

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Hoover's Lack of Program—Progressives, Labor and Unemployment—Harmful Foreign Politics—Wheat—The Supreme Court Reverts to Type

THE ENGINEER OF DISASTER

SO President Hoover thinks we can't legislate ourselves out of world depression and that a special session of Congress would only interfere with the delicate processes of recovery that he observes! More bunk from the Engineer of Disaster. We can't legislate ourselves out of world depression, but we can by legislation share far more equitably the burdens of depression and in the process help rather than hurt economic recovery. In other words a \$3,000,000,000 hunger loan to be repaid out of higher income and inheritance taxes can tremendously relieve present suffering, and to our social wealth in public improvements and in the process stimulate rather than hurt business recovery.

The President offers no alternative except the alternative of doing nothing but let the business cycle roll on no matter how many of the unemployed it crushes. Meanwhile he and Andy Mellon would meet deficits by cutting budgets and increasing the number of people to be taxed, not the amount to be taken from the rich. It's the old way of the Bourbons, nothing learned, nothing forgotten. And as for Bourbons, the last of them, a certain combination Bourbon-Hapsburg named Alfonso can give some information.



Norman Thomas

PROGRESSIVES FOUND WANTING

THE Progressives don't show up well in this unemployment matter. Bob La Follette once could have forced what now he merely asks—an extra session of Congress. The Progressive group needed no more reports or information than it had before March 4th. Its policy has been to go just far enough on unemployment to have an issue but not far enough to antagonize the business interests which are so fearful of a special session. Why, if the more-or-less progressives of the Senate mean business, doesn't Senator Wagner force the sub-committee on unemployment to hold hearings around the country? And why doesn't La Follette himself get to work on those hearings his committee was authorized to hold on an economic plan for America?

BOLDER POLICIES WORK

MEANWHILE a little more boldness like that of the W. Va. miners whose hunger march to Charleston got at least some results in relief may force the Hoovers and Mellons and the smaller fry politicians of the states to act in an emergency of sheer starvation. Labor is awakening. The hosiery strike in Stroudsburg, Pa. with its fresh examples of class "justice" and the silk strike at Ailantown are other examples of the solidarity and courage that are more likely to block wage cuts than good words from so unexpected a source as President Farrell of the U. S. Steel Co.

FUTILITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IN foreign affairs the Hoover administration could hardly pursue a more futile and irritating policy. Hoover himself tells us this is a world depression but Secretary Duggan won't even let Miss Mary Anderson sit in unofficially at the Geneva Conference called by the international labor office principally to consider world unemployment. Hoover lectures the world on disarmament and pulls off, with the appropriate blessing of the bishop of business and belligerence, our own little Manning—showy air maneuvers while his Secretary of War busily goes on turning a War Policies Commission ostensibly directed to inquire how "to promote peace and equalizes the burdens of war" into just another Commission on waging war.

But probably our worst bit of irritating international politics was at the Wheat Conference at London. Nothing is clearer than that the supply of wheat is way ahead of the effective demand. The days when the temporary collapse of Russia took her out of the world market are gone forever. Russia at Geneva officially offered a no dumping treaty with teeth in it. The offer was ignored. It has hardly been mentioned in the United States. In the meantime at London Mr. Sam McKelvie of the Farm Board promised not to dump but proposed no treaty and couldn't even discuss a world wheat pool. The result: justifiable irritation against the United States and no progress at all in solving our own pressing domestic wheat problem.

REMEDIES FOR THE WHEAT GROWERS

I'M writing this in bed where I am temporarily laid up to my great disgust. One consequence is that I have been delayed getting access to some facts I need for that further discussion of the wheat situation I have promised. I can't even summarize some of the excellent letters I have received. But I can outline some of the remedies I have heard or read about for an industry admittedly near bankruptcy.

1. Debentures or other subsidies, direct or indirect whereby wheat can be sold abroad for less than the farmers get for it at home. I was never enthusiastic for the McNary Haugen or any similar measure, but I think the world situation makes any such device both less effective and more dangerous to international good will if not to peace than were the farmers' proposals of 1924 and 1928.

2. A guaranteed price on all domestic sales regardless of quantity produced or of the foreign market. The price suggested to me by some militant farmers in South Dakota was \$3 a bushel. I see no practicable way of fixing or enforcing this price against bootlegging of surplus wheat. A government which wants to give one kind of farmers a fixed price far above the market will have to control production and will find itself compelled to go down the line and fix prices of farm labor, flour, bread and lots of other things.

3. A restoration of the price level of 1926 or '27. There is much to be said for this which would help not only wheat growers but farmers and all producers. It is very unfair to farmers to have to pay back loans in dollars that will buy ever so much more than the dollar they borrowed. I fear, however, that under capitalism in a world depression it is probably beyond the power of the Federal Reserve Board or any other governmental agency thus to raise prices, short of a wild inflation with its new evils.

4. Townley of Non Partisan League fame is proposing a moratorium on farm loans in the wheat belt. Such a plan might help but it would have to be considered in relation to the whole credit structure. If a moratorium for wheat farmers, why not for loans to workers? Where would you stop?

All these schemes point to the necessity of a general socialist program, not an impossible specialized program of favors now to independent grocers and now to wheat growers. Such a socialist program would have to decide such questions as: (a) How much land now given over to wheat might better be turned over to forests? (b) How much wheat (and cotton land) should be given to other types of diversified farming? We may not need as much wheat but we need more milk. (c) How can unemployed workers who have been buying less milk buy what they need? (d) How can the farmers be financed in a change from wheat and cotton growing?

Here's a job for the best brains there are.

THE OLD SUPREME COURT

JUST to remind us that it's the same old Court, the Supreme Court which actually talked reason and sense in reversing the conviction of Yetta Stromberg in the famous California Red Flag case now by a 5 to 4 vote decides that you can't be naturalized in the United States unless you will fight in any war for which Congress may draft you. This applies to women as well as men, regardless of religion. That means that Jesus Christ, Francis of Assisi, Tolstoy, Wm. Penn, Einstein and Gandhi aren't good enough for us.

I suppose the reactionary corporation lawyers who endorsed this opinion are all against the Soviet for occasionally conscripting workers in a war against poverty, but they would conscript everybody in a war of destruction regardless of conscience or sense of right. Their state is in other words the old capitalist-militarist state, above the moral law, which demands more human sacrifices than any heathen deity.

It is interesting to note that Chief Justice Hughes wrote the minority opinion and that he has repeatedly been on the liberal side. I don't mind how far he goes in proving to us who opposed his nomination that he isn't as bad as we said.

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XII.—No. 22

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

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1931

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

Price Five Cents

1,500 W. Va. Miners In Hunger Parade

U. S. Minister Aids Grab Of Nicaraguan Territory By U. S. Lumber Company

Hanna Urges Treaty
Which Would Make
Honduras Fight San-
dino

GRAFT IS PASSED,
BORAH INFORMED

U. S. Senator Silent So
Far on Plea for In-
vestigation

FOLLOWING is the text of
Salomon De La Selva's protest
to Senator Borah revealing a new
American imperialist venture:

San José de Costa Rica, C. A.
February 21, 1931.
To the Hon. William E. Borah,
Senator of the United States,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

La Noticia, a Managua, Nicaragua, daily, published on February 12 of this year, certain statements made in the course of an interview by the Hon. Matthew Elting Hanna, United States Minister to Nicaragua; it is my duty to inform the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, of which you are the chairman, with regard to these statements. Enclosed please find a clipping containing the interview in full. I translate Mr. Hanna's statement in part, as follows:

"Our (La Noticia) representative asked Mr. Hanna what was his opinion with respect to the Boundary Treaty with Honduras, and he (Mr. Hanna) expressed himself in the following manner: 'My opinion is that the Treaty is magnificent (excellent). It would be a great achievement for President Moncada if he succeeded in having it passed (ratified). It will be of great benefit to Nicaragua.'"

"Our representative interrupted him: 'But the people of Nicaragua as a whole reject that Treaty because it wounds (cuts into) our territory.'"

"Mr. Hanna replied: 'I am not surprised that the treaty should have opposition because at this time, the great benefits that it will bring to Nicaragua are not seen. The beneficial consequences will come later, and then they (the opposition, that is, the people of Nicaragua as a whole) will understand that the step which this Government (of Nicaragua) is trying to take is magnificent.'"

"Also the Treaty would contribute to the pacification of the North (the Sandino region) because the commission of engineers that will mark out the boundary will have to be protected in its work by forces of Honduras and Nicaragua in order to avoid an attack from the brigands (forces of the Army of Liberation commanded by Gen. Sandino). Besides, that boundary dispute should be settled in a friendly manner in order to avoid later on a conflict between the two countries.'"

Honduran Intervention Sought
You will please observe that Mr. Hanna's advocacy of the Treaty is based on three reasons: First, it will be of great benefit to Nicaragua. Second, it would contribute to the pacification of the Northern part of Nicaragua. Third, it would settle the boundary dispute in a friendly manner.

Taking the third reason first, Mr. Hanna is absolutely in the wrong. The people of Nicaragua would forevermore resent the high handed manner of settling that dispute which the said Treaty contemplates. It would not be far-fetched to say that the ratification of that Treaty by the Nicaraguan Congress and the consequent cession to Honduras of a fifth part of the territory of Nicaragua would have created in the psychology of Nicaraguans an "Alsace-Lorraine complex," which might have led future generations to possible war.

Mr. Hanna's second reason is nothing short of despicable. It means goading the Government of Honduras to undertake the pacification of that part of Nicaragua in which the efforts of thousands

Grab of Nicaragua Land
Recalls Colombia Steal

IN publishing the document below by Salomon De La Selva, Nicaraguan labor leader, The New Leader places before its readers what appears to be another dirty episode in American imperialism. The document was sent to Senator Borah last February by De La Selva from Costa Rica, where he is an exile from Nicaragua. Our information is that Senator Borah received the document but will not take any action. There are some aspects of this affair which recall the complicity of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hay in the "revolution" which detached Panama from the republic of Colombia in order to get a strip of territory on the Isthmus to build a canal. With bandit-like arrogance Roosevelt later boasted that he "took Panama" and let Congress talk about it afterward. Years later when some of the details became known Roosevelt declared that he had acted in terms of the "highest international morality."

A brief account of the Panama raid will serve as an introduction to the Honduras-Nicaragua boundary treaty scandal. The leading conspirator was Philippe Bunau-Varilla, former chief engineer of the old French canal company which had failed to build the canal. Its equipment on the Isthmus was rotting and the investors wanted to dispose of it. Varilla came to the United States from France when a proposed treaty between the United States and Colombia for a canal strip had failed of ratification in the Colombian Senate. The French engineer saw both Roosevelt and Hay and was satisfied that a "revolution" in Panama would be welcomed by these gentlemen.

A Revolution Organized
Events moved rapidly. A certain Dr. Amador arrived from Panama and consulted with Secretary of State Hay and the attorney for the French company. Varilla supplied Amador with \$100,000 and the latter returned to Panama to organize the "revolution" which was planned in New York City. The Panama "constitution" was written in New York. The Panama flag was designed here. The exact time for the rising in Panama was planned here. Roosevelt arranged for the Boston, Dixie, Atlanta, and Nashville to be off the coast of Panama when the "revolution" was to occur. Varilla prepared the "proclamation of independence" in New York as well as the military operations in Panama. He conferred with Ama-

Just received from Burgomaster Seitz, of this famous Socialist city. In a most cordial manner he bids "an especially hearty welcome to the winning comrade," and states that Dr. Adolf Vetter of the City Hall staff has been assigned to act as a personal guide to the fortunate winner.

New Leader Prize Winner To Be Announced Monday

Party Members Invited
to Attend 'Open House'
—Seitz Welcomes the
Winner

By The Contest Editor

UNTIL midnight on the evening of Monday, June 1st, the New Leader will hold open house. Invitations have been extended to all contestants who can possibly come to the New Leader offices that evening, to join with the Board of Directors and the business and editorial staffs in celebrating the successful outcome of the contest and to partake of refreshments that will be provided. When the clock strikes twelve congratulations will also be in order for the prize winners. Although the contest will not close officially until several days later to allow for the receipt of subs that may have been mailed at the last hour, midnight of June 1st, as announced in the contest rules, those present will be reasonably certain to know who the first five prize winners may be, as all leading contestants with the exception of one are New Yorkers.

An idea of the delightful time in store for the first prize winner in Vienna, is conveyed in a letter

from in secret code and informed the latter that he (Varilla) would represent the "new republic" at Washington. In other words, Varilla selected himself to serve as Minister representing a nation that as yet had no existence!

The hour came for the "revolution" in Panama and no word of it was received in Washington. There was anxiety in the State Department. An underling in the department cabled the American consuls at Panama and Colon for information. A "revolution" apparently had gone astray and they were required to find out what had happened to the wanderer.

The cable was sent at 3:40 p. m., November 3, 1903. It read: "Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep department promptly and fully informed. Loomis, acting." At 8:15 came an answer from Panama. "No uprising yet. Reported to be in the night. Situation is critical." At 9 p. m. came a cable from the same source. "Uprising occurred tonight, 6, no bloodshed. Army and navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized tonight."

\$25,000,000 Finally Paid
The "revolution" was a few hours late but it had finally arrived. American war vessels, however, were on time off the coast of Panama. The commander warned the Colombian Government not to send troops into her own province of Panama to put down the "revolution." With the aid of the five department and paid mercenaries Panama became a "republic" which was recognized by Washington. Varilla proceeded to Washington where he was received as the "Minister" of Panama.

Other events followed in logical order. The old French company in which Varilla was a stockholder realized \$40,000,000 for its old junk. The United States obtained a vassal colony and a strip of territory for a canal. Columbia demanded compensation for the outrage which Roosevelt denounced as "blackmail." Columbia could get no redress until many years later oil was discovered in her territory whereupon the imperialist crowd at Washington had a change of heart. Petroleum works wonders in American "idealism" so in April, 1921, the U. S. Senate ratified a treaty paying \$25,000,000 to Columbia for the Roosevelt-Hay-Amador-Varilla venture in "international morality."

With this background we are now able to appreciate the following document relating the story of the Honduras-Nicaragua treaty scandal.

N.Y. Job Fund Used to Aid Tammany

Applicant for Work Is
Sent to Democratic
District Leader—Re-
jected as Socialist

INDICATIONS that the \$10,000,000 fund voted by the New York City Board of Estimate to create temporary employment for jobless men and women is being used to reward Tammany voters and punish others was given to Edward C. Rybicki, director of the city's free employment bureau this week by the Socialist Party.

Rybicki's attention was called by the Party to the experience of William Zaretsky, an unemployed carpenter and glazier, of 354 Newport street, Brooklyn.

Zaretsky applied to the city's employment bureau for work over a month ago. He was referred to the Board of Elections for the usual form indicating his citizenship and was given the form on April 30th. Signed by Thomas A. Creamann, chief clerk of the Brooklyn office of the Board of Elections, the form attested that Zaretsky has been a resident of New York City and a citizen for 20 years.

"See Your District Leader"
The unemployed carpenter and glazier then took the blank to the third floor of the city's employment agency at 59 Leonard street, Manhattan. On presenting his certificate from the Board of Election with his request for work as a carpenter, glazier or as a general laborer, Zaretsky was told to see his Democratic district leader. This took place on Friday of last week, according to Zaretsky.

Mr. Zaretsky, who has a wife and three children dependent upon him, then visited the Democratic clubhouse at 179 Hendrix street, Brooklyn, which is in the 2nd assembly district. There he told his story to Max Liebowitz, whom Mr. Zaretsky said he knew to be a Tammany district captain. Liebowitz, according to Zaretsky, then looked up the enrollment books for 1930. He found Zaretsky's name.

"Do you see how you voted last year?" Liebowitz said to Zaretsky.

The unemployed man looked and saw he was listed as a Socialist, in accordance with the way he had enrolled at the polls last year. Zaretsky said that Liebowitz then slammed the book closed, and told him to "Go to the Socialists."

Following the complaint lodged by the Socialist Party, Rybicki began an "investigation." Zaretsky appeared at the employment bureau on Tuesday and identified the clerk who had directed him to the Democratic district leader. The clerk denied having given such instructions. Rybicki came to his defense, asserting that the clerk in question interviews 200 job applicants daily and could not therefore be expected to remember every individual he has seen.

Thomas Makes 6 Talks
In Huron, So. Dakota
(By A New Leader Correspondent)
HURON, S. Dak.—Local Huron of the Socialist Party had Norman Thomas in this city, May 15, when he reached over 1,000 people in several addresses. He spoke before a history class in the college; before 185 college students; over the radio; before 125 adults over "The Way to Peace"; to 43 adults on party organization; to 625 people on "What Is Socialism."

TUNE IN
Wednesday,
June 3
6 P. M.
Station WEAF
HEYWOOD
BROWN
on
"A Socialist
Reply to the
Pope"

Laborers Smash City Hall, Block Pay Cuts

GREENWICH, Conn.—(FP)—Laborers on city contracts smashed their way into the Town Hall at Greenwich recently and frightened the mayor into compelling city contractors to restore wages of \$6.50 a day which they had tried to cut to \$4.25.

Several hundred striking workers in the crowd pushed back the cops who tried to stop them, smashed the window in the Town Hall, and went into the hall with their wives and children joining in the struggle.

The mayor hastily called the contractors into session and they decided somewhat abruptly to rescind the wage cut order. The workers are members of the local carriers union of the A. F. of L.

One of the reasons unemployment is so serious in this section is that many of the rich owners of estates are firing their low-paid workers and going to Europe for several months. The workers are left to face hunger, since their wages were always too low to allow for any savings.

Pocketbook Union Calls Strike in N. Y.

More Than 2,500 Quit
—All Association Shops
Are Tied Up

BETWEEN 2,500 and 3,000 members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union went on strike Thursday against all employers represented by the Industrial Council of the Associated Leather Goods Manufacturers. Addressing two large meetings of strikers at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, and at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Barnett Wolff, manager of the union, urged the workers to conduct a finish fight against wage reductions and against granting the employers "re-organization rights," the two issues over which the break came in the industry.

In the course of the day, the union threw picket lines around the factories of the employers. Mr. Wolff declared yesterday that no single worker had entered any of the plants and that production had been brought to a complete standstill. Mr. Wolff announced that union efforts will also be directed against any attempt by independent employers outside of the association to take advantage of the strike to lower union standards. He told the mass meetings that any untoward act by independent employers would bring immediate extension of the strike.

"The union did not seek this fight," Mr. Wolff declared. "We made every effort consistent with justice to the workers and the best interests of the industry to meet a peaceful agreement. While we accepted the suggestion of impartial Chairman Henry Moskowitz that we submit the dispute to an arbitrator, the Industrial Council turned the proposal down."

"While we did not seek the fight, we are now in it and are out to see it through to a successful conclusion. In this battle of the firms who helped bring it on will go down. They are in no position financially to stand the kind of a fight the union will put up. That is their misfortune. They will go down and their places will be taken by firms more ready to deal in a reasonable manner with their workers. The last strike fought by this union took place 15 years ago. The lesson learned then lasted for fifteen years. Now, it seems, we must demonstrate the lesson all over again. We are ready. The members are solid and determined to fight it out if it takes all Summer and longer. We have the pledges of support of the labor movement and many leading citizens of the city."

"We will fight any infringement of union conditions in the shops of independents who attempt to take advantage of the strike. We will follow any 'runaway' shop which attempts to set up sub-standard factories out of town. We will bring the strike right to their doorsteps, wherever they may be."

Strike meetings will be held again today at Beethoven Hall and at the Rand School. In addition to Mr. Wolff, other speakers at the meeting were Charles Kleinman, chairman of the strike committee, Philip Lubiner, chairman of the joint council, and Charles Shoshone.

"We will fight any infringement of union conditions in the shops of independents who attempt to take advantage of the strike. We will follow any 'runaway' shop which attempts to set up sub-standard factories out of town. We will bring the strike right to their doorsteps, wherever they may be."

Charleston Invaded by Coaldiggers

Governor Expresses 'Re-
gret'—Red Cross Not
Interested—Tense
Situation Created

By Tom Tippet
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(FP)—Fifteen hundred coal miners, their wives and children, who were facing starvation at Ward, a mining camp 18 miles from Charleston, marched to the capitol demanding food.

Conditions at Ward are reported desperate. The miners have been working fully as steadily as at other mines, but even so their wages are absorbed daily in their daily living expenses. The women wait at the mouth of the mine for their men to come to the top with new credit at the company store. They get what they have to have for the next day's meals.

When the mine closes for a few days, the store closes, too. The operator will not advance credit so there is no reason for the store remaining open. After a day or two, food is entirely lacking in the camp and the families do without until the mine re-opens.

When the march on Charleston began the miners had been without work four days and most of them had gone 48 hours without food. It wasn't a march so much as a migration from famine conditions. They marched all night to get to Charleston in hope that the state, or the Red Cross or the wealthy citizens might help them.

Red Cross Won't Help
First they went to Gov. Conley. He made a speech, expressed his regret that the state could not legally help them and gave \$10—almost a penny apiece. The workers demanded to know why the state could not take care of starving miners when it could spend millions on behalf of scab operators. Pres. Frank Keeney of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union spoke to the miners at the state house and led them to a hall where they could meet to decide on future action.

A committee was sent to the Red Cross but got the answer that had been given before. "We will only help farmers who are starving because of the drought." They would not discuss what the hungry were to do or the repeated statements by Pres. Hoover and John Barton Payne, head of the Red Cross, that that agency would meet any emergency. It was pointed out that there is no labor conflict at Ward, merely unemployment in an aggravated form, and that Payne's slyly on industrial trouble breaks down. But that did not feed the miners.

