3—Supt. of Construction, Crowe, admits that he has no wage scale; 4—Electric linemen are being paid \$2.40 a day less than the prevailing wage; 5—Excessive board bills are charged workers by the company that holds the concession; 6—Police of Las Vegas, Nev., are deporting workers. Others are sleeping in pool halls on sufferance; 8—Crowe, superintendent of construction, is a former employee of the Interior Department. His firm has been notably successful in securing government contracts; 9—The dam is being used as a "job" pork barrel.

methods of municipal government, I will readily admit that as far as I am concerned that is true. What is called a respectable businessman's administration means no more to me than a Tammany administration.

I want to see an honest government. We have had ample evidence that not every judge or magistrate is beyond suspicion. It has been admitted that the practice of making a present for an appointment is hardly startling. Some make the point that it is graft if you give it before the appointment, and natural generosity if the present comes later. This seems to me too fine a distinction.

Nor am I moved when some executive says, "Well, maybe here and there wrong acts have been committed. But those were done by my subordinates. I cannot help that."

I think an executive ought to be responsible for his subordinates. He should begin by picking people he can trust rather than in satisfying the demands of district leaders.

Again, it has been said and will be said that though certain policemen have erred in ugly graft in framing women, many members of the force are above reproach. And it is asked, "Why don't the newspapers print more about the honest men in the city government, and the city service?"

Such excuses I take to be a confession of weakness. Heaven defend the City of New York when the fact of reasonable honesty becomes first page news.

And I am thinking—and I want you to think—of those changes, those radical changes in the making of New York which are not first page, which are not spectacular. You cannot expect to get 10,000 people to stand around and cheer when an old and ill-conditioned tenement is torn down. That isn't as exciting as prying a gunman out of a West End Avenue apartment. But in the long run it will mean more.

YOUR JOB AND MINE

CAN'T we all get the notion that this city government is not something apart? It belongs to us. More than that, it is us; or it should be.

And so when it falls short we cannot content ourselves simply by finding a culprit here, or a culprit there. We must do better. We must say, "This time we have failed, now we'll get to work."

And that work must be done in a spirit of full co-operation. It has been said a great many times before that we did show a dispensation for team-work under stress of war. We called that an emergency. We confront an emergency now. Seven million men out of work constitutes a problem just as acute as warfare—more dangerous, I think, and more dreadful.

The federal government says that the creation of relief belongs to local agencies. And local agencies say it belongs to the federal government. And so any comprehensive plan languishes while the responsibility is batted back and forth. It is your responsibility and mine. Not charity, of course. Reorganization. And I say it without any feeling that it is merely a speaker's phrase, though thousands of speakers have said it. Brotherhood now and hereafter—true and complete.

31 Writers Urge Rolph Free Mooney

THIRTY-ONE well-known American authors headed by Sinclair Lewis have joined in a telegraphic appeal to Gov. James Rolph, of California, urging him to give prompt consideration to the new pardon application of Tom Mooney.

The telegram and the names of the signers follow:

"The undersigned urge upon you the prompt consideration of the pardon application of Tom Mooney. All the facts in the case as brought out in the Supreme Court hearings convince us that Mooney and Billings were convicted on perjured testimony and are, as trial Judge Griffin states, innocent of the crime with which they were charged. We are at a loss to understand why California still imprisons men of whose innocence such clear proof has been brought out. The issue is a concern not only to California, but to those eager for the cause of justice throughout the country. We urge your prompt and favorable action."

Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Konrad Bercovici, Elmer Davis, John Erskine, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Inez Haynes Irwin, Albert Bigelow Paine, Felix Riesenberg, Vincent Starrett, Mary Austin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Heywood Brown, Walter Prichard Eaton, Edna Ferber, John Palmer Gavit, H. L. Mencken, Cornelia Stratton Parker, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Mary Heaton Vorse, William Allen White, Fannie Hurst, Stephen Vincent Benet, Howard Brubaker, George Allan England, Lewis Gannett, Rupert Hughes, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Elmer Rice, Carl Sandburg, Joshua Wanhope.

Atty. Frank P. Walsh will argue in support of Mooney's pardon application before Gov. Rolph some time this month. While Mooney's application is before the governor, favorable action upon it would pave the way to freeing Billings, since both were convicted on practically the same evidence.

Central Trades Wary of Probe In New York

Council Appoints "Vigilance" Committee—Ryan Attacks Closed Hearings

WHAT was characterized by President Joseph P. Ryan as a Vigilance or Alert Committee of Labor was announced at the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity as having been formed.

The purpose of the committee is to guard the interests of trade unions and trade union leaders during the course of the investigations of the New York city government. It is to be known officially as the Special American Federation of Labor Committee. Affiliated with it are representatives of the Central Trades, the Building Trades Council, Allied Printing Trades, the Carpenters' District Council, the Machinists' Council and other organizations. All unions are urged to send delegates to the committee.

The committee was created two weeks ago with Joseph P. Ryan of the Longshoremen as chairman, Edward Canavan of the Stage Hands as vice chairman and Secretary Quinn of the Hatters as secretary. An Executive Board of twelve was elected to carry on the necessary work. The committee consists of about one hundred members at the present time.

In explaining the aims of the special committee President Ryan complained that in every investigation into racketeering or governmental matters the first attack is made upon the trade unions. He denounced secret preliminary hearings before investigators on the ground that those who find nothing wrong with the situation are never asked to appear as witnesses in the open sessions. He defended charges against the longshoremen, asbestos workers, and fish handlers' unions.

The delegates came to the meeting anxious to hear what had been done about the prevailing rate of wages before the City Fathers. President Ryan explained that conferences were being held with Director of the Budget Kohler and that the matter would come up before the Board of Estimate at its next meeting of the Committee of the Whole. Many of the trades were going to receive the wage rate claimed was the prevailing rate, assured Ryan. Secretary Quinn stated that the union representatives did not claim the rates were not correct but they wanted to check up on the Director's data.

The meeting adjourned after one of the shortest sessions in many months.

Rand School Will Hold Commencement on May 24; Thomas to Speak

The Rand School will close its twenty-fifth year with commencement exercises at 8:30 p. m. on the evening of May 24th. Diplomas will be given to the largest class ever graduated from the school. Norman Thomas will be the chief speaker. The Rand School Players, under the direction of David Rossi, will present in a new dramatic form certain important scenes from the history of the School. There will be dancing and refreshments and the spirit of comradeship which has always characterized such occasions at the School. All ex-students, all friends, and especially all members of the Socialist Party and labor unions are invited to attend. It is suggested that each one bring as his guest some friend who may become a student next year. Cards of admission may be obtained at the School office.

FREE An Autographed Copy of 'America's Way Out'

By NORMAN THOMAS

To everyone who obtains five yearly subscriptions, or ten semi-yearly subscriptions, before June 1—a copy of Norman Thomas' "America's Way Out—A Program of Democracy."

This book has been aptly termed a landmark in the history of American Socialism. No Socialist should miss reading it.

In addition to a preface, an epilogue, a bibliography and an index, this book contains the following chapters:

- | | |
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| II. How We Use Our Power. | XI. Other Economic Problems for Socialism. |
| III. Capitalism, Nationalism and Radicalism. | XII. Socialism and the Individual. |
| IV. Newer Forms of Capitalism. | XIII. A Socialist View of Our Political Theory and Structure. |
| V. The Rise and Growth of Socialism. | XIV. Socialism and Internationalism. |
| VI. Communism. | XV. Basic Organizations: Labor and the Co-operatives. |
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5th Prize: Library of Socialist Classics, 25 volumes.

6th Prize: Norman Thomas' "America's Way Out." An autographed copy will go to all contestants who score 50 points or more.

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Remember, you should collect \$1.00 for a six months' subscription and \$2 for a yearly subscription. All subscriptions must be NEW and start not later than June 8, 1931. In case of a tie all tying contestants will receive the same prizes. All entries must be postmarked before midnight of June 1, 1931. Any mailed after that will not be counted.

The count will be certified by Henry Halpern Co., Certified Public Accountants. The contest is open to all except employees of The New Leader.

Contest Rules

The contest score will be reckoned in points. Each six months' subscription to The New Leader will count 5 points—each yearly subscription 10 points. The contestant having the greatest number of points will secure the first prize—the next highest, second prize—next the third, then fourth and fifth. All contestants making 50

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Municipal Reform and the Needs of the City

By Henry J. Rosner

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, THOUGH HONEST, CANNOT SATISFY MASSES; THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM AS THE ONLY OPPOSITION TO TAMMANY

In New York City, municipal corruption has apparently become the issue of the hour; so much so that the problem of unemployment has been thrust into the background. In the New York press the most banal and obvious statements of the mal-administration of the Walker administration will get front page publicity whereas a reasoned attack on the failure of our political office holders to take constructive action on behalf of the unemployed will be either buried in the back pages or cast into the waste basket.

To Socialists who are aware that the distress of unemployment far transcends in importance the suffering caused by the corruption of the Tammany-McCooy ring, this position is a betrayal of the unemployed. With that viewpoint this writer is in agreement. Some, however, go a step further and declare that the Socialist Party ought to ignore the issue of corruption and concentrate on unemployment. I think that the latter attitude reveals a failure correctly to analyze political realities.

We cannot help it if the press and a large percentage of the population choose to make of corruption the paramount issue to the exclusion of unemployment. Certainly our party has labored to bring the issue of unemployment into the foreground. In March, 1930, almost at the very outset of the present industrial depression, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, appeared before the Board of Estimate and Appropriation and presented a constructive program for unemployment relief which was uniformly ignored. They pointed out then that the city had failed to speed up public works and that there was great need of a large municipal appropriation for direct unemployment relief.

An entire year passed before the social workers who were most directly concerned with relieving actual distress appeared before the city authorities to urge action by them. Lawson Purdy of the Welfare Council only a month ago requested from the city administration an appropriation of ten million dollars to provide odd jobs for the unemployed; the speeding up of public works. Needless to add, he was much less vigorous than our spokesmen, who appeared at the same time. When the city administration finally appropriated the terribly inadequate sum of two million dollars, part of which will be used to purchase materials, he warmly congratulated the administration. Our party and spokes-

men have waged a continuous fight on behalf of the unemployed. If some of the trade unions took one-half of the interest in this problem that our party has, the unemployed would be much better off than they are now.

Nevertheless, it would be a grave mistake for us to abandon the corruption issue now. In the first place the spokesmen have become recognized by the public as leaders who can be trusted in this fight. In the last year and half there has been turned over to me in my capacity as Research Secretary to the Public Affairs Committee many cases of workers who have suffered because of the incompetence or corruption of Tammany departments. For instance, the Department of Licenses which has as one of its chief functions the regulation of private employment agencies, has singularly failed in this duty. In March, 1929, the Industrial Survey Commission, a state legislative investigating committee, recommended that this function be transferred from the Department of Licenses to the State Department of Labor because the former had not stopped the "gyping" of the unemployed by these slave markets, notoriously crooked employment agencies with political influences are permitted to stay in business. We brought pressure to bear upon the Department of Licenses and helped a great many men who had been cheated of their last dollar get their money back.

Obviously, a Socialist Party that fails to take an interest in a specific abuse of this character loses a grand opportunity to gain converts. Many of these workers felt a bitter resentment towards Tammany Hall and were highly appreciative of our efforts on their behalf.