Finally, the sheriff—traditional enemy of coal miners in the Kanawha field—established a bread-line to meet the situation which gave evidence of becoming serious for the wealthy store-owners of Charleston and perhaps for the sheriff himself. The situation remains tense. Suffering is acute all through the fields and predictions were freely made that there will either be a new attitude on the part of the bosses, a new willingness to distribute some of the \$40,000,000 the Red Cross is holding "for an emergency," or the old fight of the coal miners who once marched an army of 17,000 armed men to get what they want, will be renewed.

"Don't Starve," Keeney Tells Miners

"All that stands between you hungry people and food are a few plate glass windows; no state has a right to call you criminal if you take what you must have to live," Pres. Frank Keeney of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union told 1,500 Ward miners, their wives and children, at the end of their migration to Charleston demanding food.

Gov. Conley had just given the miners \$10—just enough, as Keeney said, to start a riot, but not enough to meet the situation. Conley said there was nothing the state could do about hungry miners.

The aftermath of the march to date is: first, food from the county to the starving families, and second, a pronounced agitation of the public mind because of the horrible situation the parade exposed. The day following the march the Charleston Mail, one of the capital city's daily newspapers.

Cop Who Beat Socialists Is Found Guilty

Detective Lichtblau Convicted for Assaulting Gross and Rifkin in Brooklyn

Detective Harry Lichtblau of the N. Y. C. police force, was found guilty Tuesday in Special Sessions, Brooklyn, of assaulting two young Socialists after arresting them on a disorderly conduct charge March 31. He was continued in \$200 bail for sentence Friday.

Lichtblau, a member of the Police Department four years, faces an indeterminate penitentiary sentence as the result of the decision by Justices Thomas J. Nolan, Hyman Rayfield and Daniel A. Drennon. He was found guilty on two separate charges brought by Bernard Rifkin, 19 years old, of 35 Verona Place and Jesse Gross, 23, of 108 East Ninety-fifth street, both of Brooklyn and both members of the Young People's Socialist League.

Gross, a former student of Brooklyn City College, was arrested at the Socialist Party headquarters, 55 Snyder avenue, by Lichtblau for distributing Socialist pamphlets in front of Erasmus Hall High School, Flatbush and Church avenues. Rifkin, who was charged, interfered with the arrest. Both the young Socialists were taken to the Snyder avenue police station nearby, where they subsequently charged, Detective Lichtblau kicked and beat both.

Lichtblau denied striking either of the youths and was supported by several police officers present at the time. Four character witnesses also testified for him.

Rifkin, who, with Gross, was represented by Charles Solomon, former Socialist Assemblyman, was found guilty April 7 on the disorderly conduct charge and paid a fine of \$50. The case is on appeal. Gross was acquitted at the same time before Magistrate Sylvester Sabbatino in the Seventh District Court.

U. S. Minister Aids Grab in Nicaragua

(Continued from Page One)

of United States marines have so significantly failed. Again, this intervention that was sought of Honduras although in the guise of cooperation with the Government of Nicaragua, would have created an enmity between the two peoples not easily blotted away. The vast majority of the Nicaraguan people believe that Gen. Sandino is in the right. They would not, without profound resentment, see the forces of Honduras fighting the forces of Gen. Sandino. Nor do I believe that the people of Honduras would tolerate such a crime; rather, what Mr. Hanna sees as a good measure, is to my mind a dangerous step to take, for it might involve the government of Honduras, a country fortunately at peace, into a war with its own population such as the war between the Moncada Government and the people of Nicaragua as represented by the army of Gen. Sandino.

Nicaragua's "Benefits" But what of Mr. Hanna's first reason? What benefits can Nicaragua possibly derive from losing a fifth part more or less of its territory?

I have today received mail from Nicaragua posted there last night. My information is that up to this date Mr. Hanna has not disclaimed, denied or corrected any of the statements attributed to him by La Noticia, a paper, by the way, of rabid anti-Sandinian partisanship. Mr. Hanna's quoted interview has given the impression that your great Government, for which he is the authorized spokesman in Nicaragua, is of the opinion that he has expressed, all the more so as Mr. Hanna, when he gave that interview, had very recently returned from consultation over Nicaraguan affairs with President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson in Washington.

On February 13th, immediately upon learning of Mr. Hanna's statements, Mr. Adolfo Ortega Diaz (exiled Nicaraguan newspaper editor) and I saw fit to address a memorial to the people of Nicaragua making the following accusation:

1.—That a United States company, the Louisiana Nicaragua Lumber Co., was back of the negotiation of that boundary Treaty seeking to secure from Honduras

Two Anti-Injunction Bills Passed In Penn. House

Hoopes Attacks Attempt To Confuse Pinchot With Socialists

By Arthur G. McDowell

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The Pennsylvania House has passed the two anti-injunction bills sponsored by labor forces. The Grundy machine raised no determined opposition, hoping to defeat the bills in the Senate.

The bills provide for compulsory jury trial in contempt cases growing out of a labor injunction with the retirement of the issuing judge from the case upon petition and prohibiting the issue of a preliminary writ upon mere application of an employer, hearing in open court with witnesses being required and the continuance of the preliminary writ being limited to five days. In Stroudsburg, the preliminary writ being limited to five final decision of the court after two months.

Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives has checked an attempt to associate the name of the Socialist Party with reformist proposals of Governor Pinchot, on the matter of the regulation of public utilities, in a House debate on the subject May 20th. The cry was first raised in a Senate debate on the 18th, in which the Governor's foes in that body charged him with being "the cat's paw of the Socialist."

The House during a debate on a proposal to establish a "Peoples Council" to argue the people's (consumers) case before the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission. A Philadelphia member in attacking the Governor, quoted Chief Justice Taft as declaring Pinchot "a Socialist and a strange mixture," during the 1908 campaign. Rep. Hoopes at once took up the cudgel insisting to declare that he wished in view of statements made in the

a valuable concession in the disputed territory. This concession has been granted by the Nicaraguan Government but could not be made valid because of Honduras opposition while the dispute remained unsettled.

U. S. Company Passes Grant

2.—That Dr. Julian Irias, Minister of Foreign Relations of Nicaragua and Nicaraguan negotiator of the Treaty, had been in the pay of the Louisiana Nicaragua Lumber Co. expressly to negotiate said Treaty.

3.—That, besides paying large amounts of money (grat, that is to say) in order to create a "favorable atmosphere" for the Treaty, the Louisiana Nicaragua Lumber Co. had agreed to pay in Nicaragua, through the Nicaraguan lawyer Dr. Felix Esteban Guandique, the sum of \$75,000 (seventy-five thousand dollars) which it knew was lost to be divided among President Moncada, Minister Irias, and Guandique and other Nicaraguan parties.

These disclosures, attested to by Mr. Ortega Diaz's signature and mine, were no secret. Many who knew of these matters were not in a position, however, to make them public. First, they had no evidence with which to substantiate their charges; many things may be known to be true which, nevertheless, for lack of evidence, cannot be proven so before a tribunal. Secondly, the Moncada regime is a cruel despotism and to cross a despot maintained in power by the forces of the United States is no light risk for a Nicaraguan citizen to run. Those of us who have been exiled from Nicaragua, those that have been thrust in prison, and the relatives of those who have been executed, know the bitterness of it not in ourselves only but in the grief and tribulation of our dearest ones. For these reasons none dared to speak out the truth in Nicaragua. Mr. Ortega Diaz and I undertook the fulfillment of that duty and have stated that we can prove our accusation. While in New Orleans, whether the course of exile took us last year, we were able to get to the root of this Treaty negotiation and to unravel the entire filthy skein. Is it possible that no inkling of the scandalous deal between the Louisiana Nicaragua Lumber Co. and the Moncada Government had reached the knowledge of the United States Minister? I have strong reason for believing that not only did Mr. Hanna have rumors of this Nicaraguan Tea-Pot Dome, but that he acted with full knowledge of all that was involved.

On February 11th, the day of

Mr. Hanna's interview, the Treaty was before the Nicaraguan Congress for ratification. It was being timidly opposed there although feeling throughout the country was strongly against it and the University of Managua had been ordered closed on account of the protests of the student body against the Treaty. The Executive was exerting great pressure in order to have the Treaty ratified. Now, in such a situation, what effect could the statements of the United States Minister have on Congress? Mr. Hanna is no irresponsible individual. I for one recognize in him great diplomatic ability. I feel also—and in this I am certainly not alone—that he was conscious that his words would have tremendous weight in a Congress all the members of which have been elected under United States dictatorial control of elections.

Because Mr. Ortega Diaz and I had the honest courage to act as we did, our lives have been threatened. No newspaper in Nicaragua dared print our accusation: A free press is not to be expected where United States marines uphold a government. Our charges nevertheless circulated profusely in typewritten copies which we had signed, and they were read in Congress. The student body and the laboring classes became ever more determined in their opposition of the Treaty, and its ratification as originally presented has for the time being failed.

Asks Borah Take Action

What does the United States Minister, Mr. Hanna, have to say now?

We are often told that unfair denunciations are made by those of us in Latin America who see a menace to our national interests and to our international peace in the intervention of United States forces in our political affairs, in the officiousness of United States diplomatic agents, and in the methods of State Department-backed United States concession hunters. We are often accused of speaking loosely and passionately and of not being able to substantiate our charges.

Now, this incident that I have here related at some length, is a concrete case. I earnestly hope, I fervently pray, that your Committee may want to investigate it fully and so realize what we are up against in Latin America when your marines, your diplomats and your concession hunters join in purpose.

As this is a matter of continental public interest I am making this an open letter with regard to which I trust that your good self and fellow-Senators will hear from many fair-minded citizens of the United States. Or is all hope of a justice arrived at by reasonable methods of exposition and investigation a vain hope, and is there nothing that we of Nicaragua can do, who will not submit to subjection, except kill and be killed?

Yours very earnestly,

SALOMON DE LA SELVA.

House and Senate, to publicly rise to defend the clear program and good name of the Party he represented.

Denies Governor a Socialist

"I deny that the Governor is a Socialist, I admit that he is a strange mixture," Hoopes declared. "The Socialist Party, my Party does not believe in public regulation of private utilities. The attempt at regulation is a failure as any inspection of the enormous record of the investigating committee of your own House declares. We have had regulation in Pennsylvania, for more than a generation, and there is the record. Regulation has gone on steadily and so has the steady robbery of the people."

"The Socialist Party does not believe in regulation because long experience alone has shown that the public regulation of private utilities is a FUTILITY. These robber, fee exacting barons of privilege of modern times, now actually desire regulation to save them from their own faults and sins, for they are now certain that as far as regulation in the interest of the mass of people is concerned they need have no fears, it is impossible.

"You speak of regulation. It is the utilities that have regulated Government and the people, not people through their government the utilities. A cure is proposed, a People's Council. To be paid by whom? By the common lot of the people of course. To do what? To urge the people's case before the Public Service Commission. Who pays the Public Service Commission? The people as a whole, of course. Whom is the People's Council to oppose? The Council of the utilities, I am told. Who pays for the council to the utilities? Why the people through their rates, of course. The Social ownership of these immense monopolies is the only course that can finally serve the common man's interest and for this course the Socialist Party stands."

Mr. Hanna's interview, the Treaty was before the Nicaraguan Congress for ratification. It was being timidly opposed there although feeling throughout the country was strongly against it and the University of Managua had been ordered closed on account of the protests of the student body against the Treaty. The Executive was exerting great pressure in order to have the Treaty ratified. Now, in such a situation, what effect could the statements of the United States Minister have on Congress? Mr. Hanna is no irresponsible individual. I for one recognize in him great diplomatic ability. I feel also—and in this I am certainly not alone—that he was conscious that his words would have tremendous weight in a Congress all the members of which have been elected under United States dictatorial control of elections.

Because Mr. Ortega Diaz and I had the honest courage to act as we did, our lives have been threatened. No newspaper in Nicaragua dared print our accusation: A free press is not to be expected where United States marines uphold a government. Our charges nevertheless circulated profusely in typewritten copies which we had signed, and they were read in Congress. The student body and the laboring classes became ever more determined in their opposition of the Treaty, and its ratification as originally presented has for the time being failed.

Asks Borah Take Action

What does the United States Minister, Mr. Hanna, have to say now?

We are often told that unfair denunciations are made by those of us in Latin America who see a menace to our national interests and to our international peace in the intervention of United States forces in our political affairs, in the officiousness of United States diplomatic agents, and in the methods of State Department-backed United States concession hunters. We are often accused of speaking loosely and passionately and of not being able to substantiate our charges.

Now, this incident that I have here related at some length, is a concrete case. I earnestly hope, I fervently pray, that your Committee may want to investigate it fully and so realize what we are up against in Latin America when your marines, your diplomats and your concession hunters join in purpose.

As this is a matter of continental public interest I am making this an open letter with regard to which I trust that your good self and fellow-Senators will hear from many fair-minded citizens of the United States. Or is all hope of a justice arrived at by reasonable methods of exposition and investigation a vain hope, and is there nothing that we of Nicaragua can do, who will not submit to subjection, except kill and be killed?

Yours very earnestly,

SALOMON DE LA SELVA.

COMRADES!

For a competent

Carpenter and Painter

CALL ON

R. L. NICHOLSON

2146 SEVENTH AVE., New York City

ED gochome 4-5787

Va. Socialists Name Ticket, Plan Campaign

Party Clears Deck for Most Extensive Fight in History of State

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—The new State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in a two-day session, last Saturday and Sunday. Eight members attended. The committee adopted a State constitution, discussed the platform, and made plans for the Summer organization drive and the campaign. David G. George, acting State Secretary, was elected to a full term as State Secretary. The committee decided to employ J. P. Rice, the fighting Secretary of Local Hopewell, as organizer, beginning in July, and to ask the National Office to assign two volunteer organizers to the State in July.

Nominations Made

The Committee ratified a number of local nominations for the Legislature, and itself nominated a number of candidates in districts where there are no locals. Ten candidates for the Senate were nominated for the House of Delegates, and one for County Board of Supervisors. The following are the candidates. For State Senate: City of Richmond (36 District): Herman R. Ansell and Mrs. Annie Wasserman; 6th District, W. F. Billings; 8th District, Cyrus Hotchkiss; 10th District, J. M. Mast; 20th District, Rev. Wm. Smith Bird; 28th District, Andrew S. Leitch; 30th District, Mrs. Julia Morgan Jones; 35th District, John J. Kafka; 12th District, P. D. Norris.

For House of Delegates: City of Richmond, Mrs. Virginia Norris; Miss Sarah Wasserman and Mrs. Emma L. Ansell; Hopewell, P. George and Surry, David G. George; Henrico County, Winston F. Dawson; Amherst County, Dr. Emil Siblakoffsky; Chesterfield and Powhatan, Miss Eunice M. Johnson; Lynchburg City, Mrs. Elizabeth L. Otey.

For the Board of Supervisors in Bermuda District of Chesterfield County, Richard L. Johnson.

Victories Expected

Socialists expect to win several seats in the Legislature and to elect Richard Johnson to the County Board. Our strongest districts are those being contested by W. F. Billings for the State Senate, and by David G. George, Dr. E. Siblakoffsky and Eunice M. Johnson, for the lower House.

A meeting of the State Central Committee will be held in Richmond, early in July, when the platform will be adopted. A sub-committee, Herman R. Ansell, State Chairman, State Secretary George, Mrs. Annabel Ricka, Richard L. Johnson, and J. P. Rice, was elected to draft a platform, to make plans for the organization and political campaigns, and to study the possibilities of launching a State or Southern propaganda paper. This committee will report back to the Central Committee in July. At that time further nominations will also be made. To date we have 19 candidates for Public Office in the State.

Hopewell Socialists nominated a strong ticket to contest the best-organized legislative districts in Virginia. For the House of Delegates from the District composed of the City of Hopewell, and the Counties of Prince George and Surry, David A. George was nominated. For the State Senate in the District comprising the City of Hopewell and the counties of Prince George, Surry, Sussex, and Greensville, W. F. Billings, Chairman of Hopewell was nominated. Both candidates are well known and good speakers. A very active campaign is being conducted, and membership is confident of victory.

The Local has taken a large hall on Broadway and is conducting various affairs. A District Office and library have been opened. The Local meets every Tuesday night, and every Friday night a discussion group meets, to read, study, question and debate Socialism.

An Executive Committee of 15 was elected, and a Campaign Committee of 25 is being formed. Also, a "Citizens' Committee" of 100 will be organized to help the campaign in the Counties.

The Democratic politicians show many signs of being badly scared. Many non-Socialists freely predict a Socialist victory, while the Socialists are absolutely confident. Already it seems certain that the Republicans will fuse with the Democrats.

BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

"The Enduring Quest—A Search for a Philosophy of Life," a study of the recent book by Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near 172nd street, on Sunday evening, May 31st. At the nine o'clock Open Forum, McAllister Coleman will speak on "Cause and Collapse of Capitalism."

Blanshard at the Group

Paul Blanshard, director of the City Affairs Committee will speak on "Racketeering High and Low" in the Auditorium, 150 W. 85th street, Tuesday evening, June 2nd, at 8:30 P. M. The lecture is to be held under the direction of the Group.

Special Train Chartered For Unity House Guests

Space is still available on the special chartered train that is to take guests of the Unity House who are anxious to leave Friday evening for the Decoration Day week-end. The week-end, which will be full of activity, will wind up with a gala concert on Saturday evening, which will be headed by Leon Kalrow, famous Russian folk singer, and with a special banquet on Sunday afternoon.

The House will be open for the month of June and will be host to the Eighth Students' Conference of the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., which will have among its speakers Reinhold Niebuhr, Sherwood Eddy, Randolph Phillips. Reservations are limited and it is therefore advisable reservations be made at once with the New York office of the Unity House, 3 West 16th street, Chelsea 2148.

Dewey Group Membership Is Now 6,000

Second Convention Meets in N. Y. C.—Laidler Urges Support of Socialists

A MEMBERSHIP of about 6,000 local branches to the number of 40 with five State branches, and connections in 45 other cities where branches will probably be established within the coming year, were reported to the second annual convention of the League for Independent Political Action by Executive Secretary Howard Y. Williams.

Frank Murphy, mayor of Detroit; Paul Blanshard, executive director of the City Affairs Committee; Eleanor G. Coit, of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers, and Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of The Nation, spoke at the dinner on the opening day, which was attended by over 500 delegates.

Power, control, social insurance, and agriculture were discussed on the morning of the second day by John Bauer, I. M. Rubinow and Benson Y. Landis, respectively.

At the lunch meeting, Kirby Page, outgoing chairman of the league's executive committee, and Katherine Devereux Blake spoke on disarmament and international relations. Harry W. Laidler urged the League to back the Socialist Party in the 1932 elections.

John Dewey, national chairman of the league, discussed prospects for 1932 and roundly condemned the war department's air maneuvers then taking place overhead. "Apparently, according to our government, war is the most likely political prospect of the future," commented Dewey.

Want Special Session

Resolutions were adopted denouncing the tariff, calling for ratification of the world court protocol with the optional clause and recommending an international conference for the reduction of war debts and reparations.

Stating that "it is the duty of every civilized government to guarantee either a job or a minimum of existence to all those willing to do their share of the nation's work," the convention called for a special session of Congress to provide adequate relief for the unemployed and drought sufferers and to develop a real public works program.

Attacking Congress and the Hoover administration for failing to live up to its pledge to put agriculture on a parity with industry, the convention pointed out the need of a land survey, reduction of freight rates, and aids to cooperative marketing, credit and purchasing agencies.

In endorsing the participation of the United States in the disarmament conference of 1932, the league urged the acceptance of the method of budgeting limitation, and the reduction of expenditures for military purposes by 10 per cent each year. It condemned the waste, untimeliness, and obvious propaganda purpose of the air demonstrations.

Reading is thinking with someone else's head instead of one's own—Schopenhauer.

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP
Azure Masonic Temple
1591 Boston Rd. Near E. 172nd Street
SUNDAY EVENING, May 31st, 1933
8 P.M.—Rev. Leon Rosser Land on "The Enduring Quest—A Search for a Philosophy of Life"
9 P.M.—McAllister Coleman on "Cause and Collapse of Capitalism"

ATHEISM
Book catalog FREE. Tracts, 10c.
Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism,
307 E. 14th St. New York, N. Y.

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

TO PARTY BRANCHES AND LABOR GROUPS
of New York, New Jersey and Penn.
SPECIAL REDUCTIONS IN RAILROAD FARES
makes it possible to arrange
for weekend groups and conferences
Write for Details
UNITY HOUSE
FOREST PARK, PA.
N. Y. Office — 3 W. 16th Street — CHelsea 3-2148

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

Banking, Credit Will Be Topic At L. I. D. Meet

Tamiment Conference Program Announced—Prominent Speakers Listed

"BANKING, Credit and Social Planning" is the subject on for the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held this year at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, from Thursday, June 25th, to Sunday, June 28th. In arranging this program, the League for Industrial Democracy announces:

"Over 1,300 banks failed in 1930. The past few years have witnessed marked concentration of gold and silver in the world money centers; disastrous fluctuations in price levels; constantly shifting credit policies on the part of our central banks; utter lack of statesmanship in the handling of international debts, reparations and tariffs, and one of the worst world depressions of the last generation. These and other events call attention to the need for the reorganization of our money, credit and banking structure and for constructive social planning."

"Before there must be a thorough understanding of the issues involved. It is with the hope of promoting this understanding that the L. I. D. has decided to devote its 1931 June Conference to these challenging problems which the progressive and radical movement can no longer hope to evade."

Thomas Will Preside

Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the L. I. D., will act as chairman of the various sessions. The conference will begin on Thursday evening, June 25th, and will deal with the question, "Should the Gold Standard be Retained?" Willard Thorp, Professor of Economics, Amherst College, author of "Business Annals," and E. E. Agger, Professor of Economics at Rutgers College, author of "Organized Banking," will speak at this session.

Other sessions will be as follows: "Should We Try to Stabilize Price Levels?" "What is the Matter With Our Banking System?" "America and the International Credit Situation." "The Need for a Planned Economy." "Socialization of Banking Here and Abroad."

The speakers at these various meetings will include Dr. Lionel D. Edie, author of "Economics—Principles and Problems"; Gyan Chand, Professor of Economics, Patna University, India; John T. Flynn, author of "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong"; Willard Thorp, Professor of Economics, Amherst College; Louis Waldman, New York attorney, former candidate for Governor (N. Y.), Socialist Party; Dr. Harold G. Moulton, President, the Brookings Institution; Nicholas Kelly, New York attorney, former Assistant Secretary, U. S. Treasury; Dr. Max Winkler, of Bertron, Grison and Company, author of "America's Stake Abroad"; Guy Greer, contributor to "The Outlook," formerly with the Reparation Commission in Paris; Paul Blanshard, Executive Director of the City Affairs Committee; McAllister Coleman, writer; Dr. Vladimir D. Kazekevich of the National Bureau of Economic Research; Colston Warner, Professor of Economics, Amherst College; Evans Clark, Director of The Twentieth Century Fund, author of "Financing the Consumer"; Max Lowenthal, attorney, associated with the Amalgamated Bank; Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard.

As in former years, the Saturday evening session will be divided between addresses and an L. I. D. skit, entertainment and dancing. Those interested in securing the program immediately to the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th street, New York City, Algonquin 4-5865.

What damned error, but some noble brow will bless it, and approve it with a text.—Shakespeare.

Reading is thinking with someone else's head instead of one's own—Schopenhauer.

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP
Azure Masonic Temple
1591 Boston Rd. Near E. 172nd Street
SUNDAY EVENING, May 31st, 1933
8 P.M.—Rev. Leon Rosser Land on "The Enduring Quest—A Search for a Philosophy of Life"
9 P.M.—McAllister Coleman on "Cause and Collapse of Capitalism"

ATHEISM
Book catalog FREE. Tracts, 10c.
Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism,
307 E. 14th St. New York, N. Y.

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

THE GROUP, A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 2nd at 8:30 P. M.
PAUL BLANSARD
Director of City Affairs Committee
will speak on:
"Racketeering—High and Low"

April Coal Mine Death Rate Higher

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Accidents in coal mines in the United States in April cost the lives of 113 workers, according to the Bureau of Mines' summary. This was a death rate of 3.31 per million tons of coal mined. The March rate was 3.00 deaths, and the rate for April last year was 4.01. Anthracite mines in Pennsylvania killed 7.19 men per million tons mined—a bad rate as compared with the blood shed in March this year or in April last year.

During the first four months of 1931, a total of 52 miners have been killed in the coal mines; in the same period last year the deaths were 729.

Comrades Praise Mrs. Zarnetkin's Work for Party

Jamaica, New York, Socialists attended an inspiring dinner last Sunday night in the Royal Restaurant on Jamaica avenue. More than eighty men and women were present, the largest attendance since these affairs were started a year ago.

One sad feature of the gathering was the absence of Adella Kean Zarnetkin who died last week. The speakers were Barnett Wolff, William Dammam, Samuel Friedman, James O'Neal, John D. Graves was toastmaster. O'Neal read the following tribute to Comrade Zarnetkin which was adopted and sent to Comrade Michael Zarnetkin,

40 Miners Now in Jail In Harlan

3 Charged With Murder—Others Held Under Kentucky Anti-Syndicalist Act

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
HARLAN, Ky.—Eighteen union miners and leaders are now in jail on triple murder charges as a result of the campaign being conducted by Judge C. Jones, Sheriff John Henry Blair and the other operator forces against union organization in Harlan County. About 50 union miners are in jail all together, the others being charged with "banding and confederating" and syndicalism.

Six more have been indicted on murder charges as a result of the testimony of Gunman Patrick Moran of the Black Mountain guards. He told the grand jury he was with the guards at the Everts battle. Later, he said, he was arrested for being drunk while in jail the miners told him who did the shooting. He did not say whether he and the other guards were drunk when they attacked the miners with machine guns at Everts. Commonwealth Attorney W. A. Brock says that Moran's story is ridiculous and unreasonable and that Judge Jones' special grand jury is obviously biased. This is shown by the fact that no indictments have been returned against company guards who have carried on a reign of terror and intimidation against union miners.

Rumors that a guard and a miner have been shot recently are denied by officials. There have been seven killed in the labor struggle, so far as is known. Conditions remain tense and anything may happen. Hundreds of families are starving. For while the militia gave their kitchen leftovers to the hungry but this has been stopped. Healthy people are starving. Some are breaking in doors, some constantly growing fiercer and angrier.

Mellon Is Mine Owner
Most of the mines are owned by northern capital—Andrew Mellon, Commonwealth—Edison, Inland and others. None of them recognize the union; all fire their men as fast as they join the union. Judge Jones, 6 feet 4 inches tall, rich, ambitious to be governor, known as the operators' candidate at the last election, is leader of the fight. He dismissed an entire term of court to give his entire time to break the union. Being that plenty of indictments were returned against the miners, none against the gunmen. The miners were against Judge Jones in his race for judge; they backed Forest, miner candidate. They deliberately and openly forced thousands of miners to vote for Jones by dress, intimidation and threats, as well as by liquor and money, he well as this is the general opinion in Harlan. Yet Jones is on the bench. The Harlan County Operators' Assn. takes by force and the courts what the voters refuse it.

Thus 45,000 miners and their families are living under an absolute monarchy, kept in power by force and violence. The gunmen have punched miners with pistols until their bodies bled; they have thrown them out of company offices where they had gone to get mail; they have made them ride rivers and creeks "just for fun of it"—always at the point of a gun. Efforts have been made to have the grand jury indict these gunmen but Judge Jones has always prevented.

These acts keep the miners always on the verge of rebellion aimed at the county authorities and the operators. When the leaders were jailed a hornet's nest was stirred up and the constant additions to the list of indictments in two days recently—have kept the men stirred up. This is shown by the bitter temper of the sheriff and the judge and by their obvious fears they will be shot. Their fears may be justified. Many miners will say that they would be willing to "swap it out" in order to kill either of them.

Nor is this feeling confined to the miners. Since Joe Cawood and other leaders have been jailed and denied bond quite a different hornet's nest has been stirred up. The old timers are interested, men who settle things outside the courts, and the dropping of a hat might start things.

Pottsville Hearing Postponed to June 5

NEW YORK (FP)—The hearing for a new trial for the eight negro boys convicted on an alleged charge of attacking two girls near Scottsboro, Ala., has been put off until June 5. The boys are under sentence to be executed on July 10.

What! You say a horse is noble because it is good in itself, and the one who is a falcon or a pearl? A man shall be called noble because his ancestors were so. Not with the but with knaves must one argue such a beastly notion.—Dante.

Jail Organizers, Socialists to Bar Union



Frankly ignoring the constitution to carry out orders of hosiery bosses, Police Chief Samuel Woffindin of Lansdale, Pa., is shown dragging Mrs. Anna Giesinger, organizer, Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union, from speakers stand at organization meeting. She was bruised by cop's roughness. Then Local police arrested others including



Emil Rieve, president, hosiery workers, who is shown being led away, Elizabeth Day Hawes, Hannah Morris Biemiller and Andrew J. Biemiller, all prominent Philadelphia Socialists, were jailed. Picture at bottom, shows Burgess Elwood K. Bean, who says bosses don't want a union organized, oh—

Rival Unions Competing For R. I. Textile Workers

Closing of Strategic
General Fabrics Mill
Follows Strike Call

By Louis Stanley
(By A Special New Leader Correspondent)

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Three times a day pickets march up and down in a long double column before the General Fabrics Corporation building on Mill street in Central Falls, a small town which is indistinguishable from adjoining Pawtucket. They are part of the five hundred workers who have been on strike against the company since May 7. Two policemen in a handsome car at the curb while away the time until the strikers begin to disperse and then leave, too. It is all very peaceful. On the door of the mill is posted a notice signed by the agent of the company, George Manton, which is dated May 7. It announces that "We are advised that some communists are endeavoring to create a disturbance in this plant, and rather than subject our loyal employees to any intimidation, we have decided to close the plant until further notice."

The communists referred to are the organizers for the National Textile Workers Union affiliated with the communist Trade Union Unity League and opposed to the A. F. of L. union, the United Textile Workers. Asked why there should be picketing when the mill is shut down, the N. T. W. U. leaders give two reasons: first, the plant is expected to reopen to fill new orders, and secondly, the picketing keeps up the morale of the strikers. Martin Russak is in charge of the walk-out.

Company III-Famed
The strikers realize they are facing a difficult economic situation. The General Fabrics is one of a number of subsidiaries of the General Silk Corporation of New York City, one of the largest of the silk business from purchasing and importing the raw material to selling the finished product. The warps of the General Fabrics mill have been removed since the strike and it is suspected that some of the orders may be filled at mills of the company in other states.

The management of the General Fabrics Corporation is known in the Central Falls-Pawtucket-Providence district as one of the worst exploiters in the vicinity. Frieder, the proprietor, has striven to whip all the work he can out of his employees by "efficiency" methods. The highly skilled loomfixer became an "adjuster" and his job was subdivided among a number of other specialists under the supervision of a "board of engineers." It is an attempt by Frieder to break down the skill of the loom fixers. The number of looms that had to be tended by an "adjuster" was increased from 36 to 54 and by a weaver from 3 to 4 to as many as 12. The speed-up was terrific. On top of this came wage cuts. The strike at the General Fabrics mill is, therefore, of supreme psychological importance. Workers throughout the Blackstone Valley, which extends from Woonsocket on the north along the picturesque Blackstone river to

Providence, are watching the outcome with interest.

The N. T. W. U. Campaign
The General Fabrics strike is part of a two-fold plan of strategy of the National Textile Workers Union for New England. The scheme is to concentrate on organization campaigns (1) among the textile workers in the Blackstone Valley, especially in the silk mills, and (2) among the employees of the gigantic American Woolen Company throughout New England. The attack was mapped out a year ago. The method of organization was to be different from the "rolling wave" technique pursued under the leadership of the former secretary of the N. T. W. U., Albert Weisbord, whereby a strike was called in a mill with the expectation that it would spread by contagion to other mills, while great leaders headed the struggle. The new idea is less spectacular. It involves more work. It consists, in short, of making contacts with the workers through personal interviews and conferences and calling on open meetings or distributing handbills until a specific situation calls for action. By this method the dangers of spies and blacklists are supposed to be reduced, the organization built up on the basis of genuine grievances and local leadership developed. Emphasis is placed by the union organizers upon the last point. James Reid, who is a dentist by profession, is president and William Murdoch, secretary of the N. T. W. U.

As a result of the present policy of lining up individual workers, the union states that it has been able to take the lead in successful actions in New England. The recent strike at the American Woolen Company mills at Lawrence, Massachusetts, halted the introduction of efficiency experts and prevented the imposition of a wage cut already given to the other mills of the company. The N. T. W. U. made the most of the results at Lawrence to stimulate organization work in the Blackstone Valley.

According to union officials, the union followers were able to stop a proposed wage cut early this year in the Royal Weaving mill at Central Falls, one of the largest establishments in the locality and reputed to treat its employees more fairly than other concerns because of the paternalism of the employer, Joe Otts. This made it easier to organize the workers in the Bay State silk mill employing some fifty workers and lead them last month in a successful strike against a wage cut. The Bay State is across the street from the Lexington Worsted mills, giving employment to about fifty. The workers at the latter took heart. On May 7 the General Fabrics struck and on May 11 the Lexington. The worsted mill submitted to the strikers demands for three days. The union is trying to lay the ground work for future action in some of the bigger mills in Central Falls-Pawtucket. Meanwhile, contacts are also being established in the various mill villages through the Blackstone Valley, the scene of severe labor struggles in the past. Woonsocket, near the Massachusetts line, a town dominated by the French

Canadians, is one of the centers of effort.

Not far away in the Olneyville section of Providence is located the mills of the American Woolen Company. On May 14 the workers of the Weybosset mill encouraged by the happenings in Lawrence and Central Falls held a meeting under the auspices of the N. T. W. U. and demanded the restoration of the 12½ per cent wage cut and improvements in certain working conditions. Conferences were held with the company officials. A delegation from the Maynard, Mass., mill of the American Woolen Company attended the meetings of the Weybosset workers. On May 19 the company agreed to grant all the demands except the return of the wage cut. The workers accepted the terms. The union claims contact in many of the New England mills of the American Woolen Company as far north as Maine. A conference will be called in a month or two to decide on joint action for rescinding the wage cut and obtaining the eight-hour five-day week in all the mills of the company.

The U. T. W. Activities
The A. F. of L. union, the United Textile Workers, has locals in Rhode Island, especially among the loom fixers. John H. Powers, secretary of the Loomfixers local in Pawtucket and vicinity, has stated to the writer that he would do nothing to interfere with the conduct of the General Fabrics strike. The members of his local, who removed the warps in the mill, are not receiving strike benefits. An N. T. W. U. leaflet addressed to Rhode Island textile workers accuses Powers of raising the cry of communism. At Woonsocket there is a possibility that a U. T. W. local may go over to the N. T. W. U. At Warren, R. I., the United Textile Workers has been waging a strike for about three months against the Mount Hope mills, which wants to establish the fifty-four hour week. Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the U. T. W., is in Rhode Island preparing for the inauguration of a campaign in conjunction with the State Federation of Labor for the forty-eight hour week and the organization of women workers, especially in textiles. The Rhode Island and textile workers need unionism. How the presence of rival organizations will affect their fortunes the coming months will tell.

Thomas Will Lecture
On 'America's Way Out'
The most interesting lecture of the season will be delivered on Wednesday evening, June 3, at 8:30 p. m., in the People's House auditorium, 7 East 15th street, when Norman Thomas will reply to the critics of his book, "America's Way Out." This book has aroused more comment, criticism and discussion than any Socialist work in decades. It has received a great amount of comment in newspaper and magazines throughout the country, and has been discussed widely.

As the seating capacity is limited to six hundred, and tickets have been on sale, it is necessary for those who intend to come, to get their tickets at once. These tickets can be purchased at the Party office, 7 E. 15th street, or in the Rand Book Store. The admission is fifty cents. Mail check or money order. The lecture is held under the auspices of the 6th A. D. Socialist Branch, of which Thomas is a member.

Stab Picket in Wool Strike At Mishawaka

Mayor of Indiana Town
Forces Disarming of
Strikebreakers

MISHAWAKA, Ind.—(FP)—Mishawaka's citizens are aroused over violence which has characterized tactics of the Mishawaka Rubber & Woolen Co. in face of peaceful picketing by the 2,400 workers who have gone out on strike against wholesale pay cuts.

One picket, Virgil Stutzman, 19, was seriously stabbed. Others might have been shot had not Mayor Petro taken a stand with the strikers and ordered the disarming of the imported workers and guards. The mayor personally took guns away from two "private detectives".

In face of the strike which is virtually 100% effective, the company has been forced to shut down. While ostensibly an independent rubber company, there are definite indications that the firm is actually a part of the gigantic United States Rubber Co. and that the local firm's wage policy is part of the rubber trust's larger plan of wage cutting.

Sentiment of the town is in favor of the strikers, as was evidenced by cheering as the workers paraded through the city. Labor bodies of neighboring towns are rallying to the aid of the rubber workers' union.

STEEL PAY CUT

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—(FP)—Pursuing its policy of cutting one department at a time to avoid united labor action, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. has just cut the pay of common laborers in its steel plants at Youngstown one cent an hour. In many departments one out of every four laborers is given a raise of one cent to 51c an hour, the other three are permanently laid off, and the four men's work is done by one man.

1,500 W. Va. Miners In Hunger Parade

(Continued from Page One)
papers, published an editorial clearly in sympathy with the miners and as clearly critical of our society, ending with demands for immediate action to relieve the distress.

The march of hungry men, women and children from the mining camps to the Capitol threw in bold relief the impotence of a capitalist state to remedy the obvious flaws in its structure. In this case the State of West Virginia said publicly that it could do nothing for its citizens who were admittedly starving at the moment and through no fault of their own.

Gov. Coaley, addressing the marchers at the end of the town, apparently attempting to keep the disgrace of their presence out of the city, read from the constitution of the state to prove that he was powerless "to do anything in such a situation" and donated the \$10. Keeney then spoke.

The hungry marchers then proceeded to the county courthouse. They filed the Charleston streets, marching past the beautiful homes of the rich, on into the business section and into the county courthouse "to petition the government for redress of their grievances."

Food Handed Out
It was an unforgettable meeting. The courthouse was crowded full. Long lines of hungry people from the coal camps filled the corridor and stretched out into the street. There were 1,500 of them—miners, their women folk and children—all hungry, all determined to be fed.

A statement had been circulated in Charleston that the miners had been offered work and had refused it. Keeney explained the basis of the rumor. Some of the marchers had been offered work that day. The mine had been closed several days and credit at the company store cut off. A committee had seen the boss and asked for extension of credit to feed their families. This was refused, but Supt. John Lucas said the mine would operate. "We must have food in order to work," his miners retorted. Credit was again refused, but the company told the committee to instruct the coal-diggers to bring their empty dinner buckets to the tipple and diners would be put into them as they went to work. At the same time it refused credit that would furnish food for the miners' breakfasts and food for their families during the day.

The miners then refused to go to work without supper or breakfast and with the knowledge that at home their wives and children were starving. Harold Houston, distinguished Charleston attorney, painted the contrast between Russia and America and attacked a society that starves its important members and heaps luxuries on the idle rich. "The captains of our industries are making a revolution as fast as they can drive working men into it," he said.

At this point Sheriff Homer Volpentron of Kanawha County volunteered to give every hungry person one dinner and the county sent the first trucks bearing food up Kelley's creek to work.

Laws grind the poor and rich men raise the law.—Oliver Goldsmith.

Throng Attends Rand School's Graduation

Twenty Students Complete Full-Time Training Course—Lee Speaks

THE Debs Auditorium was packed to capacity at the closing exercises of the Rand School held Sunday, May 24. This marked the close of twenty-five years of activity on the part of the Rand School as the educational institution for the Socialist Movement. Twenty students who had satisfactorily completed the program of the Workers' Training Course received certificates.

Norman Thomas who was to have made the address of the evening was prevented from doing so because of illness. David F. Berenberg, long associated with the School and the Socialist Movement and one of the most beloved teachers of the School made the address. The following is an excerpt from Comrade Berenberg's speech. "During the years of prosperity the customary attitude of the young people was one of cynicism towards all forms of Radicalism. Now perhaps with the world wide economic depression which shows no sign of letting up, young people everywhere are turning to some form of Radical expression as a means of releasing their class from its difficulties. The former prevailing cynicism seems definitely at an end. There is room for workers of all sorts in the Radical Movement. But, young workers entering the field of Trade Unionism and political organization should not expect the world to be made over in a day. An infinite amount of patience is required before the working class organization can be molded into a force capable of inaugurating the Co-operative Commonwealth. The Rand School will need to train workers in this direction until the social revolution shall have been accomplished. Even thereafter it will survive because institutions for education will then be needed more than ever."

Algernon Lee in presenting the certificates to the students expressed the hope that this would be the beginning of the real participation on the part of students in the activities of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

George Kuhnlein, one of the students who received a certificate, responded for the students. After expressing the respect and admiration of the students for Comrade Lee and the other members of the faculty, Comrade Kuhnlein commented on the fact "that although the Rand School was maintained by a Socialist organization party principles had not narrowed the selection of students or teachers." He went on, however, to state that "although the present directors of the School are only too eager to give consideration to criticisms and suggestions it was up to the students to make the proper demands."

"The winning of new students," said Kuhnlein, "depends largely on the active interest of present and former students. We are all connected with groups of young people who share our interests and fight our battles. It should not be a very hard task to convince our friends of the necessity of a fundamental study of labor problems. We must find a way to reach the American Youth, otherwise, we will never exercise the influence necessary for the advancement of a strong and clean labor movement in this country."

"As far as the function of the School on itself," Comrade Kuhnlein went on to say, "all that the School can do is to lay the groundwork, to transmit facts, and to give the students an analysis of our social being. This should be enough to awaken and to strengthen the consciousness of the students. It should also make them realize how little they know and how essential it is to know more about the laws and structure of a system by which the working class is governed and held down. It is up to ourselves to draw conclusions and to find a way into the movement for a new social order. Only if a majority of the students become actively engaged in serving their particular unions or the party have we made good," he maintained.

"The school will be judged by our success or failure and while departing as students," he hoped that they would all remain students of the School in a broader sense and become connected with it as its lifelong friends.

Henry Margulies spoke on behalf of the Rand School Fellowship and presented Comrade Algernon Lee with a check for a trip to the International Socialist and Labor Congress in Vienna as a token of the expression of the past and present students of the School.

A skit on the history of the Rand School tracing its growth from its early inception on 19th Street to the purchase of the present quarters, the raids of the Lusk Commission and carrying the development into the future was presented by the Rand School Players under the direction of David B. Rossi. Dancing and refreshments were served to those who remained after the regular program.

No ambition? Don't ignore this warning...

When you are absorbing poisons from food wastes held too long in the system, ambition dies quickly. Get rid of unhealthy wastes with Ex-Lax—safely and pleasantly.