Norman Thomas's attack on the Magistrates' courts undoubtedly won for the Socialist Party a great deal of respect among the thousands of New York's humble citizens who have been denied justice in these courts. To judge from the large number of specific complaints which are received, many people look to the Socialist Party for relief. Clearly a political party which aspires to the leadership of New York's masses would make a great mistake if it ignored injustices caused by the corruption and inefficiency of our Tammany government.

Now that the corruption issue is with us, it is our task to take advantage of it. This is easier said than done. The great danger is that Tammany Hall will be de-

feated in the next election but by a reform administration of the conventionally respectable type. Under Samuel Seabury the Legislative Investigating Commission will undoubtedly make some very startling disclosures of malfeasance in office. Certainly the investigations into the Magistrate's courts and the District Attorney's office is indicative of the sort of thing that an able investigator can unearth. As a result the public conscience will be shocked. Samuel Seabury will begin to assume formidable proportions in the public eye. A fusion ticket of the so-called better elements may be formed, possibly with Mr. Seabury as its candidate for Mayor. The newspapers would line up in back of him. Plenty of money would be forthcoming from wealthy groups for campaign purposes, and Tammany would be defeated.

This has happened before in the history of New York City. The best case in point is the Mitchell Administration of 1913 to 1917. The latter had been Commissioner of Accounts in previous administrations. He had acquired as a result of his investigating activities a reputation as a proponent of clean government. The result was a fusion reform campaign in 1913 and his election to office. He lasted just four years, to be replaced by one of the dumbest Mayors New York City has ever known, John F. Hylan, a product of the McCooey machine in Brooklyn, which in every way is just as corrupt as Tammany Hall.

How are we to account for the return of the corrupt Democratic party to office after four years of so-called reform administration? Was it because the people of New York City prefer dishonest government to clean government? Remember that in the Mitchell Cabinet were to be found some of America's outstanding civic reformers. For instance, Leonard Wallstein, counsel for the Citizens' Union, was Mitchell's Commissioner of Accounts.

The explanation is to be found in the nature of American civic reform movements. In the past these have always been essentially business men's movements. Their primary purpose was and still is to cut out the grosser forms of maladministration, reduce the tax rate, and give the taxpayer a dollar's worth of service for every dollar spent. This, the Mitchell administration did. They did not threaten the special economic

privileges which governments dispense and on which business waxes fat and rich. In a word, they offered nothing to the exploited masses.

Tammany Hall, of course, is also the protector of vested economic interests, but it is much more skillful at it than either the Republicans or fusion reform governments. It knows how to dispense charity to the disinherited very cleverly. Before Christmas it gives away coal to poverty-stricken New Yorkers, who otherwise would freeze to death in their squalid and ugly tenements. Before Passover it gives away matzo to poor Jewish families who otherwise could not observe their dietary laws. It does nothing, of course, to provide these people with decent housing centrally heated or with economic security so that they would not have to be dependent upon the miserable charity of the Tammany district leader.

There has grown up a myth about Tammany Hall being a sort of Robin Hood organization, robbing the rich for the benefit of the poor. What it does most frequently is to rob both the rich and the poor for the benefit of Tammany Hall. For every dollar in charity that it dispenses to the poor, it steals much more from them in many subtle ways which are not obvious to the untrained mind. For instance, the City of New York pays out annually over \$50,000,000 for private property which it acquires for public purposes through its use of the power of Eminent Domain. About \$25,000,000 of this, it has been estimated by the City Affairs Committee, is excess payment. The chief beneficiaries are Tammany realtors who buy up property in advance of condemnation on the basis of inside information and Tammany lawyers specializing in these proceedings like ex-Judge Talley, who at one time was prominently mentioned for the leadership of the Hall. This stolen money should have been employed to acquire sites for parks and playgrounds in congested areas. Each year thousands of children forced on to streets crowded with vehicles for lack of playground space are badly injured. The human misery caused to parents in this way is much greater than the little relief furnished by the miserable handouts received from Tammany Hall.

Respectable reform administrations abolish the charity of the Tammany district leader, which is made possible by graft, but sub-

stitute nothing in its place. That is why Tammany Hall always returns to power. Life for the masses under our capitalistic industrial feudalism is harsh. Although Tammany will do nothing to destroy the special privilege that is responsible for suffering and privation, it will occasionally do something to alleviate distress. A man out of a job will once in a while get a few dollars from a district leader. Here is the explanation of Tammany's great strength with the people.

The moral to be drawn from these facts is, plain. Tammany will never be destroyed permanently except by a political party that stands for clean government plus a program of genuine social welfare for the great masses of people. This is impossible without raising the tax rate and attacking special privilege. That eliminates at once the typical respectable reform movement. It is obviously impossible to describe in detail what that program should consist of in the limited space of

a short article. It can only be indicated here.

Such a party must provide adequate housing facilities for over two million New Yorkers who live in our slums. This can only be done by some form of municipal housing. It must provide adequate unemployment relief. This means unemployment insurance. Obviously, the latter can best be administered by the state. Nevertheless, since the municipality is expected to bear a large share of unemployment relief, it is properly within the scope of municipal policies. Clearly, a municipal administration, which supported the cause of unemployment insurance, would help greatly to obtain it. It must provide adequate recreational facilities in the shape of more and better public parks, playgrounds and beaches. These things would be impossible without heavier income taxes on the wealthy and taxes on land values socially created by the construction of public improvements.

They would also be impossible without state action. The city is

a creature of the sovereign state government; its powers are carefully defined and circumscribed in the charter granted it by the legislature. There can be no great expansion of its activities without acquiring additional enabling legislation from Albany. Reforms in taxation would require even federal action. Therefore, no progressive or radical party could hope to achieve its ends in the municipality unless it obtained power both in the state and nation as well. Here is another great weakness of municipal fusion movements. They confine themselves to the city.

Tammany could never come back if it were ousted from office by a party that stood for such a program. It would be clear to the average worker that he stood to gain infinitely more from a municipal administration that sought to use its vast powers legitimately to promote his well being than through the insignificant dole of Tammany.

Unless such a party triumphs

in 1933 Tammany will come back in 1937 (assuming that it is defeated as the result of the present disclosures). Moreover, it always returns much stronger and much more difficult to defeat. Witness its strength since 1917.

To Socialists the lesson is clear. We are the only logical alternative to Tammany misrule. We alone stand for a program that can win over the masses permanently as against Tammany. We must consolidate and increase the strength that we gained in 1929. This fall we will have a magnificent opportunity to bring our message to the people of the city. There is going to be an election for the Borough Presidency of Manhattan. The latter, besides being an important administrative official, enjoys two votes on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which is the real governing body of New York City. A skillful Socialist campaigner running for this office, conversant with municipal problems, would do a grand educational job. Let us start fighting now.

Socialist Politics in Canada

By Grace Woodworth

Workers Take British Labor as a Practical Model

IN Canada, Socialist propaganda is printed at government expense and circulated through the mails without cost and appears in the headlines of the leading dailies. What is the secret?

Canadian labor, though largely affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has taken a lead from the book of British Labor and decided to carry on its fight on the political as well as on the industrial field. Ten years ago two Labor men were elected to the Canadian House of Commons. There were at that time in the House the two historical parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, corresponding roughly to the Democrats and the Republicans in the United States. There was also a farmer group, which, following the American precedent had taken the name "Progressive."

The two Labor men decided to set up their own party banner, and came to be recognized as a fourth group in the House. In the ten years, three more seats have been won and two lost, one of the defeated Labor members, however, coming back as representing a Farmer's constituency. So there are now three Labor members in

the House, two from Winnipeg, and one from Vancouver. The independent Farmer representation has been reduced from 65 to 12, but there has been worked out a scheme of close co-operation between these twelve farmer members and the three Labor members. Of the Labor members, two came into prominence at the Winnipeg general strike in 1919, both having been arrested on charges of sedition. One was acquitted and the charges against the other dropped. All three have had Trades Union experience, and all are avowed Socialists. Mr. J. S. Woodworth, who is recognized as the leader, had previous experience in Social Service work. Mr. A. A. Heaps, and Mr. Angus MacInnis had for years been outstanding members of the municipal councils in Winnipeg and Vancouver, respectively.

The entrance of Labor into politics in Canada is due in large measure to the incoming from Great Britain of large numbers of English and Scotch immigrants who have been trained in the Labor party and co-operative movements in Great Britain. But both Mr. Woodworth and Mr. MacInnis are native-born Canadians of the older Eastern stock.

Following the British lines, the Labor party has a distinctively Socialist program. It believes in the necessity for an economic revolution which would establish a co-operative commonwealth. At the same time the Labor members have steadily persisted in the advocacy of certain immediate reforms which Labor, through its Trades Unions, has long urged.

Parliament, under the British system, is an excellent broadcasting station. The elected House of Commons, rather than the appointed Senate, is the body to which the country listens and in which is initiated nearly all legislation. Here is an open forum, with the publicity afforded by an excellent Press Gallery and with the speeches reported verbatim in the official publication known popularly as "Hansard". The discussion on each bill, on each measure, on the government's policy affords a good opportunity for the presentation of Labor's point of view. The Labor members often have the opportunity of initiating a debate into which are drawn members of all the other parties. They declare themselves in their speeches and sometimes by a vote, in favor or opposed to Labor policies, and their constituents at home are able to know just where they stand.

Last year, for example, one of the Labor members introduced a motion on unemployment. With some skillful maneuvering this precipitated a debate which lasted over six days, and which forced the situation upon the attention of the whole country. As an election came within a few months, unemployment became one of the main issues in the campaign, and candidates and parties had to take a definite stand. The Conservative party won the election, in part because of its promises—which promises, although not carried out, are constantly being held up to it by the opposition groups. Thus, subjects hitherto outside the range of parliamentary discussion are coming to the front and standards of public welfare are being created.

Not only in education but also in concrete legislation, Labor has something to show. For instance, in 1925, the strength of the Liberal and Conservative parties was so nearly equal that a few votes were sufficient to turn the scale either way. The Labor members took advantage of this situation to the full to gain the first legislation on Old Age Pensions. They demanded of the leaders of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, a statement of policy with regard to this legislation. The Conservative reply was unsatisfactory. The Liberals



J. M. WOODWORTH, M. P.



A. A. HEAPS, M. P.

minion-wide scheme of Old Age Pensions.

Socialists often find themselves much hampered for lack of funds and lack of opportunity for securing publicity. Once elected to the Commons, the Labor Member of Parliament has a regular salary, paid by the government, which, though in Canada, not large, enables him to live throughout the year. The session lasts for four or five months, and between sessions he is free to devote a considerable part of his time to traveling about, lecturing to Labor audiences. Each member is provided with a free pass on all railroads, so that in this way his expenses are reduced to the minimum.

In the House the Socialist member has his speech printed without cost to himself or to his party. At a very low rate, he may obtain as many copies as he wishes, either in English or in French—the two official languages. These speeches often constitute excellent propaganda pamphlets and are frequently distributed or sold at Labor union and Socialist meetings. Once an official policeman undertook to seize what he regarded as "red propaganda," but was rather nonplussed to find it issued by none other than the King's Printer!

Thus, though in form Canada is under the rule of a king, in practice there is perhaps more freedom of expression than exists in many of the countries under republican forms. Shaw's extravaganza "The Apple Cart" reveals some of the anomalies as well as some of the possibilities of reform existing under the British Parliamentary system.

Canada is curiously situated—halfway between Great Britain and the United States—and is rather a strange blend of British and American institutions and ideals. Though numerically so much smaller than the United States, it may be a sort of experimental station which may be able to offer certain results of value to Socialists south of the line.