Ex-Lax is composed of a high-grade chocolate, combined with a scientific laxative ingredient that has been prescribed by physicians for over a quarter of a century. It is pleasant to take, does not gripe, does not disturb digestion, does not embarrass—its action is prompt and dependable—yet natural.

Keep "regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolated Laxative

VACATION RESORTS

Decoration Day Week-End ...

Three Glorious Days of Sport and Novelty Programs

FRIDAY ... SATURDAY ... \$15
SUNDAY to MONDAY
BREAKFAST INCLUDED

Make Your Reservations Now

CAMP TAMIMENT

FOREST PARK PENNSYLVANIA

For Information: NEW YORK CITY
7 EAST 15TH STREET
Phone: ALgonquin 4-6875

JUNE CONFERENCE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Thursday, June 25 to Sunday, June 28, 1931
CAMP TAMIMENT

Forest Park (Near Stroudsburg, Pa.)

"Banking, Credit and Social Planning"

Conference speakers include Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Dr. Max Winkler, Norman Thomas, Professor Willard Thorp, Professor E. E. Agger, Nicholas Koller, Professor Gyan Chand, Max Lowenthal, John T. Flynn, McAllister Coleman, Paul Blanshard, Professor Colston Warren, Louis Waldman, Vladimir D. Kazanovich, Dr. Lionel D. Edie, Guy Greer and Evans Clark.

For further information write to
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th St. ALGONQUIN 4-5865 New York City

UNITY HOUSE

POCONO MOUNTAINS Forest Park Pennsylvania

A Decoration Day Weekend of Fun and Frolic

Friday Afternoon to Sunday Night Special Program

New Culinary Department directed by Ben Shindler means improved service and food. Many innovations in water sports and athletic facilities.

Proportionate Reduction to Union Members.

Manager J. Halpern Associate Manager Morris Novik

New York: 2 W. 16th St. CHelsea 2-2116 Philadelphia: 52 So. 16th St. WALnut 2792

Pioneer Youth Camp

RIFTON, N. Y. EIGHTH SEASON

Inter-Racial Co-Operation For Boys and Girls

8-16 Years of Age

Organized Group Activities Experienced Counselors Modern Facilities

Pioneer Youth of America 45 Astor Pl. New York City STuyvesant 9-7865

ARDEN Single Tax Colony

A perfect spot with beautiful woods, creek, swimming pool, etc. Just the place for one looking for rest, or recuperation. Lovely surroundings—congenial friends.

Write "Dad" or Mrs. M. Newcombe—ARDEN, DELAWARE

—and find how reasonably you can be accommodated either for week-ends or a longer vacation

ARDEN INN Arden, Delaware

BUTLER'S SUNNY BROOK FARM White Hills, Shelton, Conn.

Home cooking. Food from our farm and dairy. Ideal place for a restful vacation. Bathing. Rates, \$15 week. Children, \$7.50. Write for reservations.

MANHATTAN BEACH HOTEL Manhattan Beach, N. Y. C.

Live in a modern hotel by the seashore for less than in the crowded city. Room for two, \$15 per week and up. Tennis. Handball courts. 37 minutes from Times Square (B.M.T. Brighton Beach Station.) Phone: SHEppard 3-3600

RIVERSIDE by the RIVERSIDE Center Marbles, I. I.

Sell water bathing, fishing, all sports. Rooms on suite, running hot and cold water, private baths. The BEST food! Dancing, also bungalows. \$25.00 up weekly.

Nevin Bus Lines

Cheap, Comfortable, Safe

Philadelphia \$2.00

Baltimore 4.50

Washington 5.50

Atlantic City 3.00

Boston 4.00

Pittsburgh 9.50

Cleveland 12.50

Detroit 15.50

Chicago 29.50

St. Louis 22.50

Kansas City 26.50

Los Angeles 56.50

Additional Reduction for Round Trip Tickets

Low Rates to All Parts of the United States

Nevin Bus Lines

111 W. 31st St. N. Y. C.

Telephone CHICKering 4-1600

Buy Your Own Home

and pay for it with your rent

JAMAICA, NEW YORK

5 Rooms, Bath, Electric Lights

All improvements—Room for garage—Detached houses

Price \$4,250.00

Small Payment Down. Balance \$35 Monthly Pays for the House

Call or Write H. NEVIN

293 W. 33d STREET New York City

Telephone CHICKering 4-1600 Dept. L.

BERGEN FRUIT FARM

So. Cairo, N. Y.

Home comforts. Light housekeeping. \$2.00. Fresh eggs, milk, chicken, bathing.

BUSHKILL VIEW CAMP

BUSHKILL, PA.

Hotel and Camp life combined: high elevation; bathing, tennis, dancing; social director; Turkish bath. Golf. Beach. S. & FRANK

The Choice Before Labor: Freedom Or Tyranny

By Pierre DeNio

THE United States is a country of almost unlimited natural resources. It is now a commonwealth of one hundred and twenty million people. It is a society that is unrivaled in highly skilled manpower; that is equipped with every conceivable tool that science and invention have been able to devise for the abundant production of all the necessary commodities needful for an enjoyable and useful life. However, it callously, smugly and hypocritically underwrites a supercilious and dishonest political and economic system, that relentlessly consigns millions of the men and women who have made it great, to endure the physical suffering and spiritual humiliation of material need. It conceives and breeds an intellectual standard that will apathetically allow a great newspaper, the creation of the life work of an able and distinguished American, to languish and die of neglect, while its citizens tensely, avidly and lasciviously paw each other in their amorous scramble to get in their neurotic possession copies of the foul and lecherous tabloids.

In the fall election of 1930, some ninety members of our seventy-first Congress were retired to private life. They were, as representative statesmen, repudiated at the fountain head of our political form of government, but our legislative machinery is so cumbersome and old fashioned that it still functions in harmony with the social conditions of one hundred years ago, permitting those discredited politicians to act in the capacity of law makers for many months after the election of their successors. It seems all but impossible to change the situation to meet the exigencies of present day conditions.

Unemployment, hunger and crime are the logical and actual concomitants of our political and industrial system. Our governmental structure is based upon a constitution that has been termed "The greatest document ever struck off by the hand of man." After one hundred and fifty years of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, millions of helpless men and women, with their still more helpless children, are enduring the privation of the most elemental needs of physical existence. Thousands of millionaires, with their women and parasitic sons and daughters, are exercising their ingenuity contriving new ways of dissipating themselves in shameless wantonness and luxury, while flaunting their ill-gotten wealth in the faces of those whom they have despoiled. Four and one-half billions of dollars are in the vaults of America's banking houses, while charity organizations beg pennies to feed their starving farmers. That is the picture that presents itself to the thinking American in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

When it comes to the business of paying taxes, producing vast quantities of every conceivable form of useful and useless commodity; when it comes to toiling

PRODUCERS IN FACTORY AND FIELD MUST RE-FASHION OUR ECONOMIC ORDER OR RESIGN THEMSELVES TO INSECURITY AND DEGRADATION



Let five apples represent all the wealth in the nation, and—



Let one hundred people represent the entire population of the United States



Then ninety-six people would have one apple, and—



Four very rich people would have an apple apiece!

John M. Baer in "Labor"

and suffering and starving, to singing patriotic songs, waving the flag and stopping the bullets, this is a nation of one hundred and twenty million people, but when it comes to reaping all the rewards, appropriating all the profits of industry, and declaring all the wars, this then is a nation of a very few thousands.

The terrible intensity of the present industrial crisis is an emphatic demonstration of how unstable and haphazard is our plan

of conducting our political and economic business. Our government was founded upon the premise that a few heaven-sent individuals were better able to minister to the needs and welfare of the mass of the people than they could do for themselves. It soon became a very profitable business and as our unselfish fathers sowed the wind we now are reaping the whirlwind!

The most emphatic need of spiritual and physical well-being is economic security. That is, an as-

urance of food, clothing and shelter in return for productive labor. To be subject to periods during which whole communities of people must suffer a dearth or complete lack of those positively necessary things, inevitably brings discontent, industrial chaos and the complete disruption of the spiritual morale of the people.

(This is true of only a short period after the war. By the late seventies capitalism had "deflated" the farmers and they were burning grain for fuel.—Editor). Fifty years ago ninety per cent of the tillers of America's soil lived with their families upon their own land. The farmers were pretty nearly all native citizens, living an active, contented life. During the summer seasons there would be great activity in the labor of planting and harvesting the different crops, and working at the many different handicraft trades. In the fall the barns would be filled with hay, fodder and other stored all the different kinds of winter food, such as vegetables, meat, and varieties of native fruits both canned and in their natural state. When the winter settled down the people were fully prepared to enjoy a season of reasonable physical activity, and also a great deal of social intercourse and enjoyment. There would be parties and dances and the families spent many hours of ease and pleasure exchanging the news and gossip of the countryside.

It is true that in that rather primitive form of society there were almost no hothouses, and no radio or talking pictures—or night clubs; but there was pretty wide-spread confidence and security in the possession of the basic needs of life. That established mental tranquility: a needful attribute to any sort of progress. Almost every young man and young woman could marry and feel assured that with a reasonable

amount of effort and application they could make a comfortable living.

Today, thousands of what were once prosperous and happy farm homes are going to decay. They have been abandoned to the devastating chemistry of sun and rain. Millions of acres of productive land that formerly were under the plow have been allowed to go back to the wild state. Taxes and interest are now destroying the financial stability of all the farmers. According to a former Judge of an important dairy county of the east, writing in the largest county weekly paper in his state, "more land in this county has been sold to the state for four dollars per acre than in any other county, and most of this land consists of good, fair farms with fair buildings, and for the last two years over thirty thousand acres of land in the county, practically all farming land, has been advertised for taxes. Less and less of this land is redeemed each year, and the farmers are confronted with a serious proposition over disastrous taxation." It is doubtful if the small farms in the country would bring enough at Sheriff sale to meet the mortgage indebtedness. One bushel of wheat at the farmers' elevator will bring the price of six one-pound loaves of bread, but fifty-two more loaves can be made from the same amount of wheat. Out of the difference between what the producer receives for his product and what the consumer pays has been fashioned a financial power that is now destroying those who made it possible.

In the State of Arkansas five hundred farmers have swarmed into a small town demanding food. The Red Cross has been called upon to feed the hungry people in many localities, and local charity has cared for members of working class families all over the na-



Taken in the N. Y. World-Telegram

Over the Hill to the Poor House

tion. The President, with all the callousness of the smug aristocrat that he is, cavalierly ignores the extensive destitution, and refuses to permit Congress to render any reasonable relief to the helpless sufferers.

In more than one instance during the past year there has been a record of bank failures in which whole communities of working people have been robbed of the savings of years of toil. In one very flagrant case the bank was obviously engaged in an extensive boot-legging business, and it was alleged that the politicians of the city were so involved that it was

not advisable to make any great effort to bring the bank officials to court. At any rate the banker is still at large with several hundred thousand dollars of stolen savings.

The processes of evolution, both social and industrial, are beyond the power of individuals to arrest. It is not to be desired that those processes should be arrested, but it is the duty and right of any sane or intelligent society to keep its political and financial arrangements abreast of and in harmony with its economic advancement. America has not done that, and her powerful business leaders and

ruled with all their might and influence any attempt made to co-ordinate these phases of American society.

The political economy of present age in this country is a savage, ruthless scheme, the purpose of which it is to enable a small band of private owners to control, and appropriate to themselves, the wealth created by industrial life of the nation. The most conspicuous example of sociological insanity is found in the present sorry condition of whole agricultural population.

One of the most essential elements in present-day affairs is electricity. The use of this commodity has grown so diverse and ramified that society would be thrown into severe discord, should it cease to function. Senator Norris contends that those who must control the supply of this valuable public utility have organized "the most gigantic, far-reaching and comprehensive monopoly which has ever been devised by the mind of man," and that combination plans to control national conventions of the great political parties next year. Here is a situation that confronts the American citizen and threatens his very existence. Before myopic vision there has developed within the last few years, the vast ownership and control of commodity that means life to modern society. The use and enjoyment of this vital service to humanity abides within the exclusive fancy of a small but powerful group of selfish men.

Last summer at the World Power Conference, held in Bel Air, Maryland, Frederick M. Sackett speaking before that body, said: "I know of no other manufacturer of the product to the great mass of consumers is fifteen times that of the cost of production of the article sold." Mr. Samuel Insull who is head of a trust that is to control seventy-five per cent of the gas and electric service in the United States, was in Europe the time and hastened to Belmont to use his influence to prevent Sackett making the speech. Insull will not willingly submit to the very least interference with the goose that lays—for him—such golden eggs.

Senator Borah, in an analysis of the mad orgy of stock gambling that, amid the noisy fanfare of publicity, led the innocents to slaughter, estimates that the investors in twenty-five of the big stock exchanges, were, during the few months given the small amount of the deal to the costly time, \$18,000,000,000. That is a bill American people are now liquidating in tears and suffering heartache.

In her onward march to the fulfillment of her national destiny, America, today stands at the crossroads. It is within the power of the common people whether they shall go forward to a country reasonably happy and contented citizens, confident of our ability to produce for the use of all the things which there can be no comfort, security; or whether we shall continue to tread the economic road along which we are now heading to where we shall be a country of a few individuals holding ineffectual wealth and power, and a mass of industrial slaves, landless peasants, who have every vestige of pride or self respect, and cower in despair, wretchedness at the feet of those who have wrought their ruin.

Poverty is like a shrewish old maid—most admired by those who live with her.—Grace Arundel

THE MODESTY OF THE SIAMESE ROYALTY

By Robert Delson

THE Queen of Siam went shopping the other day. It was, she said, a modest shopping trip—merely to "replenish her wardrobe." Modesty is apparently the outstanding characteristic of Siamese royalty, for the King and Queen have dropped all the patents of nobility during their stay in our democratic country, and wish to be known as plain Prince and Princess. Undoubtedly, that designation is the Siamese equivalent of the "Citizen" of the French Revolution. Perhaps too it marks the first step in the execution of the widely advertised intention of the kindly Siamese despot to make his country as free and democratic as our own.

The shopping trip of the Princess was of course, of great interest to our democratic citizenry. To the class-conscious worker it makes up in significance what we hope it lacks in interest. The

SHOPPING TRIP OF PRINCESS SUGGESTS SOME CONTRASTS OF AMERICAN WEALTH AND POVERTY

World-Telegram reports that the Queen purchased "fifty pairs of gloves, seventy-eight pairs of stockings and thirteen pairs of shoes" at a store which might well carry the slogan—"It's Smart-To-Be-Wealthy." "The Queen's preference in stockings was for 100-gauge silk in black, a color little worn by Americans, as well as in peche, Ben-Hur, sunray, gun metal and topaz. They were in size eight to go with the tiny 3-B feet which her Majesty possesses. In shoes she prefers a medium heel even on the opera pump of which she is particularly fond."

About American Royalty

In 1928, 496 individuals in America are said to have received incomes of over \$1,000,000. Undoubtedly, a larger number than that actually obtained million dollar incomes but the modesty of the

American royalty prevented their reflecting it in their income tax returns.

One per cent of the income recipients obtain about 12 per cent of the U. S.; the richest one-tenth of one per cent receive about 5 per cent of the income.

In times of depression the American royalty are doubtless still able to replenish their wardrobes ala the Queen of Siam at the rate of \$1,000 per replenishment.

Immense Behavior of Proletariat

Mrs. Jones went shopping the other day. It was not shopping, perhaps, in the ordinary sense of the word, since that implies the possession of the wherewithal to obtain legal title to the desired articles. Mrs. Jones needed groceries. She needed them despite the fact that her husband was out of work, and she had determined to get them even though she was out of money.

Mrs. Jones walked into the nearest market and walked off without paying for a shoulder of ham, and a cut of meat. (It was not that she was particularly fond of ham, but it was nearest the edge of the counter, and she reached for it). She shortly found herself in the nearest police station.

When John Jones was working, he had lacked the self control to abstain from lavish expenditures, such as shoes for his children, even a hat for his wife, and rent for the landlord. Nothing was too good for him. His failure to save for hard times from his salary of \$85 per week was the cause of his wife's shameful conduct.

How the Proletariat Live More than three-quarters of the families of America receive less than \$1,800 a year in a year when the amount required for a minimum standard of health and decency for a family of five was \$2,100 a year. If the income of the country were evenly divided the average family income would have been \$3,725 in 1928.

There is only one reason why the American family did not receive \$3,725 in 1928, or even the living wage of \$2,100. The reason is not to be sought in the capitalists' lack of generosity, but in the unalterable physical law which does not permit the same thing to be in two places at the same time. If the income of the country were so distributed that the workers received a living wage, it would mean that a large number of millionaires would have to go out of the millionaire class. The fabulous wealth of the 1 per cent could not exist without the incredible poverty of the 80 per cent.

Every dollar in the pocket of the worker means a dollar less in that of the capitalist. This conflict of interests of the two classes as to the division of the fruits of production is the aspect of the class struggle which manifests itself in the everyday life of all of us. The inevitable success of the capitalist class in the struggle to enlarge its share of the social product, within the present system, spells

the inevitable poverty of the workers until that system is overthrown (although in the struggle to overthrow the system, it is of course just as inevitable that the working class will triumph if it awakes to its own interests).

There is a famous painting of the French Revolution depicting Louis XVI in all his regal splendor seated upon a throne which rests upon the crushed, squirming and mutilated bodies of his tortured subjects. Their life blood provided the revenue for the glory that was Versailles. The grim actuality of capitalist wealth and proletarian poverty is no less barbarous than the artist's symbolical portrayal of the feudal analogue. The foundation upon which is reared the glitter and the pomp of the Kings of Coal and the Barons of Steel is the bleakness and desolation of the workers lives in mining towns. The shacks of the workers in the textile towns, the murdered bodies of the Ludlow pickets, and the men on the bread lines of New York—they too form part of this foundation.

The unearned incomes of the Rockefeller would not be possible without the unpaid labor of the workers. The Prosperity which the few enjoy is based upon the Poverty of the many. It is a Prosperity of Poverty.

The Poor Are Always Poor As I have used it here, "Prosperity" does not refer to the financial status of the entire population in boom times as opposed to bad times. It refers rather, to the condition of a small minority of the population, the capitalist class, as against that of the large majority, the working class, at all times, good or bad. We have permitted the Bourgeoisie apologists to use the term "Prosperity" in such a way as to connote that even the working class is well off when business is booming, and even the capitalist class is badly off when business is bad. As a matter of fact, what is significant for us is not the relative condition of the

entire population in good times as compared to bad times, but rather the relative conditions of the two classes of the population at all times.

Furthermore, it is not enough for us to point out that the working class bears the brunt of the burden in times of depression, in increased poverty—we must also show that the workers pay the cost of capitalist wealth at all times in their normal state of poverty.

Thus, while the condition of the wealthy is said to be "prosperous" in good times, it is also prosperous in bad times—only somewhat less so. Similarly, the condition of the workers is described as one of poverty in bad times, but it is also one of poverty in the best of times—only somewhat less so.

Normal Poverty in "Prosperous" Times

We have noted thus far that the prosperity of the rich is based directly upon the poverty of the workers. We have seen too that poverty is the constant condition of the worker at all times, good or bad, except that it is more aggravated in times of depression. We will now proceed to point out that it is precisely because the worker is poor even in boom times that he must be poorer still in times of depression.

Of course, this is merely stating in another way what we have said so many times before—that underpayment of the workers causes depressions. "The conditions of Bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them"—the workers are paid too little to buy back what they have produced, and the system throws them out of work when there are no buyers for their products.

I believe, however, that it is possible to put this fact more pointedly. Because the worker receives so little wages that he must live in poverty in the best of times, he is forced to go through a period of depression when he will receive either nothing at all, or if he is

Socialist Local Organized In Rockland County

A very successful Socialist gathering was held Sunday afternoon, in the house of Merritt Crawford, in Nyack-on-the-Hudson. Enrolled Socialist voters of Rockland County were invited by special letter. The response was most gratifying. This is the first successful venture in many years. A fine local was organized. Men and women came from all parts of the County. Practically every town was represented by one or two Socialists, including Haverstraw, Nyack, Spring Valley, Manuett, New City, Iona Island and many other places.

The meeting was opened by Crawford, who acted as Chairman, and Thomas W. Davis, secretary. Comrades August and Hilda Claessens, Louis and Rose Epstein, Sol Low, Dr. W. B. Robinson, were among the town visitors. August and Hilda Claessens spoke at the gathering on the program and work of the Socialist Party. Assemblyman Fred R. Horn was also present and delivered a short address in which he discussed some of the problems facing the workers in Rockland County, and complimented those present for the intelligent discussion that he listened to. In fact, he said he had learned more listening to Mr. Claessens within the hour or so, than he had in the two years that he has been in Albany.

Norman Thomas
in a
Reply to the Critics of his book
"AMERICA'S WAY OUT"
Wednesday Evening, June 3, 1931, 8:30 Sharp
PEOPLE'S HOUSE AUDITORIUM
7 East 15th Street. Admission 50 cents
Seating capacity limited to 600. Tickets can be purchased in advance, Room 601, 7 East 15th Street. Mail check or money order at once.

GANDHI DINNER
Every reader of THE NEW LEADER
is most cordially invited to a
TESTIMONIAL DINNER
to be tendered in honor of
MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI OF INDIA
On Thursday Evening, June 4, 1931, 7:30 P.M.
AT ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY
U. S. SEN. ROYAL S. COPELAND, MAJOR EUGENE F. KINCHAD,
MR. UPTON CLOSE, HENRY FRANCES J. MCNEILL,
JUDGE DANIEL F. COHOLAN, MR. RAYMOND ROBINSON
will voice America's sympathy and support for Gandhi's success
in London Conference in achieving India's independence.
SARINDRA NATH GHOSH
of India will express what American opinion can do for India.
\$5.00 Per Person. Table Seats Two.
For reservations call AL CONGULIN 4-5466
National Broadcasting Co. and its network, WJZ and its short wave and
WOR and its network will broadcast in an effort to reach Gandhi in India.

40 European all expense Tours \$319
Including Vienna Conference
Sail July 8... Return August 17
President Harding President Roosevelt

17 Day European all expense Tour \$179.00

Other tours including Russia, all at lowest verified rates
Times Square Travel Bureau
Established 1901
Management Paul Tausig & Son
565 Seventh Ave., cor. 40th St. Penn. 6-2800

Capitalism's Industrial Crises

A System That Brings Its Own Destruction

The following excerpts are taken from "The Communist Manifesto" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It is one of the great classics of the Socialist movement and has been translated into practically all modern languages. These excerpts are especially interesting in relation to the general breakdown of capitalism. The Manifesto appeared in 1848.

THE bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of machinery to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeoisie class.

A similar movement is going

on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells.

For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society.

In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why?

Because there is too much civilization, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces that are at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions by which they are fettered, and as soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois

property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them.

And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

Franklin P. Brill Passes in Buffalo

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
BUFFALO, N. Y.—Franklin P. Brill, veteran of the Socialist movement, died Sunday, May 24, in the Buffalo General Hospital, after an illness of two weeks. He was 67 years old.

For eight years he was the Editor of the New Age, Buffalo Socialist weekly. In 1917 he made a remarkable run for Mayor of Buffalo on the Socialist ticket. In 1915 he was the party nominee for Member of Congress in the 41st district. At the time of the party split in 1919, much to the surprise of his associates, Brill joined the Communists. This was largely due to his intense interest in the Russian revolution. He was twice a candidate on the Communist ticket for Lieutenant-governor and in 1930 was their nominee for State Comptroller.

Lookit What Hoover Done to Me

By Fred Henderson
LONDON

UP to the middle of October 1929, I was a magnificent specimen of free American manhood, with what Frank O'Malley used to call "the blue lips and the red eyes of flaming youth."

"When I went out to promenade, I looked so fine and gay, I had a dog along to keep the girls away."

Everyone on the streets used to stop when I came along and say, "Who is that magnificent young man?" And the answer would be, "Why that is Mr. Coleman, Columbia, Ought Nine." And then the band would strike up, "Hail to the Chief" and I would nod condescendingly right and left. Now and then I would doff my hat to crowds that became peculiarly hysterical at my appearance. I was always democratic that way.

Came a fatal Thursday in that October. I can still recall it. I was reading Garret Garet's book called "The American Omen." I was delighted to learn that for the first time in history capitalism had perfected a formula whereby every little boy and girl in America could have two automobiles, a couple of radio sets, two silk shirts and lead a grand double life to boot, what with our system of great, big enormous wages.

I looked up from my book and POW! as the comic strip boys say, she done blew up.

Now look at me. After some nineteen months of what is jocosely called, "the recent depression" I have grown this beautiful beard, taken up pipe smoking instead of those horrid expensive cigarettes as Sam Friedman has been urging me for years, and have become a red hot rugged individualist, standing up in what is left of my 1929 shoes and daring any man to offer me a dime.

The picture in this column was taken of me last week on my way to congratulate Andy Mellon on his latest announcement of the immediate return of prosperity.

I have taken Cal Coolidge's advice and I have the greatest faith in the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Lydia Pinkham. I just knew that grand old man would pull us through. To be sure at times the sledding was a bit rough. That hat I am wearing I stole off an old horse in Union Square last summer who was asleep at the time. I had just waked up from a refreshing nap on what is called the front stoop of Borough President Levy's comfort station, where I was spending the summer. I beat the horse to it and to this day he is probably wondering who in hell stole his swell hat.

The slick pants I got off a former Puller Brush salesman who had no use for them any more and the coat belongs to an ex-Hollywood executive who left it in Clara Bow's room by mistake.

Reading from left to right, the cooties are my own, a touching reminder of the days when General Pershing, the Y.M.C.A. and I won the Great War.

And speaking of the War you boys out in the sticks are to be commiserated for missing the bang-up show the great-hearted War Department has been putting on for us these past few days.

Last Sunday, while the chimies in the General Theological Seminary across the street from our house were playing, "Peace, perfect Peace" and a lot of theologists were risking their pious necks by clinging precariously to the roof edges, a whole flock of aeroplanes, more than five hundred and sixty-five, came over us. I was riding around on my encyclical at the time, telling everyone that they should not think of such material things as food and clothes but look up to Heaven. They all looked up in time to see the first of the bombing planes arrive.

Of course a thing like that costs money but who are we to be parsimonious? Figure that the show itself cost around \$120,000,000 and that the cost of training the pilots came to another \$100,000,000 (as an ex-aviator assured me) who are we to kick at a mere \$220,000,000 circus? To be sure no bread went along with this circus, but we are no damned foreigners who have to depend on our government to pull us out of every little scrape we get into.

Now they are coming back again to do it all over, having forgotten to lay down a smoke screen on us at their first appearance. This will be dandy. Of course a few more smoke screens will hardly be discernible from our house, situated as we are next to the largest soft coal burning plant in the city. Besides we have been more or less in a smoke screen ever since that October Thursday we told you about.

The Government hasn't told us yet just what you do when official aeroplanes come overhead.

I don't know whether you are supposed to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" or "Nearer My God to Thee."

I must confess that my four black cats didn't act very patriotic at the arrival of the planes. They thought a whole mess of big birds had been let loose and they growled something fierce. I scolded them quite severely about this saying, "Don't you dumb animals understand that this demonstration has the official approval of my good, old fraternity brother, Bishop Manning? Bish says that it has nothing to do with war. It's all in the spirit of fun and good brotherhood and that there are two kinds of pacifists, Christian and the other kind who are not kosher. The first kind are pacifists right up to the day that the War is declared. Then they hang British and American flags around themselves and holler up to Jesus to lick the other guys. The low-down pacifists who are simple enough to believe that you don't get far by fighting are then put in jail by the Christian pacifists and in this fashion our national honor is sustained and we have a good war with the result that another part of China is dismembered. For remember, no matter who is fighting whom, at the end of the row you always dismember parts of China. If you were human beings instead of the dumb beasts that you are, all these things would be plain to you. You would go down to Barren Island with Mayor Walker and cross yourselves every time a new bomber appeared. By so doing you would prove conclusively that this is the best administration that this city has ever had and that anyone who kicks because our dear, little public school kiddies cannot read or write, has red poison in his veins and if he doesn't like this country why doesn't he go back to Czecho-Slovakia where he came from?"

McAlister Coleman.

Labour's Prospects For Power

Understanding With Liberals Postpones General Election; Economic Storm-Clouds Contrast With Political Calm

By Fred Henderson

SINCE I wrote my last letter, a very remarkable change has taken place in the political outlook here; a change so sudden and complete as to have almost an appearance of freakishness. There is, however, nothing freakish about it. There are reasons why it has taken place; reasons which at the moment seem to be quite solid and enduring, so far as anything in mere Parliamentary strategy can be said to be solid and enduring. What has happened is that the feeling of precariousness as to the Government remaining in office—the day-to-day uncertainty as to its survival—has given place to a general feeling, both in the House of Commons and in the country, that a year or more of safety from Parliamentary defeat is now in prospect. All talk about a General Election being likely at any moment has ceased; and the calculations of all parties are now being made on the assumption that the Government has a secure lease on office at least over this year, and quite probably for the year to follow.

If you have followed events here with any close attention, you will not only realize how great a change this is, but also that there is only one possible way in which it could have been brought about. For the precariousness of the Government position during the past year has been in the fact that it always has to depend on the Liberal vote in the House of Commons. That vote combined with the Conservatives could at any moment and on any issue put the Government in a minority; and the strategy of the Liberals has been to keep the Government always on the rack by threatening to cast such an adverse vote.

Clearly, therefore, such a change as has now taken place from precariousness to what everybody is assuming to be a prospect of steady security in office for a year or more to come, could only be possible on condition that in some way the Liberal party in the House of Commons has been brought dependably to heel and

given a sufficient inducement to support the Government, not merely on some momentary issue, but on a general policy requiring a year or more for its effectiveness.

That, in short, is what has happened. Let me try and make clear exactly how and on what lines it has been done.

When I wrote a month ago, we were on the eve of a House of Commons decision which was regarded as very dangerous for the Government. The Conservatives had given notice of a vote of censure which, if carried, would have thrown the Government out; and it is no secret that they were very confident that it would be carried; so confident that instructions had been sent out to their agents all over the country to begin to get things ready for the General Election. The Government itself shared in these fears as to what might happen. And the Liberals, true to their general tactics for a year past, played upon the Government fear to press for all sorts of concessions to Liberal opinion as a condition of their support in the critical division.

For two or three weeks before the division was due there was a great ferment going on below the surface; a coming and going of emissaries and continuous private consultations. The Liberals kept up this atmosphere of uncertainty until the very day of the Censure debate, and up to that moment the conservatives still counted upon Liberal support and all its consequences in a new election.

As you know, at the very last moment the Liberals supported the Government. And everybody knew at once, not merely that the immediate situation was saved for the Government, but that some more permanent understanding had been reached. The excitement about this Vote of Censure was the climax to the touch-and-go insecurity of the preceding year. It

was the sort of thing that could not be indefinitely repeated. If the Liberals refused to turn the Government out on this occasion, it meant that their tactics of holding off and on could not be renewed within another brief period, and that the reason for their decision would, when revealed, be found to involve a general and more far-reaching issue of policy. And the question on everybody's lips was, what was the inducement under which the Liberals had acted?

This was clearly revealed when, following almost immediately on the Vote of Censure, Philip Snowden introduced his Budget; and it was seen that the outstanding feature of it was his revival of Lloyd George's old land tax policy. Thus the principal item in the session's proposed legislation is now a measure adopted from the Liberals; and Lloyd George and his group in the House of Commons are bound to stand by the Government to see it through.

But there is more in it even than that. In the nature of this proposal, it will take a considerable time. The tax itself cannot be levied this year. There is all the preliminary business of valuation and assessment to be set up. And there is the certainty of conflict with the House of Lords over the development of the general land policy associated with this proposal. In a word, it is a continuous policy and not a single critical vote in Parliament to which the Liberals have now to adjust their Parliamentary attitude towards the Government.

In this way the stage is now being set for the postponement of any General Election for some time to come, and for a new way of working up to it when it does come. From the Liberal point of view, an immediate General Election holds out no hope at all. Labor, as you have noted, has not been doing well at bye-elections;

but Liberalism has been doing disastrously! We have been consistently losing anything from a third to nearly half the vote we polled at the last General Election. At the most recent bye-election, in the St. Rollox division of Glasgow, our 19,000 vote two years ago has been reduced to just over 10,000. Even at that we have just held the seat, so overwhelming was our majority there last time. But while we have been losing ground, Liberalism has been practically wiped out in most of the bye-elections. Neither from the Liberal nor the Labor point of view, if these things are to be measured by electoral chances, is the time auspicious for appealing to the country.

But there is this notable fact about it. The votes we are losing are not being transferred to our opponents. The electors are not going over to the capitalist parties; they are simply abstaining. It is not a loss of Socialist faith, but disillusionment with the fruits of minority Government, which is in evidence in all this.

In these circumstances, the new tactic which has now taken visible shape is exceedingly interesting. The idea is to force this land policy to the forefront in public attention and to work up a series of quarrels with the House of Lords during the next year; in the belief that such a conflict between the hereditary and the elective principle will provide us with a winning campaign-cry if we can secure time in which to work it up effectively. On that issue the Liberals are bound to cooperate with us. It is so vital a part of their old fighting tradition that they must respond to it.

This, then, is the plan of action which now emerges from the confusions of the past year. A land policy in which the Liberals must stand by us; a growing conflict with the Lords arising out of it; the steady working up of public indignation at the interference of

a non-representative hereditary body with proposals approved by the House of Commons; and at the end of the vista a General Election to the old time of "Down with the House of Lords." The calculation is that it may work, provided that we have a year or eighteen months of Parliamentary security during which the plan can be developed.

The Lords, with characteristic stupidity, are already playing their expected part; and both the Government and the Liberals are probably thoroughly justified in assuming this stupidity to be a constant and dependable factor in the situation. The House of Lords has always, politically speaking, been a house of idiots. They have saved more than one Radical Government in the past by their obscurantism, and can always be easily led into the booby-trap of giving their opponents a powerful case for appeal to popular indignation.

It is, however, an uncertain world. You never can quite tell. And it would be in the irony of things if, having survived through a year when everybody believed it might fall any day, the Government should come to grief now when everybody assumes its safety for a year or more ahead. For there are pitfalls under this apparent surface security. The weakness of such a plan is that it takes account only of the situation inside Parliament and how to manipulate it most adroitly. And it is in the factors outside Parliament that the real forces which make and unmake Governments are operative. The industrial situation gives no sign of compliance with this demand for a year or more of security. The rapid and ruthless development of the wage-cutting policy of the employers federations, and the fierce capitalist attack on our insurance provision against unemployment, are the outstanding facts; and it is from this world of realities rather than from Parliamentary adroitness that new and imperative urgencies may arise at any moment, quite regardless of Parliamentary convenience.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The "Five Year Plan" Explained

Five More Books on Russia

THE profusion of books on Russia goes on unabated. No publisher seems to be satisfied unless he has set at least one book analyzing the Russian situation on his list and most have more than one. It is easy to see why books describing the Soviet system, especially in its economic phases, should be so popular at the present moment. For, in the midst of the world depression with politicians and so-called leaders of business showing the utmost confusion, not only about the causes of the catastrophe but especially about getting out of it, Russia alone seems to have some idea where it is going and Russia alone seems to offer a working alternative to the capitalist system under which most of the world lives. So whether or not the various authors believe that Communism will succeed they feel it essential that they investigate the workings of the system that is at present challenging capitalism.

Since the key to the Russian system would seem to be planned economy under the direction of the state it is only natural that the attention of all those interested should be directed to the present phase of the plan, the so-called "Five Year Plan," extending over the period 1928-1933. The success or failure of the "Five Year Plan" appears to be the measuring stick by which most observers would measure the success or failure of Communism. Considering the stress that has been placed on the plan by the Communists themselves, in both their internal and external propaganda, it is easy to understand this attitude of those who are but observers. Yet one wonders if they are not overemphasizing the importance of the completion of the plan at just the time set and in just the manner in which Soviet economists and technicians planned in 1927-8. I wonder if they don't miss the whole point of the idea of a planned economy when they conceive of it, as the editorial writers for the New York Times certainly do, as a blue print according to which industries must run and from which it is expected that they will not deviate to the slightest degree.

It would seem that the purpose of a planned economy is to make the best possible use of the economic resources of the area concerned. Insofar as the "Five Year Plan" is an attempt to do this in the U. S. S. R., and everyone must admit that it is such an attempt, that far is it an experiment in planned economy. But the "Five Year Plan" is much more. It is an attempt to speed up the economic development of the U. S. S. R. by an almost superhuman effort

in order to give the inhabitants the unquestioned benefits of an industrialized society within as short a time as possible. Its success or failure in this latter attempt does not measure the success or failure of a planned economy as such. For in the desire to speed up in every respect it may be possible to respect the original plans in some respects; as Russia has done in regard to oil and coal; while the amount of speedup anticipated in other fields may not be possible.

All this is for the purpose of introducing the last batch of books on Russia. Two of them deal directly with "Five Year Plan" as such. The first (The Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union by C. G. Grinko, International Publishers) is an official statement by one connected with the building of the plan, telling what the plan is, what its aims are and how it is to be applied in each industry. The author tells his story very well and a very readable book has been written in place of what might have been a dry economic tract.

The second of the books dealing with the plan is an analysis of the workings of the plan in its first two years of operation. (Russia's Five Year Plan, by Michael Farman, The New Republic, \$1.00). Mr. Farman, besides being an economist with an acute mind well versed in Russian problems, writes extremely well and his book is easily the most readable that I have come across. After examining the situation in all branches of industry and agriculture he finds that in the heavy industries and in agriculture the plan has been fulfilled or surpassed but that in transportation and in the light industries there has been some lagging. He also points out that there has been sacrifice of quality to quantity.

"Making Bolsheviki," by Samuel Harper, (University of Chicago Press, \$2.00) is an attempt to describe and delineate the corps or "cadres" through which Bolshevization is being pushed. He lists these as being the Communist Party Worker, The Young Communist, The Shock Brigade Worker, The Collectivist Peasant, The Soviet Cultural Worker and The Redarmyist. It is through these groups that Socialism is to be built. Mr. Harper's treatment is fair, but critical and quite acute in its analysis. He gets away from the economic aspect of the Revolution to its spiritual and cultural side.

One of the most exciting books that has come out of Russia is "New Russia's Primer" by M. Ilin. It is a story of what the Russian government is trying to do written by an engineer for Russia's

school children. The story is simply but very dramatically told and for the American reader who is to read but one book this one would do admirably. Its comparison of the anarchic capitalist methods of production and Russia's attempt at planned production is especially good.

"The X Y Z of Communism," (E. T. Colton, Macmillan, \$3.00) is a book by an American business man to prove that a Communist dictatorship exists in Russia.

Labor's Handbook

WITHOUT question the most useful annual volume for the Socialist and others interested in the Socialist and Labor movement in all its aspects here and abroad is the American Labor Year Book, published by the Rand School Press. The 1931 volume and the twelfth issued is at hand, price, \$2.50. We note that this issue carries 34 more pages than the preceding volume and that the section devoted to Trade Union Organization, as stated in the foreword, is the most complete since the important volume of 1926.

Into this book is packed a wealth of important information derived from reliable sources, a number of authorities making contributions under the editorship of Nathan Fine, director of the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science. Those who appreciate the importance of accuracy in educational work especially appreciate a volume of this character. It presents a digest of thousands of publications, culled the most essential information for the student, condensing and classifying the information, and making it easily accessible to him.

This issue leads with a list of the labor conventions to be held this year in the United States and abroad and is followed by an international labor diary for the year 1930 which, month by month, reports the more important events that have occurred in the labor movement throughout the world. The leading chapter is devoted to Industrial and Social Conditions all over the world which in general considers the breakdown of capitalism and its effect upon the working masses. Then follows an extended section on Trade Union Organization already referred to. Among the other topics receiving separate chapters are the following: Strikes and Lockouts, Labor Politics, Labor Legislation, Foreign Labor Legislation, Court Decisions Affecting Labor, Civil Liberties, Workers' Education, Labor Banking and Insurance, Cooperation, International Relations of Labor, and Labor Abroad, the lat-

est including no less than 55 nations. Two minor sections which bring the volume to a close are informative. One presents a list of new books, pamphlets and reports on economic, labor, social and political themes and the other, an international labor directory, lists the names of economic and political organizations of the workers here and abroad, giving the names and addresses of the leading executive officials. An interesting and informative supplement is a chart containing a comparison of unemployment insurance legislation, compulsory and voluntary, in eighteen nations.

How useful such an annual is may be gathered from the section devoted to the Socialist Party. Here is preserved in abbreviated form the vote of all labor parties since 1892 and a detailed report of the vote cast by these parties in all states in the elections of 1928 and 1930; the Socialist officials elected in Milwaukee and Reading; the Socialist Congressional vote in New York City in the same two years; the internal party issues in New York City, the resolutions presented on trade unions, Russia, and campaign methods; the work of the National Office of the party and of the Young People's Socialist League. The Socialist Labor Party and the Bolshevik organizations receive similar treatment. If a dispute arises regarding any of these matters this volume gives the answer. There is no editorializing. What is presented are the facts.

Turning to the section devoted to the American Bolsheviks we note that the Proletarian Party for the first time is not included since its founding in 1919. Whether it has disappeared or whether it had nothing to report we do not know. If that organization no longer exists, another Bolshevik place has emerged to take its place, but too late to be included in this volume. The organization of the Communist League of Struggle a few weeks ago insures four Bolshevik organizations and if the Proletarian Party is still alive the number is five.

Get this volume and be fortified with reliable information. It is a time- and labor-saver.

James Oneal.

Claessens and Epsteins Going on Southern Trip

A party of Socialists consisting of August and Hilda Claessens, their two daughters, and Louis and Rose Epstein, of the 18th A. D. Branch 2, Kings County, are going South, on a two weeks' vacation and are making use of the trip to Florida, and back to cover a number of meetings arranged by the Party, Workers' Circle, and Young Circle Leagues, beginning Friday, May 29, up to and including June 14.

As the distance to be covered is rather large, these comrades are not able to stop at so many places as they would like to. Nevertheless, meetings have been arranged for them in Wilmington, Delaware, May 29; Savannah, Georgia, June 1; Tampa, Florida, June 6 and 7; Atlanta, Georgia, June 8 and 9; Reading, Pennsylvania, June 13. There is a possibility of other meetings in Florida in between these dates. They will also visit Socialists in towns as time will permit, solicit subscriptions for the New Leader, and do whatever they possibly can to make contacts with unaffiliated Socialists wherever they will be met.

Sarah Volovick Banquet Draws 150 Socialists

About 150 Socialists and friends of Sarah Volovick, active Bronx Socialist, attended a banquet given in her honor at the Paradise Manor, last Friday, May 22. An enjoyable evening was spent. The dinner was inexpensive though very excellent. A surprisingly fine musical program was arranged thanks to Comrades Goldsmith and Murphy. The artists who contributed their services were: Rose Tunick, Singer; Bessie Goodman, Pianist; Cecilia Curry, Singer. August Claessens acted as toastmaster.