What is our social ladder planted, then, with its feet in the hell of misery and poverty, its top rising to the false heaven of insane luxury and hypocrisy, and the type of man held up to admiration and imitation who works his way up, over other shoulders, from Lazarus to become Dives?—Walter Crane.

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The Producing Masses And The Depression

By James Oneal

[An Address Delivered Over Station WFAP]

THE present industrial depression is more widespread and more disastrous than any other in the history of industrial civilization. There have been no less than eight industrial depressions in the United States since 1837, an average of one about every thirteen years and capitalism is only about 150 years old in this country. Since the disaster of 1894, each collapse has become more and more worldwide and the one that afflicts us now embraces not only all of the industrial nations but many of the lesser developed countries that supply raw materials.

It is obvious that a system which collapses every thirteen years, which inflicts misery upon tens of millions of human beings, is fundamentally diseased. It presents an absurd contradiction. The more its productive powers increase the less it is able to guarantee economic security to the millions of toilers who use these productive powers.

There are those who believe that access to land by the distressed millions would solve our difficulties and yet during the past fifteen years more than 3,000,000 farmers have deserted the farms. In the past twelve years, the value of farms and their equipment have decreased from 75 billion dollars to 48 billion dollars, while the farm mortgage debt has increased about eight billion in the same period. Of those who remain on the land, over a million are being fed by charity. Three times since the seventies, our farmers have either burned their grain for fuel or fed it to their hogs. During these periods, workmen of the cities have been in want of bread.

For generations down to the twentieth century, ours has been a nation of free lands for the distressed and yet the workmen occupying the free lands have been conquered by the capitalism that followed them into the West. If the tillers of the soil could not win economic security in the days when capitalism was weak, it is utopian to expect us to win this independence and security by free access to lands in this period when capitalism has become a vast power.

Agriculture in the days of gentlemen proprietors and planter aristocrats was a ruling power in the republic but it has ceased to be a power since the Civil War. Manufacturing enterprises, rail-

Workers in Cities and on the Farms Must Unite to Re-Organize a Failing Economic System

roads and banks became the ruling factors in industry and politics since Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The development of machinery, the enormous expansion of industry and transportation, and the centralization of capital shifted social, economic, and political power from the proprietors of land to the owners of industry, transportation and credit. Capitalism conquered agrarian power.

This economic revolution in American society carried with it a political revolution. Even before Lincoln had been interred at Springfield, the political agents of the new power had swarmed into Congress. Railroads had their lawyers in the two houses of Congress within a few years. A national bank act almost doubled the capital of the bankers. Finance rapidly rose to a privileged position of equality with invested capital. Railroad speculators were voted empires of land and millions of dollars out of the Federal treasury. The high tariff of the war period, considered as a temporary war measure, was retained after the war and the rates were increased in the ensuing years. Behind the tariff walls the owners of manufacturing capital grew fat and insolent. Immigration of laborers on a vast scale was encouraged to keep wage scales from rising. The farmers were compelled to pay excessive prices for their supplies and machinery. They were induced to invest in railroads to obtain cheap transportation and stock jobbery. They lost their investments and in addition faced a transportation power that jacked up rates, leaving them to the mercy of extortioners.

The economic and political revolution following the Civil War indicated that a new power had come to rule the republic. Meantime, the workmen of earlier days who had worked by the side of their apprentices were also conquered by the new capitalism. The small shop gave way to the factory. The simple hand tools were succeeded by power-driven machinery. The shop workman gave way to the capitalist proprietor. He was transformed into a wage laborer. Dependent upon the owners of factories and machines, he had to sell his labor power to the owners. If this labor power was purchased he and his family lived; if there was no demand for

it, he and his family faced want and privation.

Profitable gains for the masters of industry became the motive of capitalist enterprise. When profits could be obtained the plants were operated and wage workers were employed. When they could not be obtained, wage workers were discharged. No matter what the wants of human beings might be, the main consideration was the profits for owners, not the welfare of the millions of human beings dependent upon the continuous operation of industry.

This system emerged in the Northeastern States following the War of 1812. War has always been a hotbed for capitalist enterprise. The war ended in 1815 and twenty years later came a industrial depression. The Civil War gave an enormous impetus to the accumulation of capital and of private fortunes while the World War gave the masters of capital and finance opportunities for accumulation unknown to any other war in history.

What has been said of the shift of power from agriculture to the owners of industrial capital is also true in general of the other industrial nations. In all these nations farmers and industrial workers have come under the dominion of the new power of concentrated capital allied with great banking institutions. He who thinks of a solution of our grave economic problems must think in terms of this industrial and political revolution with its enormous shift of power into the hands of the masters of our industrial system.

Now what is striking and exceptional in our history when compared with the history of other modern nations is that the working masses find themselves overwhelmed by industrial disaster with no party of their own to speak and act for them in the legislatures and in Congress. They have literally wasted their voting power upon two parties which every intelligent student of our party history knows are dominated by the new power that rules the republic. The ruling party tries to soothe us with comforting words and the opposition is content to criticize but agrees in fundamentals with the ruling party. Meantime we have drifted in a sea of misery for a year and seven months. The so-called "progressives" of both parties met in solemn conference in Washington last

March, decided to investigate what is happening, and then adjourned. In practically all our legislative bodies there is sterility and no effective action in the gravest emergency that has ever faced the working people of this country.

Moreover, there is no evidence of a recovery this year. Meantime, in many cities throughout the country, workmen have reached the state of mortgagee's revolt. All indications are that the general distress will become so acute next Winter that food riots will occur in many cities. Having no political power in the legislative bodies, the victims of our industrial collapse have no other resource at hand, unless in some states they capture the legislatures through a party representing them and presenting a program that will bring some measure of relief.

It is time that we recognized that the capitalist system in all countries has entered the twilight days of its dominion. What is required is more intelligent political action by the working masses and all others who recognize the need of a fundamental change in our industrial and social system.

That action cannot be obtained within the two parties committed to the fundamentals of the existing system. This is obvious from the present drift of affairs in our legislative bodies.

We should recognize that to permit our vast productive powers to remain in the hands of powerful corporate groups is a menace to our welfare. Our ultimate purpose should be to socialize them; that is, the people should succeed the present masters as owners and operate them for the welfare of all instead of for the profit gains of a few.

With this as our ultimate purpose we should work for every measure that will lead to it, measures of immediate relief of the jobless and the hungry and measures for the transfer of ownership and power from a few to all. This means a philosophy which keeps in mind our final aims and a program that contributes to the realization of these aims. The profit motive should be checked, controlled, and ultimately driven out of our industrial life.

Working farmers must unite with the working people of the cities and all friends of this philosophy and program; they must unite in a party of their own and

win the public powers so that they may be used in city, state, and nation for these purposes. Old age pensions for the veterans of industry and nation-wide unemployment insurance for the jobless are two essential immediate measures. Farmers must be insured against the hazards of crop failures, storm, hail and insect pests. They must be aided in pooling their resources in great co-operatives and equipped with all modern methods of reducing their hours of labor. The railroads must become publicly-owned and rates reduced. Banks must be nationalized and cheap credit be assured the farmers. A horde of useless middlemen who stand between the farmer and those who purchase his products must be eliminated. The drift towards serfdom in agriculture must be checked and the farmer be helped to take his place in a cooperative world of assured income, short hours of labor, and forever guaranteed against the hazards and uncertainties that have brooded over him since the end of the Civil War.

The labor unions must abandon the folly of useless support of this and that candidate of the old parties and become a part of that world movement of labor which seeks the transformation of this wretched capitalist system. They must summon their fighting spirit to resist declining wage scales and take up the fight for unemployment insurance. Sheer preservation requires that the unions should join in the movement for independent political action. It is essential to win public power so that under its protection they can organize the millions now reduced to serfdom in the company union industries.

In short, the times and the problems all point to the need of socializing and democratizing our industrial life. Democracy is excluded from our industries and it will return only when the working masses have the power to bring it back.

For all these reasons, I am a Socialist and believe that the Socialist program is adapted to our needs. Let us permit no ancient prejudices to close our minds, for as Tom Paine once said: "To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason is like administering medicine to the dead." Socialism inspires millions of toilers all over the world who are convinced that it is the heir to a decaying social order that can no longer serve humanity.

Nuts and Parents' Day

IN the Spring one's feet hurt and walking any great distances becomes a bore.

Or at any rate so I found it last Sunday when I started to walk around Central Park which is the joint possession of Mayor James Joseph Walker and the people of New York.

First I sat on a bench in the sunshine which had been providentially turned off by Mayor James Walker and ye old Park Commissioner and watched three squirrels playing capitalist and worker.

The two thinner squirrels would approach an old gentleman sitting on the bench opposite me and banging a walnut on its edge. They did not do this without every indication of extreme timidity. They would sit up and clutch their hearts in a most dramatic fashion. Then they would make nervous and purely tentative gestures at coming nearer, looking over their shoulders meanwhile to be sure of no attack from the rear. Finally, summoning up what seemed to be the last ounce of despairing courage, they would make a hurried dash and seize the nut held out to them by the old gentleman.

Each worker-squirrel would then scamper off and after much searching for a secluded spot would then proceed to bury his nut. This is quite a laborious process involving much scratching up of the ground and vast amounts of pating down the earth.

At this point, the capitalist-squirrel entered the picture. He was a fat old fellow, very sleek indeed with magnificent whiskers and a shrewd look in his beady eyes.

He had made careful note of the whole business of retreats and advances. When the nut was finally taken, he would pat his mustache in approving manner. But most important of all, he then watched very carefully indeed to see what the final disposition of the nut would be.

No sooner had the worker-squirrel buried the nut and rushed off to get another than this big bum would come sauntering along in a most leisurely style, unearth the nut and carry it off to bury it in some spot unbeknownst to its rightful owner. There is in that game a whole volume of political economy but I will spare you the obvious moralizing.

Hearing in the distance the sound of a band and being a bit tired of having reenacted before my eyes such a grim though familiar drama from human life, I wandered over to the Mall, where in the days of my extreme youth I was wont to ride in goat-carts under the now long-forgotten elms and alongside the world's worst statues.

I had thought that perhaps they were starting the band concerts and that a little music would calm my savage breast, or whatever it was the old bird wrote about.

As I pushed my way to the front with my best subway manners and got well seated on a bench which seemed to be completely surrounded by policemen and American flags, I discovered to my horror that I was not attending a band-concert but rather a celebration of National Parents' Day. Now so far as I can recall, I am neither a National nor an International Parent.

Anyhow there I was and there was no getting out of it. The celebration was being run by a gent who hollers mammy songs over the mike. His name, self-given, was that of "Uncle Robert." With the intellectual assistance of Dr. Robert J. Frost of the Board of Education, Uncle Robert had spelled out this stirring slogan for Parents' Day, which he said had been carried to all parts of "the world": "A Kiss for Mother and a Hug for Dad."

Uncle Robert said that he was the uncle of all the million and one-half school-children in New York, which sets up an all-time avuncular record. He said that he loved us all, parents and children alike and that he would love to come right down and kiss us all. I started to leave then, but the cop behind me hollered "alt down," and who am I to go around fighting with cops, Jesse Gross?

Then Dr. William J. O'Shea, also of the Board of Education, who can read and write and all, got up and said that he was the father of all the one million and one-half school-children in the city of New York. He said that a lot of people were going around knocking the public school system of the city and that it was an outrage and that any man who would dare to strike at the foundations of our educational system had poison in his veins and all good school-children and their parents should keep away from such reptiles. He said that Mayor Walker (who had just come onto the platform in a brand new suit, while the Sanitation Band played "My Own Red White and Blue," written during a lull in the conversation by James J. Fennell, Principal, God forbid, of Public School 77 of the Bronx) was the best Mayor this city had ever had and that we should all give him a big hand. We all did, and then that famous protector of the hearth and home, James Joseph Walker, as Heywood Brown persists in calling him, got up and said his piece.