More than one dozen comrades delivered excellent short speeches extolling Comrade Volovick and her fine service to the Socialist Party during these many years of her activity. Later in the evening, Rosenauer was introduced and announced the gift of a radio which the Committee had installed in her room as a token of appreciation and esteem to Mrs. Volovick.

The Chatterbox

YESTERDAY, I found a gray hair showing through the dark brown shock over my right ear. And right after that I read the report of one of our old Comrades having passed away.

No wonder then that my thoughts rambled over the question of age, the span of living, and the great deal there is left for all of us to do.

Here I am nearing forty, and still urged on by impatience toward the millennium in my time. Behind me and before stand thousands of younger men and women hell-bent on a complete change.

Far behind stand the uncomfortable millions who listen with one ear to the Pope, with the other the fanfare of war. And with their stomachs a troublesome, and their minds so disconcerted with despair, and our voices so few and weak, the picture is far from encouraging.

How will I feel ten years from now? Will the drums of impatience still set the blood pulsing through the arteries with rebellious pace? Will the vision be as clear and enticing and so near? Or will I too become reconciled to the impossibility of reaching anything worthwhile in my lifetime and commence to counsel prudence, patience, and the long, long way as the surest road home?

What makes the older comrades so hesitant, a careful, and so retrospective in everything they do, say for the cause? Perhaps it is just the subtle conviction that they will not live long enough to see their years of service crowned with victory.

What makes youth so jumpy and anxious to hurry ahead against all odds? Perhaps, it is but the healthy-grown notion that achievement lies right ahead for its day and reward.

At the age of forty and with a gray hair creeping into sight, I stand debating things for the moment. But just for the moment only. Since I am off to lecture to the Third A. D. of the Bronx on "The Way Out via Socialism."

And the only purpose served with these paragraphs is tolerance. So that sluggish old ones and rampant young ones can keep working on in the faith with understanding.

Norman Thomas is ill. Happily he is sensible enough to know that flesh is weaker than a dream. He is resting easily at home and recovering rapidly. Which gives us time to think of unjust circumstance is to those who find so much to do in this mad world to set it sane again.

The task is beyond our poor powers of brain muscle. Mainly because we are so few. Here have a man devoting the prime years of living to an unequal task. No man in America covers more mileage, speaks to more organizations, and does more propaganda work by word and pen. George Debs and Ben Hanford have done their stint among the honored living, comrades like Morris Hillquit have done tremendous work. Even at past sixty, it is stirring to think of the time an effort Morris finds to carry on. By the years take their toll from energy and physical strength. For their health's sake, we younger ones must insist that our leaders conserve their well being. In fact we should demand that they relegate to us much of the detail and difficult duty where physical power is required.

Now is this meant to suggest anything except sincere consideration for their well-being. Some day the older leaders will be no more. Youth must be prepared to step in and carry on. It is wisdom to build by preparing replacement, since the task is long and arduous.

Norman or Morris ill is no pretty prospect. The desperate long years of happy living for what the have done and are still doing. Let us get together into some sensible arrangement of dividing up the work for their sake . . . and ours.

Was delighted to attend a dinner given to Comrade Sarah Volovick of the Bronx last Friday night. Some eighty of us old Bronxites got together to cheer and do homage for one of the sturdiest, dearest little workers for the Big Cause. The festive lists had their day too. At last a banquet for woman comrade.

Here was a moment for the old wives to get up and declare on how much importance a wife is to a man who gives up so many nights and days to the movement.

And dear Sarah sat there as a living confession. We husbands took the occasion to explain that we men like Mrs. Volovick were the ladies that led our husbands astray.

And indeed, when one measures her work for Socialism, what else can a good man do than follow in her way.

And so, if any of you devoted husbands are kept late at meetings, or busy on party work, don't be ashamed. Just up and confess . . . "Sarah kept me out to-night . . ."

More women at work like Comrade Volovick, and less men groaning under the strain of party duty. And this from one who is no feminist . . . no by a long shot.

A week ago last Saturday, I hustled over to Rockaway Beach to make a Peace Day speech to a large group of children who had been May paid along on the Boardwalk under the auspices of the Women's Section of the Peace Party.

Comrade Isabella Friedman had charge of the arrangements and with quite an efficient committee the children managed to have a splendid time. When I arose to speak, the temper of the children bespoke impatience for ice-cream and cake, and there was a unanimous decision for a short speech and long portions of refreshment. This upon volition and democratically I sided by the will of the populace.

It was not what I said there, but what was shooting through my mind that might bear recording.

In another part of the Rockaways, the Boy Scouts were having a jamboree. I had passed their celebration on the way to the parade of the children. Olive drab, flags, rifles, drums and drill sticks. Militarism in full bud.

Here against the blue skies and sea, a few hundred little girls and boys in international costume danced, sang and ate ice cream. Peace trying to sprout forth out of barren soil.

After a world war whose criminal stupidity universally acclaimed, the lesson seems to have fallen on deaf and dumb senses.

Will the joys of peace be so difficult to teach our children, now that the next butchery is in the offing . . . ?

What is there about war that is so alluring? What is there about it that attracts human beings so . . . ? Why is it so easy to stir up children with drums?

These are questions we must work on, with the test tubes of our thinking? Before it is too late . . .

S. A. deWitt.

Never forget, noble freemen, when you read workers wandering from city to city in search of jobs, that Socialism is certain to break up the family.

A wild area has been discovered in Mexico that is rich in oil and gold. The American State Department will please take notice as this area certainly must belong to some of our capitalists.

It really ought to be in the hands of our open air speakers and lecturers.
S. A. deWitt in "New Leader."

REV. H. J. HAHN'S
collection of 26 Radio Talks in illustrated book form

"HE STIRRETH UP THE PEOPLE"
Price \$1.00

Published by Salem Brothers, 25 Calumet St., Buffalo, N. Y.

In these days of depression this book should be obtained by every individual who looks for a better day.
JOURNAL-PITTSBURGH: official organ A. F. of L. Steel Workers Union.

Rene Clair Grows In "Le Million"

The Stage The Movies Music

Opening the Ufa Cosmopolitan Theatre



Emil Jannings as he appears in "Der Grosse Tenor," the UFA Picture which had its first American showing before a distinguished gathering Thursday night at the Ufa Cosmopolitan.

Testing the New Diesel Engine



Scene from "The Five Year Plan," the new Amkino film now on view at the Central Theatre.

'Always Goodbye' Now At Fox B'klyn—Stage Show Big and Timely

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre is offering as entertainment this week "Always Goodbye" on its screen; Fanchon & Marco's "Prosperity" Idea on the stage and Sam Jack Kaufman interloping as Master of Ceremonies as well as Bob West singing at the organ and Eddie Magill crooning through his illuminated megaphone.

"Always Goodbye," which brings Elissa Landi to the screen for her second film role, is from a story by Kate McLaurin, adapted and dialogued by Lynn Starling. Chief in support of Miss Landi are Lewis Stone and Paul Cavanagh and John Garrick.

With the general trend throughout the country toward better business conditions, "Prosperity" Idea cites the fact through the medium of entertainment that "good times" are here. Featured in this Idea are Lucille Page, "America's foremost acrobatic danseuse"; Jack La Vier, "The Air Male"; Danny Beck, "The boy who makes faces and beats it"; Aaron Sisters; Tommy Harris & Danny Daniels; and the Sunkist Beauties.

"Once in a Lifetime," Now at the Plymouth, Proves That Even B'way Wise Boys Often Err

When, on Monday last, May 25, "Once in a Lifetime" moved to the Plymouth Theatre it completed a run of more than eight highly successful months at the Music Box Theatre.

If you happen to observe Mr. Sam H. Harris, the producer, indulging in private chuckles these days you will know that it is at the expense of a certain clique of self-appointed prophets generally designated as "wise-guys" or "those in the know" who pronounced the early doom of "Once in a Lifetime." Said they: "Once in a Lifetime" is a grand show, clever, satirical and all that, but it's just a little too special for the average theatre-goer. They'll never take to it. Its appeal will be limited to the Broadway crowd." Says Mr. Harris: "See you." Thus far a "limited audience" of about 250,000 people has seen Hollywood and its "darling industry" trounced nightly on the stage of the Music Box and liked it. And the run of the play is by no means over yet.

When Sid Grauman, the intrepid showman of the western coast, announced that he had bought the rights to "Once in a Lifetime," he was warned that he was committing had-a-kiri, both physically and financially. The loyal movie fans who think Hollywood seems to be certainly stay away in masses while those stars and movie executives who saw themselves caricatured in the play would undoubtedly go gunning for him. And when production went ahead, notwithstanding, and Moss Hart, co-author of "Once in a Lifetime" was called out there to help stage the play and act the part of Lawrence Vail, there was further talk of bullet-proof vest and armored cars. However, here again this much touted "limited appeal" got into its work and "Once in a Lifetime" played to packed houses for 12 weeks, to the financial and spiritual gratification of all concerned.

So thoroughly immune is Mr. Harris to the promptings of the better judgment of people "who know" that he is even going to tempt fate further and attempt to tour "Once in a Lifetime" throughout that vast illiterate, unsophisticated, and provincial portion of the United States which lies west of Broadway. According to the minor prophets "they'll never get it in the sticks." However, judging by past performances, we are inclined to think that "Once in a Lifetime" will have to travel further than the confines of the United States before it can definitely exhaust its "limited appeal."

I remember when goats climbed Hogan's Bluff, behind the Polo Grounds; "Old Man Murphy" sets that stage of life in a mid-western city, against the rising importance of Charles Murfree, Pat Murphy's married son. In this case it is rather the ambition of the daughter-in-law that has had the old man from social sight; and it is Widow Doffman's boy from "The Patch" who woos Pat's granddaughter to a better sense of values. Of course old Pat, for all the rugged bark of his exterior, has a heart of gold.

This old material is made entertaining largely through the work of Maude O'Neill as the Widow Donovan, and of Arthur Sinclair as Old Man Murphy. Sinclair, in particular captures the flavor of the "shanty Irish" to the full, and makes, of a trite theme well handled, a good entertainment.

BROOKLYN

FOX
ELISSA LANDI in
ALWAYS GOODBYE
The Fox Movie-Romance with
LEWIS STONE,
PAUL CAVANAGH, JOHN GARRICK
FANCHON & MARCO
present their "Prosperity" Idea with
Lucille Page, Jack La Vier, Danny Beck,
Aaron Sisters, Harris & Daniels and
Sunkist Beauties—Eddie Magill—
SAM JACK KAUFMAN—BOB WEST

THE WONDER BAR

Mary Boland
in Paul Osborn's comedy hit
VINEGAR TREE
8TH MONTH
PLAYHOUSE
Thurs., W. 44 St. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30
Telephone BR 9-3238

In Gilbert Miller's Current Success



"Tomorrow and Tomorrow" at the Henry Miller's Theatre is considered one of the finest plays of the season. Above are Herbert Marshall and Zita Johann in a scene from the play, by the celebrated and brilliant Philip Barry.

Ufa Cosmopolitan Opens With Emil Jannings in "Der Grosse Tenor"

The long awaited opening of the Ufa Cosmopolitan took place last night before an audience that was entirely comprised of the press and other invited guests. The opening picture was "Der Grosse Tenor," with the celebrated Emil Jannings in the title part.

The picture is an Erich Pommer production, directed by Hanns Schwarz and has met with tremendous success all over Europe due to the fact that for the first time Jannings appears as his natural self—a gay, humorous, delightful Jannings, just as he appears to all who know him personally. This is the best of Jannings' performances, for Jannings is made to feel at home—he speaks his own language and plays the life he lives in the atmosphere and surroundings of his own world. For this picture Jannings' own home at St. Wolfgang, where he owns one of the most beautiful estates, has been used, and shows Jannings enjoying farm life. Also, the population of the entire village is used in certain scenes together with Austrian bands and choruses.

Radaelli to Sing At Hippodrome

Giuseppe Radaelli, robust tenor of the La Scala Opera Company of Milan, Italy, will headline the vaudeville program at the Hippodrome this week. Radaelli was brought to this country by Lew Leslie for the International Revue but due to the length of the show the opening night, the tenor did not appear. Many of the critics at the time said that the short-lived revue would have fared better had Radaelli been put on instead of the now forgotten Argentina.

Ethel Barrymore Theat. 47 St. W. of Bway.

Eves., 8:45; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

"One of the most gripping plays of the season."—Burns Mantle, Success

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, Success

Tomorrow AND Tomorrow

with Zita JOHANN and HERBERT MARSHALL

HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

THE CRITICS RAVED!

"Precedent hailed and spat last night and by sheer force of plain speaking and sincerity, made itself seen, heard and deeply felt."—Gilbert Gabriel, American.

'PRECEDENT'

A Vivid and Stirring Drama

BIJOU THEATRE 43th St. W. of BWAY. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. LA 4-4034

ERLANGER'S

The Civic Light Opera Company presents

Gilbert & Sullivan "Gondoliers"

ALL STAR CAST OF 60 Direction of MILTON ABORN

Opens JUNE 15 "Patience" WORLD PREMIERE

"THRIFT PRICES" Eves: 50c to \$2. WED. MAT. 50c to \$1. SAT. MATS. 50c to \$1.50. "Capital entertainment for the end of a mindless season."—Times.

Norma Shearer in "A FREE SOUL"

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production presents this production, with a remarkable cast. LESLIE HOWARD, LIONEL BARRYMORE, JAMES GLEASON, CLARK GABLE, FRED WARD, and his Famous PENNSYLVANIANS and Radio Star KATE SMITH and a Charlie Chase Comedy

ASTOR 3 times Sat. Sun. & Holidays, 2:45-4:30 ALL SEATS RESERVED

"Ubangi," Filmed in The Heart of Africa, Begins Run at Cameo

Late in 1924 Belgian capital decided to send a medical expedition into the Congo to see what could be done towards the prevention of yellow fever and sleeping sickness. The expedition started from Belgium to the jungles of the Belgian Congo headed by Dr. Louis Neuman of Brussels; Dr. Jacques Maus of Antwerp; and Dr. Daniel Davenport of Canada and the United States.

At the very beginning of the expedition, Dr. Maus was stricken with yellow fever and died, leaving the work of official photographer to Dr. Davenport. Shortly after this calamity, Dr. Neuman was gored to death by a wild rhinoceros. In spite of the hardships that Dr. Davenport then had to endure alone, he continued his work in the jungle for five years, taking motion pictures of the interesting jungle life, as well as continuing his work of scientific research.

As a result of his contributions of data and specimens to the London museum and zoo, Dr. Davenport was made a Fellow of the Zoological Society, over 118 specimens of beast and fowl being shown on the screen. The picture was named "Ubangi," meaning expedition, and is now at the RKO Cameo Theatre.

"The Public Enemy" Moves to the Hipp; Dodge Sisters Top Big Stage Program

Besides "The Public Enemy," with James Cagney and Jean Harlow, direct from its sensational Broadway run, the Hippodrome this week offers an exceptional eight-act vaudeville program, headed by the Dodge Sisters, Beth and Bett, in a series of songs and steps set in the smartest frocks and fashions.

The others on the bill are Harry Kahne, the man with ten brains; Alice and Sonny Lamont, accompanied by their mother and dad; Howard, Fine and Howard with Ted Macke and Ruthie Goodwin; Worth and Thompson, syncopated dandies; Will Aubrey, the bard of the byways and Victoria and Lorenz, knockabout comics.

"The Band Wagon," Max Gordon's new revue by George S. Kaufman and Howard Dietz, will open at the New Amsterdam Theatre on Wednesday night, June 3, instead of June 4, as previously announced.

ROXY 7th Avenue and 50th Street

RAOUL WALSH'S WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

Fox Movietone laugh riot with VICTOR MEYERLEN EDMUND LOWE

Greta Nissen, El Brendel, FIFTY DORSA, MARJORIE WHITE

—ON THE STAGE— "TEMPTATIONS"

mammoth show ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Erno Rapee Conducting ROXYETTES, ROXY BALLET, ROXY CHORUS

12th Big Week! F. W. MURNAU'S

TABU

CENTRAL PARK THEATRE

7th Ave. & 59 St. Cont. Noon to Midnight

Pop. Prices Midnite Show Every Saturday

JOHN Barrymore

"Svengali" (The Hypnotist)

Marian Marsh

as "TRILEY" CONTINUOUS AT POPULAR PRICES

HOLLYWOOD Broadway & 51st St.

"MALTESE FALCON"

with BEBE DANIELS

RICARDO CORTES

Dashiell Hammett mystery thriller will hold you spellbound

Winter Garden

BROADWAY & 50th STREET

Continuously—Popular Prices

"Ubangi" Begins Run at the RKO Cameo Theatre



"Ubangi," the all talking animal feature photographed in the heart of Africa, is now at the Cameo theatre. This picture was taken by a medical expedition and shows more than 118 specimens of beasts and fowl.

Lew Ayres in "Up for Murder," a Newspaper Story, at the Globe

Lew Ayres is starred in Universal's "Up For Murder," a romance of the daily press which is the attraction at the Globe Theatre this week. Genevieve Tobin has the leading feminine role. Prominent in the cast are Dorothy Peterson, Frank McHugh, Funnell B. Pratt, Kenneth Thompson and Frederick Burt. Monta Bell directed.

The story concerns Robert Marshall, a helper in the circulation department of a metropolitan daily. The desire to write lands him on the staff as a cub reporter. The night of the presidential inaugural everybody is assigned but Bob, when the society editor, the beautiful young mistress of the publisher, demands of the city editor, an escort. Bob, in rented evening clothes, does the honors, and later writes his impressions of the affair from a cub's standpoint. The story is accidentally handed to the city editor, who likes it, and "runs" it in the next edition as a feature. Its reference to the society editor as the most beautiful woman there is the beginning of a love

"The Five Year Plan; Russia's Remaking," Begins Run at Central

An actual photographic record of the vital changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union today will be unfolded at the Central Theatre, commencing Friday evening, May 29th, with the presentation by the Amkino Corporation of "The Five Year Plan: Russia's Remaking," a full-length feature film. Performances thereafter will be twice daily at 2:45 and 8:45, with an additional performance on Saturdays and Sundays.

The Soviet Five Year Plan embraces a period from 1928 to 1933 and now, with the half-way mark passed, comes this authentic version of its achievements to date. In a graphic and vivid fashion, "The Five Year Plan: Russia's Remaking" depicts the creation of a new Russia, showing a primarily agrarian country being transformed into a land of gigantic steel mills, of super power plants and vast agricultural enterprises.

Every phase of Russia's new development is revealed in "The Five Year Plan: Russia's Remaking."

TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION!

The Sound Camera makes the dirtiest continent give up its most amazing and closely guarded secrets.

UBANGI

A rare and thrilling record of hitherto undiscovered monsters... customs of odd humans and queer beasts.

RKO CAMEO 42nd & Bway.

SEE THE 5-YEAR PLAN IN ACTION!

AMKINO PRESENTS

The 5-YEAR PLAN

RUSSIA'S REMAKING—A Talking Film (In English)

An Actual Photographic Record of the Changes Which Are Taking Place TODAY in the FIVE-YEAR PLAN

CENTRAL Theatre, B'way & 47th St.—Twice Daily, Matinees, 2:45. Evenings, 8:15—Reserved Seats on Sale at Box Office Now.

An Entirely New Role for **EMIL JANNINGS**

See him as a light-hearted artist—joyful and jolly in

"THE GROSSE TENOR"

Directed by ERICH POMMER. A UFA Production

UFA COSMOPOLITAN Theatre, Columbus Circle

Noon to Midnight—Popular Prices

CAPITOL Broadway and 51st Street

Major Edward Bower, Mgr. Dir.

RAMON NOVARRO

at his romantic best in M-G-M's

DAYBREAK

Arthur Schnitzler's immortal novel with HELEN CHANDLER, JEAN HERSHOLT, C. ALBERT SMITH

—ON THE STAGE—

FRED WARING and his Famous PENNSYLVANIANS and Radio Star KATE SMITH and a Charlie Chase Comedy

Biggest Show in New York

8 ACTS

Greatest Gags Film ever made!

THE PUBLIC ENEMY

JAMES CAGNEY JEAN HARLOW

25¢

ROXY HIPPODROME 6th Ave. & 43rd St.

Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 18th St., New York.

Contributors To Drive Urged To Give Again

Views of Socialist Party Activities Reported From the States

(By A Special New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Norman Thomas, passing through this city where the national headquarters of the Socialist Party are located, went over the drive results with Clarence Senior. Before leaving, he issued a statement praising the work of the office, and calling upon all those who can to duplicate previous contributions to the Socialist Forward Drive.

He found that, if no more money comes in to the drive office, the work of national headquarters will be practically handicapped. There will be a deficit of almost \$10,000, which must be made up by the office. He said that the office will have to cut down severely on the work it is doing, and do what remains in an unsatisfactory manner. He said that the office is very short of staff, and that the office is very short of staff, and that the office is very short of staff.

Since all possible lists have been used, Thomas and Senior decided that there was only one place to turn, and that was to those who have already contributed.

Locals Send More

During the week there have been more subscription lists received from locals and branches than in any previous week. This indicates that the party organizations are not giving down on the job. However, the number of those responding is yet small, and each member is urged to see that his branch or local makes an appropriate contribution from its treasury, or circulates the list.

Those contributing this week are listed below. Those paying on pledges, or contributing additional sums are indicated.