Got to hand it to Jimmy. He came out fearlessly in favor of motherhood. His voice choked up a bit as he stood there like the gallant fighter that he is, denouncing his critics as those who would undermine motherhood and the institution of the home. Wild boys like John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Sidney Goldstein and Rabbi Wise. Always going around busting up homes, no better than those "militant Socialists."

A most offensive little boy who will surely grow up to be a successor to Rudy Vallee unless something is done at once about it, then sang a gooey song with a lot of gestures in which he also endorsed motherhood. All of us then piped up in our shrill childish voices, "Three Cheers for Cousin Jimmy." Cousin Jimmy means James Joseph Walker who is cousin to the one million and one-half school children, just as Uncle Robert is their uncle and Dr. William J. O'Shea, who must have a couple of bicycles, is their daddy.

Oh, I forgot, there was a flag drill in the midst of all this in which we pledged allegiance to our flag, which as the Sanitation Band pointed out is our "dear flag of free-dom" (waving as it does so beautifully over the prisons where they have got Mooney and Billings cooped up) and stood at salute for a long while as a boy who looked from where we were sitting like an advanced case of dementia praxia, marched round and round the platform carrying the flag of the State of New York which says on it, "Excelsior."

When the cop finally let me go, we went away from there, filled with pride to think that we were natives of what Mayor Walker has called, "The Imperial City of New York" and feeling pretty high hat about all you boys and gals who have to live out in hick towns like Chicago and Philadelphia. Have you got a Cousin Jimmy and an Uncle Robert, to say nothing of a Daddy O'Shea? No, you haven't. Shame on you. There may even be among you some of those poisonous vermin who dare to criticize your home towns. Scotch them boys. Go after them with the flag. Point out what they are doing to the institution of motherhood. Make your motto, "A Kiss for Mother, a Hug for Dad." Get progressive, like us here in this good, old Imperial City. What are you, "backward people?" Go out and get one and one-half million school-children, ninety per cent of whom can't read or write, before you dare to speak to us.

McAlister Co. man.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE TODD

INDUSTRY IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

"Free" Competition Revealed As a Myth

By Horace B. Davis

ECONOMISTS of the last century who spun their petty theories about the beneficial effects of "free" competition missed the rather important point that the manufacturers who were conferring the benefit of their presence on the community did not like "free competition and were trying to get away from it all the time.

The early bosses of the cotton-manufacturing industry, which has been held up as a beautiful example of laissez-faire at its best, at least as far as the business end was concerned, were not only busy lobbying for the highest tariff possible—a direct contradiction of laissez-faire, of course—they were all the time reaching out to control some part of the economic machine which under laissez-faire was in continual danger of breaking down.

Thus Almy and Brown, Rhode Island pioneer manufacturers, were "so dissatisfied with the irregularities of the putting-out system that they set up hand weavers in their own shop." Instead of paying a decent wage and leaving labor supply and demand to take care of itself, the bosses of the earliest mills in Rhode Island, never paid in cash "but at least half and sometimes entirely in goods at the company store, where the temptation to overcharge was often too strong for the owner." There was just the same paternalism in early New England as in the present-day South—even to the yellow dog contract. Over a hundred years ago the employees of the Cochecho Manufacturing Co., at Dover, N. H., "pledged themselves 'not to be engaged in any combination, whereby the work may be impeded, or the company's interest in any work injured; if we do, we agree to forfeit to the use of the company the amount of wages that may be due us at the time.'"

When labor could not be secured readily, the manufacturers did not wait for it to turn up; they sent out wagons scouting for it, as far away as the Canadian border. And when they were able, they established pools and rings to keep up the price of yarn and make a little extra profit. That was the system of laissez-faire.

The author of this new book, Dr. Caroline F. Ware, "The Early New England Cotton Manufacture. A Study in Industrial Beginnings," Houghton, Mifflin, 1931, has given us the authoritative study on the

subject. She has unearthed several early mill records and combed all available literature. She takes a crack at the idea that the operations of capitalists consist of making advances to laborers. She shows that as with the shipbuilding and boot and shoe industries, so in New England's other chief manufacture, cotton cloth, there was really no "original accumulation" of capital at all. If anything, laborers made advances. "All the early mills, many later Rhode Island factories, and some of the establishments in southern Massachusetts and Connecticut were carried on with very little capital. They grew slowly, chiefly by reinvestment of earnings. Practically no foreign capital entered in."

Miss Ware also disposes of a fallacy dear to the working class, that the bosses always make a lot of money. During the most prosperous period of the industry, the average dividend from the large companies was 9 per cent, and including all mills from 1816 to 1846, it was perhaps not over 3 per cent.

She distinguishes between the "family system" of Rhode Island, where men worked in the same plant with their wives and children, and the "boarding house system," later developed in New England. Women earned \$2 a week in the former and \$2.50 or more in the latter. The "boarding-house" mills came in with the power loom, which could be best operated by women and girls who ranged from 18 to 22 years of age. She insists that "in the early days, workers (were) on the whole, somewhat better off in the mills than elsewhere." But long hours continued in the mills when they had been abolished outside; and in the forties, with the coming of immigrant Irish, exploitation of labor set in. Unfortunately, she leaves the story shortly after.

The sections on labor do not show the author at her best. Although she bravely states that "the company regulations put labor almost wholly at the mercy of employers," and dutifully points out that hours were from sunup to sundown and longer in winter; although she describes the blacklist against "indiscipline" workers, and the pernicious speedup introduced by the tender to the employers, she is unduly tender to the workers. "The fact that the workers were not more abused can be attributed to the generosity of the earlier employers" (!). Again, she describes a strike in 1853 following a period



From a Drawing by Rockwell Kent in "N by E" (Brewer & Warren)

of "profit to the employers and satisfaction to the workers." Norman Ware's book, "The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860," does not make the mistake of saying that workers were "satisfied" merely because they did not strike every few years.

South Africa's Disaster

AFRIKANERISM is the white-supremacy doctrine of the Boers and the Boer-dominated British in the Union of South Africa. It differs from the slaveholding doctrine which prevailed in the American South before the Civil War, just as it differs from the slave-catching morality of Arab and Moor in North Africa, of two generations ago, by its modifications made necessary by a changed world condition. But, as Leonard Barnes points out in this study, (Caliban in Africa, J. B. Lippincott Co., Phila., \$3.) made as the result of five years of observation in South Africa, it has

so fastened its tentacles about the commonwealth that there appears no probability that South Africa will escape the disaster which slavery has in past times brought upon its addicts.

Nearly 5,000,000 native blacks in the Union of South Africa are today denied ordinary human rights by a white population less than one-third their number, hardened in indifference or cruelty by a hundred years of fear that the natives may find a way to avenge their own wrongs. The natives, despairing, wait and gain in numbers.

This book is written in a mood of deep resentment of the moral paralysis that distinguishes African statesmanship. It begins with an explanation of Boer experience—the pioneering on the vast veld, and the building up of a sense of individual right, in the white man, to dominate all the land and all the natives within his reach. It emphasizes isolation from the European world, suspicion of modern ideas, fierce resentment of out-

side interference with the old harsh rules. Into this backward social order the British element has been absorbed. Gradually the Afrikaner has extended his armed raids farther and farther into the interior, seizing more and more of the lands of the Bantu nations, until only 2,500,000 of the blacks have permanent homes on the reserves—from which at least 500,000 must go to white employment for six to nine months in each year. There are 2,000,000 who have lost their hold on land-ownership, and live as work-tenants on the farms of white men. There are 300,000 de-tribalized natives, living permanently in the towns or near the towns, under conditions of industrial misery worse than exist in any corner of Europe. Governmental pledges of creation of huge additions to the reserves of land for the native tribes have been ignored for many years. Wages are steadily depressed, and whites are always given both a preference in jobs and a wage five or six times the wage paid the native. No place is left the native, in which to live or die.

But the native who has a job in industry is far better off than his brother who works on the land. The average annual wage of the 1,200,000 natives employed by Europeans is less than \$70.

Premier Hertzog has been bitter in his hostility to the labor union among the natives—the Industrial and Commercial Union, to which the International Federation of Trade Unions has granted affiliation. He dismissed his minister of posts and telegraphs on grounds which included the offense of his having met a delegation from this organization. Minister of Justice Roos boasted in a public meeting that while Gen. Hertzog had received an apology from Clements Kadali, head of the I. C. U., he, Roos, "should regard it as a most enormous insult if a native (dared to) apologize to me." Kadali has been hounded by the police, and his union's local offices have been sacked—just as would be the case in some of the Southern States if a Negro labor organization became influential there.

Political domination by the Afrikaners over the native mass is preserved by the familiar American expedient—the native is shut out from the polling booth. He has no right to vote in the Transvaal and the Orange Free States; in Natal, 1,250,000 natives are all disfranchised by legal tricks; in Cape Province, the natives who can vote are 16,000 out of 1,750,000. Hertzog chains down the safety valve.

Lawrence Todd.

29 Kentucky Miners Indicted for Murder

(Continued from Page One)
from \$3.20 to \$2.10 a day for outside workers. Company officials have offered to reduce rent from \$12 to \$10, but miners on strike since May 1 refused to accept. They have been working only two and three days a week for many months.

In Avella just recently, starving miners marched to the county seat and demanded relief, but officials gave only promises. In New Kensington, where there are two United Mine Workers of America locals, wages have been cut from 40c a ton to 30c a ton. In Canonsburg, in Washington County, daily newspapers are advising the miners and unemployed to wait in front of the American Tin Plate Co. factory and get the left-overs for a meal. But these factory workers themselves are suffering. In 1923 some 3,000 men were employed by the American Tin Plate Co. at Canonsburg. 1931 finds only 1,800 working part time. In and around Johnstown, mines are working less than an average of 2-1/2 days a week.

Penn. Defeats Bill For Job Insurance

(Continued from Page One)
expressed opposition at the hearing.

In concluding his remarks Hoopes declared "The owners of industry have in past years set no limit to their gains and we behold the spectacle in 1930, the deepest depression year in our history, of these same owners gathering higher gains from interest and dividends than ever before. If coupon clippers get payments in depression, workers must also be paid as when working to give the mass of human beings a status equal to that of work animals, of horses and mules." A thunder of applause from the gallery drew the members of the House's attention to the fact that while the debate was proceeding the gallery had filled.

As a Philadelphia member rose to query the Socialist leader, the

entire gallery blossomed forth with banners and placards. One immense cloth banner dropped over the front of the gallery and the House clock, reading "Workers Create All Wealth—TAX PROFITS—To Keep Workers from Starving Justice DEMANDS UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE!" Delegates from Labor Unemployment Conferences in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Reading, York, Lancaster, Allentown, were the demonstrators. A low hum of resentment rose from the House. The gallery was silent. Delegates of Lancaster County Body and Building Trades Council bore signs denoting their organization. "Dividends are doles," "Work or Wages," "Not Charity but Work," "To Hell with Charity by the Boss," read many other of the signs.

In response to a question, Rep. Hoopes said he had not laid his plans before the Governor and scored the reforming millionaire now in the chair, who appointed an unemployment committee promising to abide by their recommendations but when they recommended unemployment insurance, ignored their report and recently in the face of front page stories of privation and want in capitalist newspapers, declared that "there was no want or suffering that was not being adequately cared for."

A motion to close debate was lost but in spite of minor skirmishing, the opposition remained silent until the roll was called when unemployment insurance in Pennsylvania was rejected by a vote of 107 to 35.

"Rochester Socialist" New Socialist Organ

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A five-column, four page paper, "The Rochester Socialist," has made its entry to the group of papers representing the Socialist Party in this country. Every page carries an illustration and the make-up and editorial style is quite definitely designed to attract and educate non-Socialists.

NEGRO RELIGION??

Encourages Race Progress Discourages Race Progress

BISHOP ROBERT E. JONES CLARENCE DARROW

In the JUNE CRISIS 15c Newsstands

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The Chatterbox

More Sonnets

You do me such immeasurable wrong
With all this waiting through a spell of doubt—
Because you are the melody of song
Too sweet for singing, you should live it out!

Because you are the glow of hearth and sun,
And there is need so great within this night
Wherein we grope about to see things done . . .
You must be here to lend a little light.

Remember then, if you should find it wise
To send me back to sudden chores again,
That day the song and laughter in me dies,
And darkness draws the heavy blinds of pain!

And I am vain enough to dream and see
Your music and your glamor die with me.

Then might I stumble down a rutted lane,
Back to the loneliness we knew at first,
While blackness adds uncertainty to pain,
And moistened silence tantalizes thirst . . .

And with these, hunger goading like a knout,
Grim trinity of love's relinquishment,
For who can balm a wound worn sore with doubt,
Or feed upon the moments that are spent?

What would be sadder than this dull defeat
Since both of us would lose, though you remain
As stunned, as darkened and as incomplete
Upon the rutted windings of the lane.

While distance mumbles in her monotone
The certain knowledge . . . we are both . . . alone.

There is a book before me that will never see
the "best selling" list of any book column. Yet
it has a world of meaning for such of us who dream
and plan beyond the back fences of our 28 x 100
foot lives.

It is written by a Socialist pastor of Buffalo,
published by the Salem Evangelical Brotherhood of
Buffalo, sells for \$1.00, and has the splendid title
from Biblical source—"He stirreth Up the People."

The author is Comrade Dr. Herman J. Hahn.
My own belief in an anthropomorphic Almighty is
nebulous and undisturbed. My faith in organized
religions, is equally as indistinct and light. I envy
their power to keep their followers organized. I
am jealous of their numbers. It would be splendid
to have their talent, money, influence and millions
in the Socialist Party. We might come pretty near
to establishing the great dream into reality if we
were so endowed.

Yet never have I yielded to the Continental influence
of my forebears to hold the gentlemen of the
cloth in disdain. Perhaps because the state is so
indistinctly related to the church here, and religion
is not rammed down our throats from childhood on.

Socialists who have come here from the church
ridden monarchies of Europe have retained even
to this day a subtle distrust and distaste for preach-
ers and priests. Tolerance, enlightenment, and all
that seem to have slight influence with these com-
rades where ecclesiastics are considered.

Also, our own experience with certain preach-
ers as office holders and party renegades has had
little to recommend their kind to our older com-
rades.

For myself, preachers as such as bankers, law-
yers, doctors and engineers, have an indisputable
right to accept Socialism as their political faith
and join with us for that end. And what is more
desirable about them is, that there is always the
chance that they can influence members from the
parishes to come in with them.

Whenever the Catholic or Protestant organi-
zations come out with a document of Socialist pre-
cepts and interpretations of the social questions,
I get a real thrill, and am grateful.

The preacher who gets the Socialist stand on
things, naturally refers to his interpretations as his
line with the teachings of Christ and does a big
thing. As big as that which the worker in the
shop does when he starts agitating for the cause,
risking his own job at the task.

Rev. Dr. Eliot White is an example of our lat-
ter day. Splendid Socialist, honest to the core
about his convictions, he kept at it until he became
unbearable to Bishop Manning and the bosses. The
big boys used "Companionate Marriage" as a pre-
text. He was allowed to resign, or rather . . .
"fired," because he preached against the pockets of
the fat-bellied pre holders.

I have even heard old timers demur a bit on
Norman Thomas because at one time he was an
active minister. My only retort has been then as
now: "We give up enough time and money and
energy to be Socialists . . . but mighty few of us
give up certain livelihood and distinction such as
Norman's pastorate commanded, to throw our lot
in with the poor and fight valiantly and unselfishly
for their release from bondage."

For me, there are not enough good Protestants,
Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans in the party.
Socialism can be made as good a vehicle for the
idealism of all religions as any system of govern-
ment that has come before it. In fact, only under
Socialism can one really follow and practice the
high ideals and precepts one culls from a reading
of the Bible or the Koran.

But this is getting me away from the book that
I mentioned above. Here is a collection of ex-
cerpts from Dr. Hahn's sermons over Station WGR
of Buffalo, in which he presents the entire Socialist
philosophy, using Christianity as his framework
and for much of the background.

It makes good reading as literature, good sense
as reasoning, and splendid propaganda for our own
uses.

It really ought to be in the hands of many of
our open air speakers and lecturers.

While the simile of Jesus being like unto the
agitators of the new day is not new, still its im-
plication carries us into the minds of thousands
of men and women who think themselves follow-
ers of Jesus and all that he represents. If we can
get Socialism through the pulpits of the land, by
all means let it come. If we can get it through
a crusading spirit such as inflamed the zealous of
the Dark Ages to capture a New Jerusalem, by
all means let that spirit come.

What all of us who work so unsparsingly in this
party need is to feel that we are being reinforced
from all sides. It makes our task easier. It gives
our hope new fuel, and renewed impulse to go on
against discouraging results.

If the coming of the priesthood of America into
our ranks has any significance, it is just this . . .
that the intellectually honest man, wherever he is,
and whatever may be his lot, cannot remain honest
and stay away from Socialism.

And the work of such men as Dr. Hahn, Dr. Nie-
buhr, Dr. Eliot and Norman Thomas will bear grand
fruit in the days to come.

S. A. deWitt.

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

V.—Negro Mastery and White Emancipation

(This is the fifth installment of a revised booklet, "The Next Emancipation." It has been published to sell at cost, 10 cents postpaid, by the Negro Labor News Service, P. O. Box 66, College Station, New York City, or 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.)

By James Oneal

AS black capitalism developed in Africa, a black imperialism would also follow. With it would come the old diplomacy of the white imperialist countries. If the Negro capitalists found that the Negro wage workers were becoming strong in their movement to abolish robbery, the Negro masters would appeal to the white masters of other countries for aid.

Consider this fact. The old Russian ruling classes appealed to the ruling classes of other countries for aid when their power was taken away. In Mexico the old ruling classes appealed to the rul-

ing classes of other countries for aid in restoring their old privileges. In Russia and Mexico the old deposed ruling classes would welcome foreign bayonets, even if workers of their own race were slaughtered. The old masters of Russia and Mexico feel that they have more in common with the masters of other countries than they have in common with the workers of their own countries.

On the other hand, the ruling classes of other countries feel that they have much in common with the old Mexican and Russian ruling classes. Both feel this way, regardless of their race, nationality or the color of their skins. They appreciate class brotherhood and solidarity. They do not permit national frontiers or flags to interfere with common action against the workers of any country.

The same thing would be true of a Negro capitalism in Africa. The Negro masters of Africa, when their power became endangered by awakened Negro workers, would call across the seas to the white masters for aid. The white masters would respond with arms and troops to help the Negro masters keep power over Negro workers. Providing, of course, that the wage earners of the other countries appealed to were not strong enough to restrain their own masters from extending such aid.

A Program For Mastery
What would control the actions of the Negro masters is their desire to retain their power to rule, their privilege of owning the natural resources and plants of production. These property interests are the same as the property interests that dictate the actions of white capitalists where white capitalism rules.

Marcus Garvey's program ignored everything that is vital to the freedom and happiness of Negro workingmen and women. What the workers of all colors and nationalities need first of all is a program that leads to a mastery over their own lives, not a mastery over their lives exercised by a class of capitalists, be they white or black.

We will return to consider the problem of the Negro wage worker in the United States. This is his home. Here he will have to solve his problems the same as the white wage worker. There is no more reason for the Negro worker to go to Africa than there is for

the white worker to go to Alaska. One is as much entitled to be here as the other. One is as essential to the other, also.

We have seen that the problems and the interests of white and black workers are the same. There is one difference, however. This is the persistence of the color question. It has a special bearing on the theme of this booklet. There is race prejudice and race discrimination against Negroes in general. There is the Jim Crow car and exclusion from public places. There is a white prejudice against Negroes in the skilled trades and in the professions.

Prejudices Kept Alive
But note this: All of this is founded on ignorance, prejudice and stupidity, and the will of the masters of both white and black wage workers to keep this prejudice alive.

Once before we had this prejudice against, not color, but a certain nationality. The Irish workers who came to New England were regarded by the New England aristocracy as a servile class. Many native workers shared this prejudice. The skilled trades and professions were closed to the Irish immigrants. They were shunned in politics. Most of them being Catholics, their churches and convents were burnt. They were the victims of mobs.

But the Irish people in New England braved all this ignorance and prejudice, and slowly beat it down. They have so emancipated themselves from it that in many sections of New England, the danger is that they in turn may persecute other. In fact, they have been used by designing political and clerical leaders to terrorize "radical" and Socialist opinions. But the point is they have won the respect of their old enemies and even their fear. They have obtained POWER, and this always wins respect.

The anti-Irish prejudice was once as deep-seated as the anti-Negro prejudice is today. It helped to keep the workers divided as Negro prejudice today keeps the workers divided. When workers are divided it means weakness for them. The white worker may not be as weak as the Negro, but he is much weaker than he would be if both white and Negro workers were united for their common interests.

(To be continued)



ASSASSIN

A Drinker of Hashish!

In eleventh-century Persia, a secret order was founded by Hassan ben Sabbah, indulging in the use of the Oriental drug hashish, and when under its influence, in the practice of secret murder. The murderous drinker of hashish came to be called *hashish* in the Arabic and from that origin comes our English word *assassin*!

Write for Free Booklet, which suggests how you may obtain a command of English through the knowledge of word origins included in.

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

"The Supreme Authority"

G. & C. MERRIAM COMPANY

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

MADE

Lew Leslie's New Novelty: "Rhapsody In Black"

The Stage

The Movies

Music

In Viennese Screen Operetta Now in Its
31st Week



Still playing at the Europa, formerly the 55th St. Playhouse, is "Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" which is smashing all existing records of the house by entering the 31st week of its popular run. Grotz Thelmer has the feminine lead.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

NEW STYLE REVUE

"RHAPSODY IN BLACK" Lew Leslie's "symphony of blue notes and black rhythm." With Ethel Waters. At the Sam H. Harris. What is rather more of a concert than a revue offers a delightful evening of good voices and tunes at the Sam Harris Theatre these evenings. An ingenious prologue by Nat N. Dorfman puts over the idea that, north of Central Park to 155th street, Manhattan, is a rhapsody in black. After this, against a curtain backdrop, Pike Davis' Continental Orchestra brings that rhapsody to life, and various entertainers keep its movement freshly entertaining. The music is dominated by Gerahwin's "Rhapsody in Blue," which closes the first act, but marks the mood of most of the good-voiced singing. Ethel Waters brings the most natural color to the evening, her humor often shining through with shrewd philosophy, as in the "Wash Tub Rub-sidy" where, as a laundress working out by the day, she comments on the various households that employ her. The song of the dance-hall portess is another excellent bit of interpretation; indeed, there is assurance of worth-while moments whenever Miss Waters appears.