Oscar Stierman \$15.00
Aaron Terman 15.00
John Peterson 1.00
Frank Kingdon 5.00
Mrs. M. C. Malyn 1.00
W. C. Branch 304 2.00
F. C. Burke 1.00
H. C. Williams 2.50
Theodore Rome 1.00
John Kask 25.00
Fred Fischer 1.00
J. J. and W. H. Stahl 10.00
Local Meriden 110.35
W. C. Branch 56 1.00
Labor Lyceum A. A. 5.00
Paul D. Field L. W. 1.00
A. L. Miller 1.00
Paul Porter 10.00
Maurius Hansome 6.00
John Anderson 1.00
F. Grossman 10.00
Caul Sultan (Ad.) 10.00
Gertrude C. Bussey 10.00
Adolph Lindberg 10.00
Angelo Zamparo 2.00
Local Norwalk, Conn. 122.81
John Sweet 5.00
J. J. Bardley 1.00
Jeanette Marks 10.00
H. O. Fuhberg (Ad.) 2.00
John Keister 2.00
G. H. Burgesmeister 1.00
H. Young 1.00
Donald L. MacNeal 1.00
David G. George 10.00
Constance L. Springer 4.00
William Zeitlin 1.00
Harry L. Woodward 5.00
Jacob Weinstein 5.00
M. Pogorelec 1.00
Herman Mirinoff 2.00
J. Cooper 1.00
F. J. Steinberg 1.00
Eugene Naysmith 3.00
Harriet Boyd Hawes 10.00
H. J. Johnson 1.00
H. J. Christina 1.00
Robert Childs 1.00
N. E. Eager 1.00
F. Beutelschies 1.00
H. J. Johnson 1.00
Thomas McGee 5.00
John Towlin 10.00
Mrs. J. B. Brown and family 5.00
T. Derritt 1.00
Katie M. Ward 10.00
Dennis Coffey 2.00
Leo L. Rockwell 3.00
Fred Holbrook 2.50
H. H. Faine 1.00
J. J. O'Leary 10.00
George L. Varney 2.00
Local Yuma, Ariz. 10.00
Branch No. 3, Falconer, N. J. 1.00
K. Kraus 1.00
Obermaster 1.00
L. Roth 1.00
Zuckerman 1.00
Henry Schulte 1.00
P. Beckwith 1.00
Martha A. Inglesbe 1.00
Agnes H. Downing 5.00
August Pakjarnak 1.00
J. Lumppio 5.00
Otto Weisman 1.00
Karl Blamfeldt 5.00
Frank Calton 1.00
Henry Erickson 3.00
John Knuslate 1.00
Matt Mattson 1.00
John Siren 1.00
M. Saunders 5.00
A. T. Swartz 5.00
W. S. McGraw 1.00
John K. White 5.00
H. J. Faine 5.00
Gust Carlson 1.00
B. L. Hoover 10.00
Charles Pogorelec 1.00
Mrs. Margaret M. Courte 2.00
Charles R. Hill 1.00
Dr. Louis Silver 2.00
Anna Hoy 1.00
Henry W. Pinkham 1.00
Frank P. McClelland 1.00
E. M. Butcher 1.00
Clay Hubbard 1.00
Dr. H. I. Morehead 1.00
Albert J. Kennis 1.00
A. E. Eager 1.00
Fred Johnson 5.00
N. Chafin 5.00
George Rosengran 5.00
P. Cow 1.00
Elizabeth Gilman 25.00
T. H. Philpot 1.00
Warrett Mattingly 2.00
H. J. Sweet 1.00
F. G. Anderson 1.00
B. J. Baxter 1.00
Mrs. Emma Byrne 1.00
Mrs. Lacy 1.00

Young L.A. Socialists Complete Half Of Organizing Tour In California

LOS ANGELES.—Starting from Los Angeles on April 2 for a Socialist tour of California, earning their own expenses as they went, Roger Rush and Hyman Sheinin have returned to Los Angeles for a few days after covering the Southern tier. They will start on the northern and longer leg May 21. The state Executive Committee is holding a banquet in their honor, Tuesday, May 19, at the Arbor Cafeteria, and on Wednesday evening the Jewish Socialist Verband is holding a supper for them.

During their five weeks in southern California, the two organized locals in Santa Ana, San Diego, and San Bernardino, and revived the locals in Redlands and La Habra. They also organized two Young People's Socialist League circles, and obtained a total of sixty-five new members to the Socialist Party, as well as several subscriptions to Socialist papers.

Large meetings were held in every town. In La Habra the national office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, in the three meetings more than

250 people heard the message of Socialism. In Santa Ana a small hall was rented for their meeting. There was such a large crowd that a larger hall had to be taken. More than 175 people were present. The same story was true all along the route. At every meeting there were large and enthusiastic audiences.

Rush and Sheinin are members of the Young People's Socialist League of Los Angeles. They are traveling in an old Ford car, camping out when necessary. They expect to accomplish much more in the north as the towns are much closer together.

This is one of the best and most inexpensive ways of building up the party. Every state should have similar expeditions on the road. The initial expense is small; car, camping equipment, and literature to sell. Almost every state has two young people willing to go, especially with vacation so close, and the public more receptive than ever before. The national office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, will help any Socialists interested.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN
Tuesday, June 2, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh street and Second avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Louis B. Lieberman and others.
Wednesday, June 3, 8:30 p. m.—12th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers: May H. Mainland, Jessie W. Hugan, William Hade.
Wednesday, June 3, 8:30 p. m.—180th street and St. Nicholas avenue. Speakers: Max Delson, M. Muravchik, E. Koppel, R. Benien, F. Hodgson.
Thursday, June 4, 8:30 p. m.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Bert Brautrow, Louis D. Lieberman.
Friday, June 5, 8:30 p. m.—31st street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Leonard Kaye, Paul Porter, T. D. O'Brien, Jr.
Friday, June 5, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh street and Avenue C. Speakers: Hyman Sheinin, Roger Rush, Hyman Sheinin, Nathan Riesel.
Saturday, June 6, 8:30 p. m.—Columbus circle. Speakers: Warren Morris, Harry N. Perlmutter and others.

Indiana

The movement in Marion and in Indianapolis was given a big boost last week when Fred D. Warren spoke at both cities. Marion, where the local party has been inactive for ten years, had a splendid meeting, outstripping some held when the Socialists had three members of the city council and ran for the mayoralty race. Rev. S. S. Condo, a personal friend of Debs opened the meeting. It was arranged and a veteran organizer for the party, by Ernest Malot, who is the organizer for the party in the city of Marion, including a number of young people.

South Dakota

Six meetings for Norman Thomas in one day were arranged by Local Huron. He spoke to a college class in history, to a group of 185 students, to an audience of 125 on "The Way to Peace," to an audience of 65 on "What is Socialism?" and on the radio to an indeterminate audience, mostly farmers. Several former Socialist workers, reports Daniel J. O'Connell, local secretary, have come out of the despair that has gripped them since the post-war collapse of the South Dakota organization, and younger members have also been added.

Illinois

SOCIALIST FORUM.—Professor Harry F. Gidson, of the department of political economy of the University of Chicago, will speak for the Socialist open forum of the 6th C. D. Branch at the "America's Economy" Rev. S. S. Condo, on Thursday, June 4, 8:30 p. m., at 2653 Washington boulevard. Admission free to all. The forum is planning to open forum meetings during the summer in one city park.

Pennsylvania

GREENSBURG.—Friends and comrades of Harry Eckard, secretary of the New Kensington branch, were shocked to learn of his death. For many years he was an earnest worker for Socialism and labor in Western Pennsylvania. He rejoiced in life, saying it was no brief candle but a torch which he wanted to burn brightly before passing on.

COLLINGSVILLE.

A public meeting was called here by two comrades and about 75 workers attended. Jane Tate of Philadelphia was the speaker and the whole audience organized a party local. The members are all unemployed but will employ their time working for Socialism.

FITTSBURGH.

With only two workers' rest from a strenuous speaking campaign, Frank R. Crosswaith is beginning a month's work in Pennsylvania with meeting here Monday, May 25. In a three-month tour which has taken him from Boston to Los Angeles and back to New York, Crosswaith has been speaking almost every day, and sometimes several times a day, emphasizing his economic interpretation of the race question. His speeches were instrumental in the election of a Socialist Mayor in Racine, Wis.

Maryland

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—The committee has decided to urge the national executive committee to change the dues system to ten cents for each member per month. The party will hold a special convention on Sept. 13. The committee urged the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature and favored passage of an unemployment insurance bill.

New York State

ALBANY.—The last meeting at State Headquarters, 467 Broadway, was held Wednesday evening. The new meeting place will be announced next week. The building in which State Headquarters has been located will be torn down. The Unitarian Church Forum has agreed to sponsor the L. I. D. course of lectures next winter.

N. Y. Picnic Will Be Held On July 25th

Socialists and Unions to Co-operate—Activities in the N. Y. Branches

The great annual gathering of the New York Socialists laborites and their friends is scheduled for this year at Ulmer Park on Saturday, July 25.

This year's picnic will be the fourth of a series of annual affairs which have proven to be most inspiring as well as gigantic from the viewpoint of the many who turn out for the occasion. This year plans are now being worked out which will undoubtedly exceed all previous records. Upwards of 25,000 people have attended other picnics.

The program will be elaborate and of sufficient variety to appeal to all. Sports, including not only the usual games by prominent teams, baseball and field events will also be included as well as pageants, concerts, games and other amusements. Continuous dance music will be played in the spacious dance hall from 12 noon to after midnight. All in all, the program will provide something doing all the time.

The picnic is sponsored by the joint picnic committee, which makes it possible for all organizations to participate as individual units sharing in the profits. All organizations, Socialist Party branches, Workmen's Circle branches, trade unions, sport groups, pacifist groups and others can secure special allotments of tickets, printed with the name of their own organization at extremely low figures, allowing each organization, the far greater profit from the sale of the tickets. This offers the various groups an opportunity to bring a large number of members together for a good time, especially during the summer when all organization activities slow up.

Thursday, June 4, 8:30 p. m.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Bert Brautrow, Louis D. Lieberman.
Friday, June 5, 8:30 p. m.—31st street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Leonard Kaye, Paul Porter, T. D. O'Brien, Jr.
Friday, June 5, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh street and Avenue C. Speakers: Hyman Sheinin, Roger Rush, Hyman Sheinin, Nathan Riesel.
Saturday, June 6, 8:30 p. m.—Columbus circle. Speakers: Warren Morris, Harry N. Perlmutter and others.

New York City

Volunteer typists wanted.—There is a large amount of typing to be done in the city office preparatory to the primary election. This work consists of typing up the names of the enrolled Socialist voters. The city office staff is too small to handle this job along with its other work. The city office is looking for volunteer typists. A number of these will be gladly furnished them by enrollment books, paper, etc. If we can get volunteers on this job, it will be easy for the city office to handle.

NOON DAY MEETINGS.—The committee on literature, propaganda and meetings has decided to run noon day meetings and is seeking a survey of favorable locations. A number of speakers have volunteered. More are urged to do so. What is needed are committees to take care of these meetings, managing platform, distributing literature and obtaining signatures for the unemployment insurance petitions. All who can assist are urged to get in touch with the city office at once.

City Central Committee.

The committee will meet Wednesday, June 3, at 8:30 p. m., in the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

CHelsea.—MANHATTAN

Thursday, June 2, the branch will convene at headquarters, 8 Van Nest place, for important business, part of which is the election of delegates to the county convention, and nomination of local candidates in the branch's districts.

4th A. D.—The enrolled Socialist voters' meeting last Monday was fairly successful. A number of new members were obtained. A special meeting will be held Wednesday evening, June 3, at 204 East Broadway. Nominations for local candidates will be made.

6th A. D.—Norman Thomas will speak Wednesday evening, June 3, in the Rand School Auditorium in answer to critics of his new book, "America's Way Out." Admission is free. Proceeds will be devoted to meeting the expense of the branch. Comrades from all branches are urged to cooperate.

Manhattan borough convention to nominate a candidate for Borough President will be held Tuesday, June 9, at 8:30 p. m., in the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

8th A. D.—On Friday, June 5, Jacob Bernstein will speak on "Social Forces in American History Which Retarded

Dr. Louis Sabloff.

Bradford. 6.—Harry Lichtenberg. 7.—Samuel Richman. 8.—A. F. Zenger. 9.—Ida Sondeck. 10.—Ben Senitzer. 11.—J. D. Ortilip. 12.—Kurt Sell. 13.—Daniel F. Gage. 14.—Sol Sherman. 15.—Irving Wolf. 16.—Nathaniel Riesel. 17.—Ethel L. Amerlin. 18.—Sarah Volovick. 19.—Henry Koelzer. 20.—Bernard Schub. 21.—Fred E. Stevens. 22.—Harry Haworth. 23.—J. F. Mincher. 24.—Abe Belsky. 25.—Pierre de Nio.

Branches Competing

The 23rd A. D., Brooklyn branch and the Chelsea branch are running a little contest of their own to see which branch can sell more New Leaders at open air meetings. So far Chelsea is ahead. Any branch can get into this contest. There is no prize except the satisfaction of getting people better acquainted with the Socialist movement. Jack Altman reports that a twenty-one eagerly bought copies at one meeting, and that several asked, "Where can we get this paper?" and stated they wanted to get the New Leader regularly. And nobody had a subscription blank! But this won't happen next time, we have been assured.

Charles Samarsky and Harry Lopatin

were elected New Leader Agents at a meeting of the East New York Socialist Action Committee. Good results may be expected from them as they are enthusiastic, energetic workers.

In the Williamsburg district, Vanguard Yipels were out in full force last week, advertising and selling the New Leader, while in New York, last Saturday, along the route of the anti-air maneuvers parade, other Yipels disposed of a good many copies.

The Development of Socialism in the United States

will be held at the headquarters, 327 East Ninth street, at 9 p. m.

BRONX

1st A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday, June 2, at 8:30 p. m., in the Workmen's Circle Center, 615 East 140th street, Sidney Heriberg will lecture on "American Imperialism."

2nd A. D.—A branch meeting will be held Tuesday evening, June 2, in the new clubrooms at 908 Prospect avenue. Henry Fruchter will speak on "Social Fundamentals." The branch is arranging open air meetings throughout the district.

7th A. D.—Street meetings are being held weekly and are very successful. The meetings prove that there is a stirring of revolt against present conditions. The speakers are well received and large crowds assemble.

AMALGAMATED CO-OPERATIVE.—The branch related that the last Friday's banquet in her honor. The campaign committee is arranging open air meetings for every Saturday. On Friday evening, June 12, Hillet Rogoff, editor of the "New Leader," will speak on "The Labor and Socialist Movement in Europe and Palestine."

4th A. D.—Branch meeting Thursday, June 3, in the new Bronx headquarters, 908 Prospect avenue, at 8:30 p. m. A speaker will address the gathering after a brief business meeting.

BROOKLYN

County committee.—At the meeting Wednesday, May 20, there was a considerable improvement in attendance. Eleven branches were represented. The following officers were elected for the year: organizer, Charles Sunarsky; permanent chairman, Louis Sadoff; financial secretary and treasurer, Ann Gould; recording and corresponding secretary, Lillian Sunarsky; executive committee, Rosebaum, Max H. Frank, Louis Epstein, Bernard Maxwell. Delegates to the city executive committee, Joseph F. Viola, Louis Epstein, Fred Smith, Frank Rosen, far. This newly elected executive committee will meet shortly to consider proposals, strengthening of branches, organization of a borough membership meeting, establishment of Kings County lectures bureau, opening of an educational center in Brooklyn, and a county open air rally for July 4.

Downtown.—Street meetings have been held during the last few weeks. Large and interesting audiences attend. Plenty of heckling and questions. The crowd is decidedly friendly and snatches up the leaflets and applications for the unemployment insurance. A meeting will be held Friday evening in various parts of South Brooklyn.

Williamsburg.—An enrolled Socialist meeting will be held Friday evening, June 4, at 8:30 p. m., in the home of Mrs. Tabkin. The speaker will be invited.

12th A. D.—An enrolled Socialist meeting is planned for Friday evening, June 19, in the home of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Frank Smith, 7 East 57th street. The speaker will be invited.

16th A. D.—A women's section of the branch held its first meeting May 19, and the following officers: Mrs. Tabkin, organizer; Pauline Levine, secretary and treasurer; Beatrice Nemer, recording secretary. The group will meet twice a month in the home of Mrs. Tabkin. A large party to raise funds will be held June 9, in the home of Mrs. Levine, 2348 81st street.

Joint agitation committee.—The 2nd, 18th, 22nd and 23rd A. D.'s met on Monday evening, May 18, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, for the purpose of forming a joint agitation committee. This committee is to consist of three members from each of the branches with at least one Yipel from each circle in these four districts. The committee will be subject to ratification by each respective branch. Those nominated are: Rosenfarb, Mallis, Platoff, Epstein, Cohen, Gould, Gross, Shapiro, Breslow, Hadda, Schuchman, Altman, Weiss, Lopatin, Judah Altman, Kurinsky and Straussman. A collection was taken up to start the work off. \$21.50 was collected. Comrade Sadoff was elected treasurer.

18th A. D. Branch 2.—A meeting will be held Monday, June 1, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 327 East Ninth street. The speaker will be invited.

18th A. D. Branch 1.—A meeting will be held Monday, June 1, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 327 East Ninth street. The speaker will be invited.

INTERNATIONAL

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.—Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUN-2-3031. Organized by Kaufman, General President; Secretary.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.

LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 22 West 21st Street. Penn. 6-7392. Meets every Tuesday at 8:30 p. m. M. S. Morfin, S. Sager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, 400 Broadway, New York City. Meets every Tuesday at 8:30 p. m. S. Sager, President; S. Sager, Secretary.

FREE YOUTH.—A publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It is a free paper, in concise form, the details of progressive work. It is a free paper, in concise form, the details of progressive work. It is a free paper, in concise form, the details of progressive work.

National Notes

NATIONAL JAMBOREE.—Among the nationally known labor and socialist leaders to appear on the program on July 11 and 12 are James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, and Harry W. Ladd, president of the Hosiery Workers who has just been framed on a "conspiracy" charge, and William E. Bohn, educational director of the Rand School.

ALBANY.—On Friday, May 22, Emanuel Switkes, national secretary and Harold N. Seibert, NEC member, visited the new Alenstown circle. Members were urged to become active and suggestions were made for further programs. At the next meeting at the Labor Lyceum, 126 N. 6th street, Russell J. Boos, a lawyer on strike, will acquire his fellow socialists with the conditions that compelled the silk workers to resist the demands of their masters. At the following meeting, Althea Meyer will review O'Neal's "Workers in American History."

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Comrades Rush and Sheinin have been on the road spreading our gospel. They have been in the San Joaquin valley, in St. Anna and the other in Redlands, in addition to getting several party branches started. Says Roger, "We're not done yet, on the northern part of our trip we expect to start Yipel circles in at least Fresno, Sacramento and San Francisco, probably in some other places also." Comrade Rush continues, "Hymie and I plan to come to Reading for the Jamboree in our fliver, now known as Karl Marx Jr."

NEWARK, N. J.—Newark held two successful meetings with August Claessens and Samuel Friedman of New York. Both meetings were marked by interesting questions and enthusiastic singing. A study group is meeting every Monday night, discussing Socialist philosophy and following a regular schedule. "A gang is planning to come out to the Jamboree from Newark," comrade Walker writes.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—John Weber, secretary of the Milwaukee County Central Committee writes: "Dear comrade Switkes, We received your letter concerning the Jamboree, and wish to say we are going to have a large representation there, as well as in the Southern Journal. We are starting to go out for ads, and expect quite a few to come from a big success."

QUEENS COUNTY

Sunnyside Branch.—At a meeting last Sunday a special committee was elected to work with the executive committee. The removal and transfer of a number of active members has been found to overcome this loss. Comrade Stanley F. Gest reported in behalf of The New Leader conference, August Claessens spoke on "Methods of Conducting Effective Street Meetings."

County Committee.—A meeting will be held on Sunday afternoon, May 31, in the office of Comrade Schuchman, 327 East Ninth street, at 9 p. m.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNARS EMBROIDERERS UNION

Local 84, L. I. C. W. G. U. 2, 180 St. Algonquin, 4-267-34. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the Office of the President, 180 St. Algonquin, 4-267-34. President, Leon Hattab, Manager; William Altman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL No. 2, Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone Stage 421. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Friday evening. Charles Pfaff, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Strick, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Rec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. East 15th Street. Meetings every Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY ISIDORE LEFF Secretary Business Agents

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174 A. M. C. & B. W. of N.A. 243 E. 84th St. Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday 10 A.M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p.m.

CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION

A. G. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office, 40-42 W. 17th Street; Styvessan Square, 3rd floor. Phone ALgonquin 4-000-1-3-4. Sydney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlosberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tomkins Square 8400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Manager; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-19 Union Square, 3rd floor. Phone ALgonquin 4-000-1-3-4. Sydney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlosberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

Cloth Bld., Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone ORchard 9860-1-4. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P.M. Manager, Sec'y-Treas. Oper. Sec'y, Reg. Sec'y, and all other officers meet every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUN-2-3031. Organized by Kaufman, General President; Secretary.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.

LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 22 West 21st Street. Penn. 6-7392. Meets every Tuesday at 8:30 p. m. M. S. Morfin, S. Sager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, 400 Broadway, New York City. Meets every Tuesday at 8:30 p. m. S. Sager, President; S. Sager, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION

Local 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular meetings every Wednesday evening, at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th Street. F. Volkmann, active Vice President; H. Meyer, Rec. Sec'y; J. Rosenwald, Fin. Sec'y and Treas. Wm. R. Nickerson, Business Agent.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION

Local 11016, A. F. of L. 7, 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:30 p. m. in the office. Ed. Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION

Local 11016, A. F. of L. 7, 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:30 p. m. in the office. Ed. Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION

Local 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper

NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neal

Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Al-

gerton Lee, Harry W. Lauder, Norman

Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wal-

lace, H. H. Hays, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John

M. Work, McAlister, Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stan-

ley, Louis Waldman.



SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year Postpaid in the United States \$3.00
Six Months Postpaid in the United States 1.50
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries \$3.00

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles 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 pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1931

Railroad Regulation

WHEN Joseph B. Eastman, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, criticizes regulation as a solution of the railroad problem and suggests an advance beyond this to a form of semi-public ownership he challenges a sacred American dogma. Regulation was resorted to in the eighties to divert attention from a growing sentiment for public ownership. The railroad corporations were arrogant thieves, looting the government, the farmers and shippers. Members of Congress, especially members of the Senate, wore the collar of some railroad corporation. A roll call of the railroads in that body would bring a response from many members.

So the railroad anarchists submitted to "regulation" and the anarchists in turn saw to it that men favorable to them became regulators. Some of the worst phases of the looting were checked in the interest of the railroads themselves, just as a physician advises a glutton to restrain his appetite on the ground that otherwise he would commit suicide. The result has been, as Eastman points out, "the present system of divided responsibility and dual control."

Thus the railroads have vegetated in a twilight zone between collective control and private ownership. The soul of the Coolidge-Hoover "individualism" has wandered between the one and the other and has been mocked by both. Each claims it and each disowns it. "Individualism" is like a jobless man uncertain of his place in the scheme of things but as a wanderer it has the blessing of Hoover and the official editorial police of capitalism.

Socialism alone will give the wanderer a home. By collective ownership it will discharge the anarchists and give the individual a chance to live without being gouged by glorified exploiters.

Five Noble Judges

WE favor a new declaration of "inalienable rights" which will confirm the right of judges to be perfect asses. Five men eminently learned in the law and robed as justices of the supreme judicial tribunal of this country have denied citizenship to two applicants. Four other men as eminently learned and members of the same body favored granting citizenship to the two applicants. To five the Constitution means one thing and to four it means something else. Reading the opinions of both we favor conferring the degree of Doctor of Asininity upon members of the majority.

Here are a man and a woman who served in the World War, the man seeing service at the front as a chaplain and the woman as a nurse. Both have scruples against bearing arms but are willing to serve in other capacities. Those other capacities are considered as essential in the conduct of war as bearing arms itself. The oath required of applicants, as Chief Justice Hughes points out, is the same as that administered to Federal office holders and it does not contain a promise to bear arms.

"Remember, when the judgment's weak the prejudice is strong."

Mr. Doughbag's War

IT is more than a decade since the soldiers returned from the job of making the world "safe for democracy." Many of them volunteered in the service of the fat boys of capital and finance upon their return by breaking up meetings of Socialists and others. Having used them for reaction the money-bags now turn an indifferent ear to them.

The Stars and Stripes, organ of the veterans, understands something of what has happened. It goes so far in its war against Money-bags and his kind as to say that the soldiers fought for big business. It has accepted the Socialist interpretation of the war. The following paragraph is illuminating:

In those days Big Business wanted protection. Should our forces fail to achieve victory

on the field of battle the enemy might break through and invade this country. That would mean great losses to the men who hold the strings of the nation's moneybags. It would also interfere with the personal comfort of these men. In those days our big business men placed their trust in the men who wore the uniform; anything and everything was promised, so long as Mr. Doughbags could remain safely at home and count up his profits as they rolled in.

This is a belated discovery but better late than never. Legion clubs were aimed at our skulls for saying the same thing years ago, but as this organ observes, "this is another day. Big business has its profits safely invested in gilt-edge securities" so it has no further interest in the soldiers. It is true that "big business was growing abnormally fast" during the war but many of the soldiers would not let us say it ten years ago.

However, we are glad that they are saying it now. It will help them to guard against sending their sons to another war for Mr. Doughbags.

Nervous Nellies

IT is amusing to note the nervous disorders of the prosperity chorus. They don't know what is the matter. They only know that capitalism is in a bad way. Why it broke down they either do not know or pretend not to know. How to get it on its feet is beyond their ken. They will approve most anything that does not interfere with the disease that brought its collapse. They are Nervous Nellies apprehensive of what is ahead. The New York Herald Tribune tries to comfort all and sundry with this observation:

What business improvement or decline lies ahead in the months to come no man can predict. But, as the demand of Senator La Follette indicated, the politicians are certain to beset the government with increasing insistence. The contest between socialism and individualism may well come to a head sooner than any one has foreseen. It is all the more reassuring to know that in such a period the nation possesses a President with the wisdom to judge economic factors aright and the courage to act promptly and decisively on the side of Americanism.

Here is a note of uncertainty and dread, fear that a "contest between Socialism and individualism" is just ahead, and a lame conclusion that it is fortunate we have a president "with the wisdom to judge economic factors aright." The fact is that the President does not have that wisdom and he is just as much scared, puzzled, and uncertain as the Herald Tribune. He had broadcast a rosy utopia in 1928 and the following year the whole structure came tumbling about his head. There was no more surprised man than Hoover when the thing collapsed and nobody was less surprised than the Socialist. To credit him with "wisdom to judge economic factors aright" is absurd in face of the record.

Be careful, gentlemen; the Socialist bogey man will get you if you don't watch out.

IN A NUTSHELL

The worst is over and trade is gaining, declared Farrell of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and then he went to a good dinner just to show that he is in earnest.

Every cog in every wheel that revolves has been made by the working class, and is set and kept in operation by the working class; and if the working class can make and operate this marvelous wealth-producing machinery, they can also develop the intelligence to make themselves the masters of this machinery and operate it, not to turn out millionaires, but to produce wealth in abundance for themselves.—Eugene V. Debs.

Hoover and the postal chiefs believe that the saving in the postoffice department in two years will amount to \$53,000,000. At the rate of increased sweating of postal workers the past two years we have no doubt that they will realize their happy goal and that some of the workers will be able to find a breadline.

Permanent armies have been established ostensibly to repulse foreigners, but in reality to oppress citizens.—Rousseau.

For the working class its political action is to its industrial organization what the scaffolding is to the building of a house. Only after the house has been built does the scaffolding become superfluous.—Will Craik.

Secretary of Labor Doak in deporting alien radicals to countries that mean death for them need not fear for a job if Hoover is defeated next year. He is qualifying as executioner in some penitentiary.

We want to get rid of the militarist, not simply because he hurts and kills, but because he is an intolerable thick-headed blockhead who stands hectoring and blustering in our way to achievement.—H. G. Wells.

Bishop Manning has no objections to armaments and has the courage to say so. We hope that in the next war Manning will have the courage to man a machine gun and we will support his application for a place in the first line trenches. We hope that Wall Street will grant him a leave of absence.

Karl Marx

NO worshippers in holy reverence bow,
Nor bend the knee where rests his honored clay;
No prayers ascend, nor registered a vow
For pious hands the universe to sway.
Pure reason asks no gods, but manly men
Who, scorning worship, with their heads erect
Give voice to Truth and wield a fearless pen
To honor him with homage and respect.
No potentate, nor seer for worlds beyond,
Was he, to preach content to misery;
World unity he asked, to strike the bond
From shackled limbs and set the whole world free.
No fetish his, as where some pagan kneels—
If God there be, how can the just offend?
Is Truth and Justice less than coward appeals
For heaven, to a comrade and a friend?
He bore the thorns, with loved ones in the thrall,
Where idlers feasted midst the toilers' wail,
Abundance scorning where 'twas not for all,
With reason, faith and courage none could daunt;
He blazed the torch, when dimmed in Freedom's hand,
Until new lustre shone in crimson flame,
To flash the light of Truth o'er every land,
Where lips of comrades breathe his honored name.

The 'United Front' Is Defined

Last week, the New Leader carried a report of the New York "United Front Conference," for National Youth Day, which remembered that the Ypsel delegate felt it was unable to co-operate with the Communists, because of their past record in similar affairs and expressed a belief that inviting the Socialists to participate was not done in good faith.

In this connection, it is of interest to read an article in this week's Young Worker which deals with attempts made to interest the Chicago Yipsels in joint activity. Quotation follows: "Not knowing how to go about in making a proper united front, due to inexperience, we have made a serious error. The branch (Yipsels) elected delegates, but instead of electing rank and file members, members of the city committee were elected. We should have understood that the leadership would not permit rank and file members to go as delegates, because they fear the militancy of the rank and file, and also because they know that the rank and file could be won over, and the worst case to it that the leadership themselves would be elected. So we should have worked from within, organizing the rank and file, and getting a delegate from the rank and file. If we would have the rank and file definitely organized into an opposition group, we could use this group to fight for a rank and file delegation to the conference. But we have learned this only as a result of our mistake. We must at the present time prepare ourselves and make a united front with the rank and file of these organizations. We must prepare the rank and file to smash all of the Socialist youth organizations and win them over towards the Young Communist League and all of our mass organizations."

In their own words, that is the spirit and intent with which the Communists call for unity and co-operation. They have betrayed themselves once more as wreckers of working-class organizations and working-class unity, and every Socialist must be on guard against these treacherous tactics.

Party Heads
Laud Work of
Mrs. Ingerman

FUNERAL services for the late Dr. Anna Ingerman, wife of Dr. Sergius Ingerman, who died last week, were held in the Ford Building on Friday of last week at 11 a. m. Algernon Lee of the Rand School of Social Science, presided at the ceremonies.

Practically every organization and institution associated in some way with the Socialist movement was represented and the services were the most impressive held over a departed comrade in many years. Comrade Ingerman and her husband had for many years given devoted service to the Socialist movement in this country and to the

THE I. L. P. PROGRAM
Editor, The New Leader:
It was with interest and surprise that I read your editorial in the issue of May 2 on the I. L. P. program. Your criticisms were, to say the least, provocative, but is it not a rule in criticism to first understand the mentality which produces that which you criticize?

The chief psychological item to bear in mind when you criticize an I. L. P. manifesto is the fact that whereas in America "Socialist Party" is the accepted term, in Europe it is the I. L. P. program. The I. L. P. refers to itself as the "I. L. P. Movement"—which most people seem to think is a significant difference. As a "movement" expressive of the people's fundamental discontent with the capitalist system the I. L. P. considers itself ultimately invincible as long as it keeps its Socialist unadulterated, and as such a movement is not apt to be notorious for tact. It has a selfish habit of framing its programs with scant regard for mere parties. It even goes so far as to consider that any Socialist Party which needs a coalition with capitalist parties to save it from extinction is better extinct, so clarifying the political atmosphere for the real struggle between capitalism and a true people's movement, tested by reaction. Of course, not everyone agrees with their idea that the real struggle, usually the pendulum of progress are preferable to coalitions which cause cynical confusion in the minds of the voters besides frequently vitiating the purity of Socialist idealism of the group itself; and, do you know, it seems rather odd to me to think of a Socialist body, sternly determined on the replacement of capitalism with its own system compromising and coalescing with the monstrosity it seeks so ardently to destroy!

When the I. L. P. framed that program Spanish conditions probably completely slipped their minds, though it is possible that they consider a Socialist movement still needs to stand for Socialism as much against a Republican as a monarchist capitalism. After all, the only appreciable difference to the workers is usually only the title, don't you think? Your paragraph on their attitude to the League of Nations is rather well-bewildering. I always thought that Socialist movements were in existence as the people's instrument for fighting capitalist governments and institutions, and if this assumption is correct, why is it not logical for them to do international work and try to aim to do nationally? For instance, boycotting the imperialist-ridden League of Nations? Or is the League international government itself?

Finally, it is most unworthy of you, as a publication which has hitherto prided itself upon not insulting the intelligence of its readers, after devoting three paragraphs to discrediting with the uncompromising clarity

President Hoover, Wage-Slasher

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S proposed magical "saving" of \$53,000,000 from the budget of the Post Office Department—of which, he claims, without any explanation, \$38,000,000 will have been saved by June 30—is awakening the skeptical interest of 225,000 employees of that department. In private conversation they pronounce his plan "a lot of hooey." They agree that the money could be saved, by increasing the postage rates on second-class matter and by stopping the ship subsidy game, but they do not expect Postmaster General Brown to permit any such peril to the administration's political machine to raise its head.

Picayune saving, at the expense of the veteran postoffice workers, has already been started. On May 7, Arch Coleman, First Assistant Postmaster General, issued a circular letter to postmasters which forbade any promotions of employees in the service except those made mandatory by law. This order affected some 1,000 special clerks and robbed them of \$100 a year each.

"It is believed," Coleman wrote, "that the employees affected will cheerfully accept this as their share of the burden now being borne by the great majority of their fellow citizens both in and out of the government service. At the same time they are encouraged to look hopefully to the future when changed conditions will make it possible to safely lift the ban against promotions and return to the old system of rewarding merit

revolutionary movement in Russia in the days of Czarism.

Morris Hillquit represented the Socialist Party; Abraham Cahan, Forward Association; Philip Gelpi, the Workers' Circle; Comrades Brailowsky, Villatier and Kalishnikas, the various Russian Socialist organization; Mrs. Richard Pohle, the German section of the Socialist Party, and Bertha H. Mailly, Camp Tamiment. Other speakers also paid their tribute of affection to Comrade Ingerman.

About 500 friends attended the services. Floral wreaths and clusters of flowers were also silent tokens of the esteem in which Comrade Ingerman was held by her many friends and comrades. The final services were held at the Fresh Pond crematory, where the remains were cremated. Here Comrade Upavoloff, a Russian worker, was the last to speak in memory of Comrade Ingerman.

Post Office Excludes Communist Journal

The U. S. Post Office department has just informed the "Class Struggle," published monthly at 212 East 9th street, New York City, by the Communist League of Struggle, that it has been denied second class mailing rights.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

of the I. L. P. program to end with the cheap sneer of "Radical phrases can never be a substitute for a clear working class policy." What is wrong with a confessedly radical movement couching a radical program in radical language, intelligible to all save a certain type of half-spitting politicians?

NANCY ELLIOT.
Queens Village, L. I.
Our correspondent does not consider our criticism that the I. L. P. had taken the wrong line of syndicalism. To this extent it has not kept its Socialism "unadulterated."

She does not deny, what we affirmed, that the Belgian and Austrian movements did wise to send representatives into the government ministries at certain critical periods following the end of the World War and thus protected working class organization against reaction. Moreover, this policy is not urged as a continuous one but for exceptional and critical situations of which the party in each country is to be the judge.

If our paragraph regarding the League of Nations was "bewildering" to Comrade Elliot it is evidence that the fundamental point of the attitude of the International has been for years. We see no more bad logic in using the league, to the extent we can, than using modern parliamentary even though both have a majority of non-Socialist elements.

There is nothing wrong about a radical movement couching its meaning in radical phrases if the phrases are clear and precise. If the city of office of the party here were to advise the branches to take "mass action" in support of unemployment insurance it would be using a radical phrase but we doubt whether any branch would understand what kind of action was meant.—Editor, The New Leader.

THE RAND SCHOOL
Editor, The New Leader:
I wish to express my gratitude to the Rand School staff and teachers for their splendid work during the past winter. If I may judge by the expressions heard at the recent meeting of students for discussion of the conduct of the school I am sure I express the sentiment of all the students as well as my own. The discussion confirmed me once more in my opinion that a school for workers is the first, the most important, thing that our labor movement needs at the present time.

"Economy" in Post Office Administration Would Take Toll From Workers

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.

POSTMASTER'S urged to accept these instructions and not recommend promotions which if received must be disappointed. This is the same Arch Coleman, of Minneapolis, whose name has been conspicuous in Sen. Blaine's investigation of the post office rental scandals, which have cost the government millions. Blaine has declared that a large slice of the swag went into the campaign chest of the G. O. P. to help Coolidge and Hoover.

Leo George, president of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, discussing the post office budget, said that the cost of handling second-class mail is now \$70,000,000 more than the amount paid by publishers for that service; that the steam railroads are paid ap-

proximately \$125,000,000 a year for carrying the mail on a space basis, as compared with only half that sum for 27 per cent less service in 1921, when prices and wages were higher than now; that the deficit on the air mail service is near \$13,000,000, and on ocean mail routes, \$25,000,000. Then there is a deficit of \$12,000,000 a year due to free handling of newspapers. But the organized employees in the Department do not expect to see Brown and cut off any of these items of below-cost services, or ask Congress to do so.

As for reduction of employees, that also is difficult, as Brown discovered last year when he ordered that no vacancies be filled. As thousands of vacancies occur each year, and failure to fill them means overwork for the rest of the force,

Brown soon realized that the public would not meekly accept the curtailed service and the confusion caused by his demoralization of the collection and delivery staff. These men are worked to the limit of their strength now; they cannot be driven harder.

But the mere announcement that Hoover and Brown, in a week-end confab at the Rapidan camp, had found a way to cut \$53,000,000 from the post office budget, aroused the postal employees to defensive fighting spirit. They will examine with suspicion, and analyze for political flavor, every further statement or maneuver by the administration affecting themselves. Their attitude is that the 1932 campaign is to be started now, they are ready. No hats are tossed up for Hoover.

THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

VII.—The First Emancipation

This is the seventh installment of a new booklet, "The Next Emancipation." It has been published to sell at cost, 10c postpaid, by the Negro Labor Service, P. O. Box 66, Chicago Station, New York City, or 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

By James O'Neal

THERE is another and more intimate sense in which this fear of "social equality" is expressed. It is feared that the emancipation of Negro and white workers would bring about some intimate personal and social relations of the two races by force of law or legal compulsion.

Nothing of the kind. The matter of intimate associates and companions is a matter of personal choice and will always remain such. No law can compel one Irishman to associate with another Irishman if he does not want to.

No law can compel one Negro to associate with another Negro if he does not want to. On the other hand, if an Irishman chooses a Negro for a personal friend and both find each other's company congenial, that is their affair and nobody else's.

The writer of this booklet is of Irish extraction. There are some Irishmen I do not care to associate with on a basis of social equality. I have some Negro friends of whom I am fond. Among my most intimate acquaintances are Jews and Russians. There are some white Americans whom I despise. Others I cherish with deep affection.

Whoever and whatever my personal associates and friends may be, they are a matter of free choice on my part and on their part. Yet, as a wage worker, I may be compelled, in order to hold my job, to work by the side of a man whom I detest. What there is of compulsion in this

matter of human association comes from capitalist society today. If a man is opposed to forced equality in human relationships he should be opposed to the wage system of robbery which often imposes an equality that is personally distasteful.

Jim Crow Laws

Much more could be said on this matter, but it is too big a subject to deal with in this booklet. A separate book would be required to do it full justice. We would have to consider the Jim Crow car, the theater, the hotel, amusements, and a hundred other institutions around which cluster racial prejudices. I must remain satisfied with dealing with the deepest prejudices of all—the prejudices associated with personal human relations between peoples of different races and of the same races and nationalities.

There is a mistaken belief that the Republican party has always been the party of the Negro. There were early Republicans who were sincere friends of the Negro, but the party as such used the Negro as a stepping stone to power. Abraham Lincoln sincerely desired the freedom of the Negroes, yet even Lincoln would have been willing to let the Southern masters have their slaves if the South would have ceased to make war on the North.

The Republican platform of 1860 is very interesting reading. The third section opposed "all schemes of disunion." The fourth section admitted the "right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively."

In the States where slavery existed the Republican party admitted the "right of each State" to hold such slaves. But it denied, in the seventh section, "the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery in-

to any or all of the Territories of the United States." It denounced this dogma as "a dangerous political heresy."

It was not opposed to slavery in the States that held slaves. It was opposed to the extension of slavery into Territories. It held, in the eighth section, "That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom." It did not want to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed, but it also did not want slavery to expand into the Territories. When the Territories were later to be admitted to the Union as States the Republican party wanted them to come in as free States.

And Then "Carpet Baggers"

It was not until four years later after several years of war, that the Republican party took a position against slavery. In the third section of the Republican platform of 1864 the party decided that "As slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic." In fact, the abolition of slavery came to be regarded as a military necessity.

With the fall of the Southern States the Negroes in the South were given the suffrage. Negroes were elected to Southern Legislatures. Republican politicians—"carpet baggers"—went into the Southern States and guided the Negro voters in elections.

But while the Republican party extended the suffrage to Negroes in the Southern States and protected it with bayonets, strong Republican States in the North excluded the Negro from the suffrage. These included such States as Republican States as Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin.

In fact, while the Republican leaders in Congress were insisting on the Southern States placing Negro-suffrage clauses in their State Constitutions, the Republican States of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, in 1867, refused to extend the suffrage to Negroes. Why? Because the Republican party wanted to use the Negro in the South to obtain political control for Northern capitalism. In the North the Republican party did not need the Negro vote at that time, as it ruled politically without the Negro vote.

When the Republican party reorganized the Southern States to suit Northern capitalism the Republican administration withdrew the federal soldiers from the South and left the Negro to his fate. He was immediately excluded from the franchise by the old Southern masters.

Paper Reforms

Before the exclusion of the Negro from the franchise Republican Congresses passed, and the States ratified, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect the Negro and Negro suffrage. The Thirteenth Amendment was supposed to abolish slavery and involuntary servitude. But Negroes were again enslaved by the Southern States through the indenture system which had enslaved white workers for nearly 200 years in America.

The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted to protect "the privileges or immunities of citizens," and to reduce the representation in Congress of such States as disfranchised workers entitled to the vote. In all the years since that amendment became a fundamental law, since 1866, the Republican party has never attempted to reduce the representation of any Southern State in Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment adopted in 1870, declared that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Republican party never enforced this amendment, while the courts have explained it away. In the face of this record of pretense and hypocrisy, many Negro workers have sincerely believed that the Republican party represented them.

JOHN HERLING.