The sensitive element of the Negro nature is not given the free rein it usually has in Negro revues, and the effect is pleasing, in the resultant numerous songs, in which Cecil Mack's Choir again demonstrates the usual superiority of the Negro chorus. But a spice of livelier movement is added by Valaida, whose vibrant being is the essence of many a full revue; and the well-known Berry Brothers, easy on their feet, provide the black show would be rhapsodic. But (even if you don't see the pun), "Rhapsody in Black" offers a goodly supply of the best sort of "revue-sical" entertainment.

HARD-WORKING AL
"THE WONDER BAR" A continental novelty adapted by Irving Caesar and Allen Kandel from the German of Geza Herczeg and Karl Farbus. Music by Robert Katscher. Lyrics by Irving Caesar. With Al Jolson. At the Bayes.

The heralded "Wonder Box" comes to a redecorated Bayes Theatre, as the picture of a continental cafe. I think it would have looked more natural if the Shuberts and Morris Gest had rented a night club, put the show in the center, and let Al Jolson then act as master of ceremonies. The aisle-walking of the cocottes and customers before they reach the tables breaks that illusion of reality which somehow these producers seek; and if the audience, too, could have been at tables, there'd have been more to enjoy the "champagne" and the welcoming women. They are quite attractive, incidentally.

In "The Wonder Bar," a Parisian night-club, a gigolo is about to leave his dancing partner for a wealthy man's beautiful wife.

BROOKLYN

FOX
Flatbush Avenue & Nevins St. Brooklyn
YOUNG SINNERS
with THOMAS MEIGHAN, DOROTHY JORDAN, HARDIE ALBRIGHT
A Fox Movietone Picture
—On the Stage—
FANCHON & MARCO'S
"ICY-HOT" IDEA
Big Bill Blumberg and His Alaskans.
The Three LeGraves, Hears and Wallace, Helen McFarland — and the SINKING BEAUTIES, BOB WEST, SAM JACK, KATIEFAN, Eddie Magill

First Time in Brooklyn at the Fox Theatre



"Young Sinners" makes its picture bow at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre, this Saturday. In it Thomas Meighan makes his return to the screen after an absence of two years. Rounding out the bill is a diversified and interesting stage program.

whose heart—and jewels—he has stolen. The second act, a year later, shows him back for a dance act at the same club, now tired of the new partner—whose kind husband, however, is there to reclaim her. This is the plot.

But Al Jolson is proprietor and master of ceremonies of the Wonder Bar; he is around most of the time, working hard, and successfully; and when he bids you give the little girl a hand, you do. Among the "hands" you give are a goodly share for the amusing, awkward impudence of Patsy Kelly and the moronic acrobatics of "her brother," Al Segal. There are some good dances, "for Al," and other gyrations; but it all revolves around—and "in the long run" devolves upon—Al Jolson, who has to carry "The Wonder Bar" on his own shoulders. He probably can.

UFA's latest talker to be released in this country, "Liebeswalzer" (The Love Waltz) continues merrily on its way at the Eighth Street Playhouse.

MOROSCO Th. 45 W. of Br. Eys. 120; 31st. Wed. Sat. 2:40

"It gave me, I must say, the best time I've had in a court room since the days of 'Mary Dugan'!"—Gilbert W. Gaird, N. Y. American.

LONEL ATWILL
in
THE SILENT WITNESS
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Tom Meighan Returns To Screen in "Young Sinners" at Fox B'klyn; Also Big Stage Program

The screen feature this week at the Fox Theatre at Flatbush and Nevins is "Young Sinners," a stirring comedy drama which enjoyed a long run on the New York stage and which vehicle marks the return of Thomas Meighan to pictures after an absence of two years. In this story of rebellious modern youth ingeniously brought back to a sane way of life by a rugged trainer, Meighan enacts the role of the hard-boiled physical culturist.

Sam Jack Kaufman makes his bow as conductor of the Fox orchestra and as Master of Ceremonies. Preceding the stage unit, Bob West offers another novelty on the organ in which the audience joins in by singing aloud.

"Student Sein, wenn Die Veilchen Blühen" Still at Little Carnegie

Now in its third week at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, the German picture of gay and romantic student life, "Student Days" (When Violets Bloom), continues to draw full houses. The genuine atmosphere of this picture which is based on undergraduate life at the famous old University of Wurzburg, is making it popular among Playhouse patrons. The dueling matches, the boisterous drinking songs, the naturalness of the characters and the lingering melodies make this new German film one of the happier foreign importations.

"Monsters of the Deep" at the Cameo; Full of Thrilling Fishing Adventures

Anglers of all ages, and disciples of Isaac Walton have a thrill in store for them at the RKO Cameo Theatre where "Monsters of the Deep" opens today.

"Monsters of the Deep" was filmed on a special expedition led by Harold Austin to Magdalena Bay off the coast of Lower California, where the youthful thrill-seekers met with many adventures. The climax of the film is the capturing of a giant Manta, or devil fish, after an eleven-hour struggle. When the monster was finally subdued, it took nine hours Magdalena Bay, the supply base, to tow it the eighteen miles to the film site.

"Monsters of the Deep" holds a thrill for the lad with turned-up pantaloons and crooked fishing pole, as well as the experienced angler with the finest equipment.

"The Public Enemy" Continues at Strands

"The Public Enemy," starring James Cagney and featuring Edward Woods and Jean Harlow, will be held over for a fourth week at the New York Strand Theatre for a second week at the Brooklyn Strand.

Sensational business, both in New York and Brooklyn, forced the double hold-over. Long lines have been the rule in front of the box-office at both theatres for more than an hour before the opening day.

ERLANGER'S Even. 8:30, Main. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Thru. W. 44 St. Tel. PE. 6-7963

Gilbert & Sullivan
COMIC OPERA
"H. M. S. PINAFORE"
ALL STAR CAST OF 60
Direction of MILTON ABORN

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In Tense Drama of a Girl's Regeneration Through Love



Many film favorites compose the cast of "The Good Bad Girl" now at the Globe Theatre. In the scene above we find Mae Clarke and Robert Ellis, and Marie Prevost.

"Tabu" in 3rd Month At the Central Park; Worthy of Plaudits And Lengthy Run

Anyone predicting a few months ago that a silent picture based on native life and romance in the south seas could remain on Broadway for ten weeks with excellent box office results, would probably have been regarded as a poor judge of public sentiment, and yet that is just what has happened in the case of "Tabu." F. W. Murnau's Polynesian drama that is now in its third month at Leo Brecher's Central Park Theatre.

"Tabu" has earned the plaudits of the sophisticated and the masses, and it seems destined to remain at the "movie by the parkside" for many more weeks.

"The Honor Code" At the Apollo Monday

The Charles and Jack Linder who are listed as the producers of "The Honor Code," the play revolving about the old Sicilian adage of "Death to the One Who Dishonors" by Mark Linder, are best remembered as the producers of such Broadway hits as "Diamond Lil," "The Squalor," and "Cor-tez." "The Honor Code" comes to the Apollo Theatre Monday, May 18th, and stars its latest find, Betty Kasmann.

Harry Wagstaff Gribble Represented by Three Current Broadway Plays

Harry Wagstaff Gribble, author-director, will be represented by three shows playing currently in one Times Square block when Robert V. Newman's production "Old Man Murphy," starring Arthur Sinclair and Maire O'Neill, has its premiere next Monday at the Royale Theatre.

Mr. Gribble is co-author and director of "Old Man Murphy." He revised and staged "The Silent Witness" at the Morosco, and adapted "Meet My Sister" at the Imperial.

An unusual feature of Mr. Gribble's present usurpation of V. 45th street is that the author's versatility is established by the international aspect of his handiwork and the differing genre of each show.

Ethel Barrymore Thes. 47 St. W. of B'way. Even. 8:45; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

"One of the most gripping plays of the year... Excitingly fresh!"—Robert Benchley, The New Yorker

MELO
By HENRY BERNSTEIN
with
Basil Edna Earle
RATHBONE BEST LARIMORE

GILBERT MILLER Presents
"The outstanding dramatic success of the season."—Burns Mantle, News.

Tomorrow AND Tomorrow
with
Zita JOHANN and HERBERT MARSHALL
HENRY MILLER'S Thes. 124 W. 43 St. Even. 8:40; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

ERLANGER'S Even. 8:30, Main. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Thru. W. 44 St. Tel. PE. 6-7963

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"The Good Bad Girl," Columbia's Newest at Globe, Shows Woman's Side of Racketeering

"The Good Bad Girl," a Columbia Picture, is this week's fare at the Globe Theatre. The picture presents a satisfactory cast which includes James Hall, Marie Prevost, Robert Ellis, Nance O'Neil, Edmund Breese and Paul Porcasi.

The intense story concerns the woman's side of racketeering. Marcia Cameron is the mistress of Dan Tyler, a powerful underworld figure. When she tells him that she wants to quit the racket, Tyler warns her that they are both in the racket for life—the only way out is—feet first. She defies him, however, and marries Bob Henderson, a banker's son. She is received by his family without a question of her past and a vision of real happiness presents itself. But Dan Tyler kills a man, and relies on Marcia to prove an alibi for him, which she refuses to do, but her past is revealed anyway, to the great horror and surprise of the Henderson family who demand an immediate separation. Although Bob protests, Marcia insists that the family is right—and returns to her former friends. Shortly after Marcia's baby is born, Tyler escapes from prison and hunts down Marcia to carry out the "criminal code"—death to the squealer, regardless of her innocence. How he is prevented from carrying out his purpose, and the ultimate outcome of Marcia's struggles to live "a decent life" present themselves in a punch climax with plenty of action.

"Bachelor Apartment" Now at the Mayfair; Lowell Sherman Star, Director of the Picture

Two-thirds of the 400 scenes in Radio Pictures' "Bachelor Apartment" at the RKO-Mayfair this week, were filmed on one set—a lavishly equipped pent-house, alive with lovely ladies.

The story revolves about Lowell Sherman who plays the part of a wealthy "lady-killer." He doesn't even trouble to go after his feminine prey. Murray as Agatha goes there, bent on humbling the egomaniac. Her husband goes there with the intent to kill.

Irene Dunne, as plain Helen, goes there to reclaim her stray sister, and goes back of her own accord, a partial victim to Bluebeard's blandishments.

"Bachelor Apartment" is from an original story by John Howard Lawson, adapted to the screen by J. Walter Ruben. Lowell Sherman directed the production.

JOHN Barrymore "Svengali" (The Hypnotist)

Marian Marsh as "TRILEY"

NOW CONTINUOUS AT POPULAR PRICES HOLLYWOOD Broadway & 51st St.

DOROTHY MACKAILL
as the neglected wife of a "Party Husband"

Their best picture since "Office Wife"

Winter Garden
B'way & 50th St.
Pop. Prices—Midnight Shows
Smoking in Balcony

PUBLIC ENEMY
"The Big Shot of All Gun-ster pictures."
—Bernie Feinman, New Leader.

4TH WEEK
New York Brooklyn
STRAND
Pop. Prices—Midnight Shows

Something UNIQUE in Films! Took Berlin by Storm!

John Gay's "THE BEGGAR'S OPERA"

(In German)
FASCINATING MUSIC...
GRIPPING STORY...
POWERFUL ACTING

WARNER
Popular Prices—B'way and 82nd St.

Thrilling Scene From the Cameo's New Picture

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

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

UNEMPLOYMENT FLIES PRICE
The price of the "throwaway" flyer giving facts on wages and dividends for 1930, and stressing the necessity for unemployment insurance, was incorrectly stated last week. It should be \$1.50 per 1,000, \$10 for 10,000. This price is postpaid from National Headquarters, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

California

Frank Crosswell's visit has stirred things up in several towns besides Los Angeles, where he campaigned for Hill District for city council for two weeks. On his way to Oregon, Crosswell stopped at Oakland and San Francisco for three corner meetings. In Oakland, the Communists tried to break up the meeting which attracted a huge crowd, and were defeated when the question of continuing to hear the Socialist or give the meeting over to the Communists was put to the crowd. Attempted hecklers were soon squelched by Crosswell's answers.

Colorado

Frank R. Crosswell is returning between May 20 and 25 to continue his organization work. The revival of interest following his first visit was so marked that the state is going to make expense to get him to route himself through Colorado on his return. There have been numerous additions to the locals in Pueblo and Denver.

PUEBLO

Oscar Ameringer will address a meeting of Local Pueblo May 20. Particulars of the meeting may be obtained from J. J. O'Connell, block 1.

Another meeting will be held in Grand Junction in connection with the dedication of the new Labor Temple, May 21 and 22, at which Ameringer will speak. Instead of paying a fee for this lecture, the labor unions secured 100 subscriptions for "The American Guardian," of which Ameringer is editor.

Maryland

BALTIMORE

In the city election last week the Socialist Party polled a vote of 1,449, an increase over the last city election. The Communists received 335 votes. The quarterly meeting of the state committee will be held in the Odd Fellows Hall, Baltimore, Sunday, May 17, beginning at noon.

A group of university students and professional men and women have organized in Baltimore under the name of "The Young People's League" have applied for affiliation with the party as an associate group. Henry G. Burke, 3614 Chatham avenue, is the secretary.

Michigan

A scheduled lecture on "Russia and India," by Sherwood Eddy, sponsored by the Socialist Party, drew a large people, one of the largest audiences ever assembled in the auditorium of the College of the City of Detroit, became by implication a lecture on current events in the United States. The response was enthusiastic, and press publicity following the meeting was greater than for any Socialist effort this year.

Illinois

CHICAGO

The Socialist forum of the 8th Congressional District Branch will hold a symposium on "Fundamentals of Socialist Theory and Tactics." Those who will take part are: Dr. R. M. Grier, Secretary; Hyman Schneider and Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party.

The differences between Socialism and Communism, the practical program of Socialism, and issues in the party are some of the topics that will be discussed. The symposium will take place on Thursday, May 21, 8 p. m., at 2653 Washington Boulevard. No admission fee.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA MEETINGS

Saturday, May 16, Front street and Allegheny avenue; 12th street and Rodman street; Passunk avenue and South street.

Sunday, May 18, 40th street and Girard avenue; Broad street and South street.

Wednesday, May 20, Germantown avenue and Allegheny avenue; 7th street and Snyder street.

Friday, May 22, Germantown avenue and Lehigh avenue; 31st street and Morris street.

Saturday, May 23, Front street and Allegheny avenue; 28th street and Girard avenue; Passunk avenue and South street.

New Jersey

HUDSON COUNTY

A complete county ticket for the November general elections has been filed with county clerk, Parsonage, 11 members of the General Assembly, and three members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

Free Youth is publication of the Young People's League.

A new recruit to Yipselism. This time it is Utica. The organization is due to Henry J. Sutton who got a few young people interested. The national office sent some suggestions to some of the active spirits. J. K. Miller of 335 Catherine street is organizer.

National Notes

UTICA, N. Y.

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ALLENTOWN, PA.

On Friday, May 8, Abe Belsky of the New York League addressed a packed meeting at the Labor Lyceum, headquarters of the new Yipsel circle. Ten members for the Socialist Party were gotten and the circle definitely organized. Louis Breier was elected organizer, and J. K. Miller, secretary-treasurer. The group will meet every Friday night at 126 North 6th street. A charter has been forwarded.

YORK, PA.

National Secretary Switkes and N. E. C. Member Seibert took a trip to York and got a sufficient number of applicants for a charter. At the meeting, Friday, May 8, a good many party members were present and made appropriate suggestions. One member of the group is state organizer, Arthur McDowell.

NEWARK, N. J.

At a well attended meeting at the St. Regis Restaurant, Sam Friedman addressed the members and friends of the Newark branch. A number of new members were obtained.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Eugene V. Debs Circle One has mapped out an ambitious program for May. On May 5 Jerry Weller talked to the members on "Education in the

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Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

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

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1931

Best Minds Deliberate

THE BEST MINDS of world capitalism were sent to the Sixth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce meeting at Washington. They deliberated on unemployment and agreed on a resolution bearing the caption "Solution of the Unemployed Problem." In that document they say that, "as both industry and agriculture have experienced an enormous technical development within a very short period, it has not been possible, partly on account of the war and its effects, to harmonize production and consumption of commodities."

But this avoids the issue instead of meeting it. No doubt the war has complicated the problem but there were industrial depressions in the past that were not complicated by war problems. They came in times of peace. In fact, production of commodities for sale and profit, a social order less than two hundred years old, is the only social order in all history that has repeatedly broken down. The more we are able to produce the worse each crisis becomes. Production and consumption never have balanced under this system.

So in the face of twenty millions of workers unemployed all over the world the representatives of industry and finance from all over the world adopt a meaningless resolution. They urge their class to stabilize employment. It is like saying, "we have a depression; let's wipe out the depression." They go on to warn against "excessive" drain on national income to pay unemployment relief. What they mean is that their incomes should not be excessively taxed to provide such relief.

This futility is merely further evidence of the need of the working people to rely upon themselves, to seek for power and to use that power to eventually end the system that afflicts them with privation.

Doakism

PARALYSIS of thought and action. No other words describe some sections of the American labor movement now facing problems of vast import to workingmen and women. The one hopeful sign is that in the past year or two trade unions in many states have taken up the fight for old age pensions and some are now fighting for unemployment insurance legislation. These are encouraging items but the disaster which the depression has brought to the masses should bring the whole labor army into action on a scale hitherto unknown in our history.

With fifteen million people facing privation Secretary of Labor Doak tells the convention of Railroad Trainmen how happy we all should be that he sits in the Cabinet with Hoover. The delegates were warned against "all kinds of isms." Doakism, of course, being excepted. Any ism but his which brings him a nice salary while fifteen millions starve in some way undermines the foundations of the republic. So the nicely tailored and well fed Doak warned against "a sea of socialized industrial activity" in which our glorious "principles of freedom and democracy" may "drown."

If this Doakism is the best that a century of labor history can produce we should call in a receiver and dispose of the labor movement at auction. But we do not believe that this bootlicking is a permanent phase of our labor history. The fact that many unions now support socialized activity in urging old age pensions and unemployment insurance legislation indicates that Doakism is far from being accepted by workingmen and women.

Let us work and hope for an elemental crusade among the organized workers that will eventually prove a sea that will drown Doakism, leaving behind only an unpleasant memory.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i. e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is developed the proletariat, the class of modern workers who live only so long as they find work, and who only find work so long as their work increases capital.—Karl Marx.

Welcome to the Rich

ONE of the interesting phases of the administration of the immigration laws is the welcome extended to the rich while the doors are practically closed to the poor. The triumph of the capitalist class over the slave owners as a result of the Civil War was followed by a policy of stimulated immigration of workers from Europe. The employing class desired an overstocked labor market to keep wages down. Then their agents in Congress built up a tariff wall behind which they could gouge the masses.

Now that they have what appears to be a permanently glutted labor market, due to technical changes and new machines in industry, the old doctrine of the United States as an "asylum for the oppressed of Europe" has been discarded. This doctrine was never the real reason that inspired our exploiting classes. It was a mask concealing their desire for cheap labor power.

The shift to an open affection for the rich visitor and immigrant became evident when, during the Wilson administration, the government placed a transport at the disposal of some Czarist refugees and brought them across the Pacific to the United States. Our consular agents now have discretionary power in the matter of limiting entry. One consul is reported as refusing admittance unless the immigrant promised not to work for five years! This ruling definitely singles out the rich. If a prospective immigrant, on the other hand, proves that he already has a job here and would not become a public charge he is excluded under the contract-labor provision of the law!

This is one unforeseen phase of the war to make the world safe for democracy.

Symptoms of Social Change

IN EVERY age when a social system is becoming feeble and ready for burial increasing sections of the so-called "intellectual" classes turn against it. This attitude may range all the way from one of mere opposition to the claims and philosophy of the ruling classes to a position of agitation for a new order to replace the old one. Marx and Engels observed this as a factor in social change when they said that these "ideologists" raise themselves "to the level of comprehending" what is happening.

It was amusing to notice how the Catholic Bishops in this country, following the end of the World War when Europe was rocking with revolutions, adopted a program of social reconstruction which was critical of the whole capitalistic system. It went far to condemn the wage system and to approve cooperation as a substitute. It revealed the church adapting itself to changes that might sweep throughout the world.

The recent report of the Economics Commission of the National Council of Christian Associations favoring a radical reconstruction of society on Socialist lines is another case in point. One may even observe symptoms of this trend in the protests made by some dailies against the naked attempt of the power crowd to take over the educational systems of the country. These protests go no farther than warning a powerful section of the ruling class not to endanger the whole system by making fools of themselves, yet they are also symptoms.

Capitalism is failing in the minds of many who have accepted it as a finality in social development. When the labor movement catches up with this critical view capitalism will be fighting for its life.

The Ideal State

What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlement, or labored mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, proud navies ride;
Nor starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed Baseness wafts perfume to pride!
No! men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endured,
In forest, brake, or fen
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare main-
tain.

—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

IN A NUTSHELL

The American Civil Liberties Union reports in its bulletin of May 9 that 8,000 Communists met in Madison Square on May Day, paraded for two hours and then demonstrated in Union Square where 3,000 Socialists met after parading. How insignificant that Socialist demonstration was! The Civil Liberties Union takes unwarranted liberties with the facts. The Communists had 100,000 on the square and the Socialists a hundred. On the square!

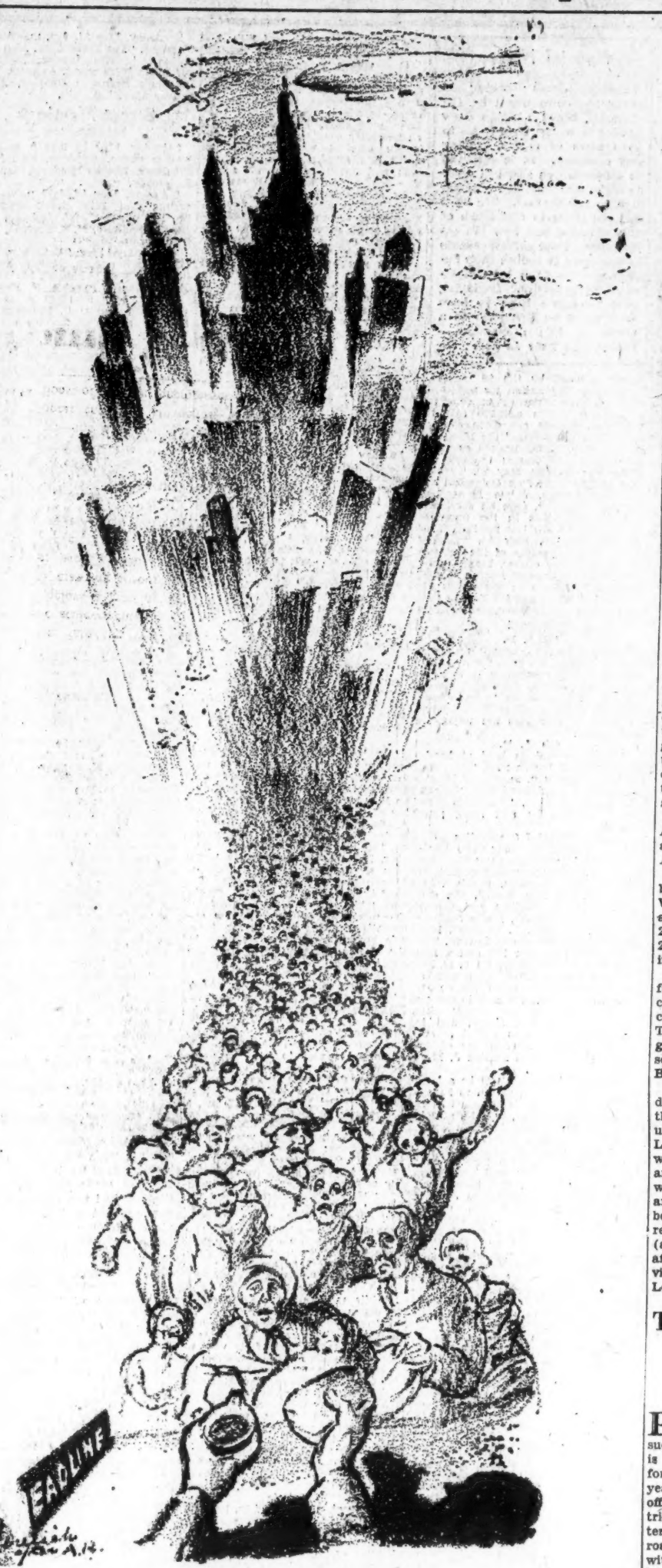
War is the grave of all good, whether in administration or legislation, and it throws power into the hands of the most worthless class of statesmen.—John Bright.

A generation ago Professor Ely, before he became an apologist of capitalism, wrote: "If, as the Socialist and the advocate of the trust system contend, the inevitable tendency and result of economic competition be the monopolistic domination of industrial activities by private corporations, then Socialism is inevitable."

There is something in Socialism to kill ignorance and to destroy vice. There is something in it to shut up the jails, to do away with prostitution, to reduce crime and drunkenness, and wipe out forever the sweeter and the slums, the beggars and the idle rich, the useless fine ladies and lords, and make it possible for sober and willing workers to live healthy, happy, and honorable lives.—Robert Blatchford.

The New York State Bureau of Women in Industry reports that women's wages are being "sharply lowered" and that the woman wage worker is compelled to "adjust her life to lower standards of living." A higher standard of living will help prevent a lower standard of living is a good Socialist slogan.

The Heights And The Depths



THE GREAT structures of a business empire tower into the very clouds—the peaks of capitalistic achievement.

And below, a growing army of suffering humanity is crawling through the valley of want. Never such a contrast before. Never such heights. Never such depths.

The toilers, cast aside, struggle through the shadows.

The masters above stand dizzy before their man-created canyons . . . deafened with the thunders of the avalanche of falling values.

Wages—the lifeblood of the mass—grow less or disappear entirely. Dividends—as usual.

Millions of people unemployed—unfed—un-

sheltered. A picture of human misery.

Empty factories and full breadlines.

Empty pockets and vacant shops.

The nation proclaims its greatest deficit. Mars collects his greatest taxes.

Children starve and experts worry over surplus wheat.

Homes are heatless and coal and oil wasted for want of buyers. Railroads run half-full trains and foot-sore workers walk from town to town.

New homes are begging for occupants and old men go begging for shelter.

Never before such contrasts, never such an indictment of capitalism, never before such an argument for Socialism.

Some Socialist Fundamentals

By Frederick Engels

THE materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged.

From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economies of each particular epoch.

The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping.

From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.

The bourgeoisie broke up the

feudal system and built upon it the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings.

The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of a man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on.

Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the work-

International Congress Opens On July 25th

Labor Olympiad, Women's Section, Lawyers' Ass'n to Hold Sessions

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

URICH.—The Labor and Socialist International publishes details of the coming International Congress. The Congress will open in the Concert House in Vienna on the 25th of July at 3 p.m. and will probably end on the afternoon of the 1st August. The opening coincides with the end of the great Workers' Olympiad in Vienna. A great international mass demonstration in the streets on Sunday, 26th July, will form the close of the Olympiad and the overture to the Congress. The delegates to the Congress will greet the demonstration before the ramp of the Parliament building.

The agenda of the Congress was drawn up as follows at the last meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International: (1) Disarmament and War; (2) The General Situation of the Socialist Movement and the Fight for Democracy; (3) World Economic Crisis and Unemployment; (4) International Women's Conference; (5) Activity of the Executive and the Secretariat of the L. S. I. and Organization Questions of the L. S. I. The former practice will be followed of forming Congress commissions for each point of the agenda. The various delegations will be represented according to the strength of the representation of the countries on the Executive. The bourgeois press will only be admitted to the full sessions, but the Socialist press will also be admitted to the meetings of the commissions.

A meeting of the International Alliance of Socialist Lawyers and a Conference of Workers' Travel Associations will be held.

The Congress will be preceded by the Fourth International Women's Conference of the Labor and Socialist International on the 23rd and 24th, and perhaps the 25th, July, which will also be held in the Concert House.

The Vienna Congress will be the fourth held by the Labor and Socialist International which was reconstituted in Hamburg in 1923. The Hamburg Foundation Congress was followed by the Marseilles Congress in 1925 and the Brussels Congress in 1928.

Cards for delegates, fraternal delegates, and representatives of the Party press, will be distributed only by the Secretariat of the L. S. I. In order to facilitate the work of the Congress Committee, and also in their own interests, all who are attending the Congress are requested to obtain their cards before leaving home. Tickets for representatives of the Press (apart from the Press of parties affiliated to the L. S. I.), and for visitors, will be distributed by the Local Committee only.

Tamiment to Open Season On May 30th

PREPARED for Decoration

Day week-end and its most successful season, Camp Tamiment is soon to swing its gates open for the beginning of its eleventh year. Registers have been dusted off and files put in motion, electricity spurts through wires, water pours through pipes, great fires roar in the stoves, the lake stirs with a ripple, the boards of the bungalows glow, and suddenly the Camp, which has lain so quietly and still since last September, takes on the furor and activity of life.

With considerable pride and happiness, Camp Tamiment greets new and old campers with a new social hall and club room and with new sports facilities. The new hall is one of the finest equipped and ideal of modern camp social halls. A modern theatrical stage equipped with a modern lighting system has been installed. A dance floor which has been doubled in size will allow for the ever increasing campers to dance smoothly.

A new clubroom, following the design of a modern hunting lodge, will be a retreat for the campers' delight. Above the club room is something new for campers. Ascending the steps of the clubroom to the roof of the building, one finds him or herself on what first appears to be the promenade deck of an ocean liner, but in reality is the canvassed sundeck. The new social hall will be furnished with equipment for indoor basketballs. Other games have been added, such as shuffle ball and various floor and table games. Altogether, the beautiful new hall, with the improved ground and waterfront equipment, will make Camp Tamiment the finest recreational center in the East.

Labor's Dividends in Steel

In the iron and steel industry, both the severity and frequency of accidents increased in 1929, being the first increase in frequency recorded since 1922, and the first increase in severity since 1928. From 1928 to 1929, the frequency rate rose from 19.7 to 24.8 (per 1,000,000 hours' exposure) and the severity rate from 2.2 to 2.6 (per 1,000 hours' exposure).

Mexico Labor Vows Fight on New Labor Code

Leaders Charge Gov't Bends Knee to "Yankee Capitalism"—Talk of Revolt

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

MEXICO CITY — (FP) — Against the proposed labor code now being discussed in the chamber of deputies, responsible leaders of organized labor in Mexico urged a general strike if necessary, and even hinted at armed revolution, addressing a protest meeting of workers, held in a large Mexico City theater.

The meeting, sponsored by the United Front Committee of leading trade union organizations, included representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor (Crom), the General Federation of Labor, independent unions and the National Peasants' League.

"This proposed law would hand over the Mexican proletariat to the exploitation of Yankee capitalism," declared Ricardo Trevino, speaker for the Crom, which, with the A. F. of L., is affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. "Either the deputies wrote it in bad faith or they carry their brains in their feet." "Both," yelled the crowd, and Trevino nodded. "We are going before Congress to fight for our rights, but if we are defeated there, we will go on fighting in our trenches." The applause was thunderous.

In accordance with Mexican custom, after a principle has been written into the constitution, a code must be devised to carry out the constitutional provisions. Although Article 123, the labor bill of rights, was written into the Constitution of 1917, no federal code has ever been enacted to define its provisions.

Business men complain, Trevino pointed out, that investments are held up by the lack of a federal labor code, and blame organized workers for obstructing its passage. "It is time," he added, "to fix the historical responsibility for whatever obstruction there may be."

"For a permanent law defining the rights of labor, the government has come forward with a code which sweeps away all the rights gained by the blood and tears of the revolution and written into the constitution. Naturally labor cannot accept it. We realize the country is in a crisis. We have offered to make even more sacrifices, if capital will make sacrifices in proportion. But this must be through a temporary agreement, to last as long as the crisis, not by a permanent law."

Willingness to go to the limit in fighting the proposed law was echoed by other speakers. "If Mexico is to destroy the workers to attract foreign capital, I say that we need other investments—the capital of the workers, the only capital they have—in new flows of blood which we will pour out before we let conditions go back to worse than before the revolution," said Chairman Mario Rojas Avendano, of the graphic arts union.

Ernesto Velasco of the Electrical Workers, after attacking the vagueness of the wording on the 8-hour day, the recognition of company unions and practical abolition of the right to strike, added that "laws like this are what bring on social revolution."

"In this attack on unionism," declared Salvador J. Romero of the Railroad Workers, "we must go forward and do constructive work—at the cost of a new revolution if it be necessary." The government has abandoned the ideals of Zapata, the agrarian revolutionist, and fails to break up the big haciendas for the peasants, affirmed R. Lope Fuentes, of the National Peasant League. Mexico is just a great estate divided between the old and the new landlords, he said. "The new law would exclude all peasants and agricultural workers from fair labor provisions. It is a crab law—walking backwards to 1908." (In 1908 Mexico was under the absolute dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, remembered by all workers and peasants as a master slave driver.)

Wolstano Pineda of the General Federation of Labor, dressed in the blue denim of the Mexico City worker, drew echoing applause when he declared that "if it is necessary to perform a revolutionary act, we will stop the factories, we will leave the fields, we will stand with crossed arms, and let the labor law work by itself."

In pushing this law, Mexican business men are acting as the procurers of American capital, said Romero of the Transport Workers, and rather than saddle the vast majority of Mexican people with such slavery, Mexico should refuse to pay the national debt, which would simply pour millions into the pockets of the rich capitalists. Luis Rojas Avendano of Puebla, pointed out that there are 6,000,000 working peasants in Mexico and 500,000 workers, amounting to more than a third of the population, not counting their non-working children.

I rejoice in life for its own sake. Life is no "brief candle" for me. It is a sort of splendid torch, which I have got hold of for the moment; and I want to make it burn as brightly as possible before handing it on to future generations.—G. Bernard Shaw.