

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

An Encouraging Negro Conference—Quiet on the Southern Front—Pensions Not for Workers—Death Sentence Possible for Communist Opinions—British Labor and India—The Labor Party

### A NEGRO STUDENT CONFERENCE

THIS week's comments on cabbages and kings begin on the pleasant grounds of Lincoln Academy outside of the village of King's Mountain, North Carolina where I am attending a conference of Negro students. And a mighty good conference it is—one of the most interesting that this somewhat jaded conference-goer can recall. These Negro students are good company; they sing delightfully and they take a refreshing interest in all sorts of social and economic problems. They know some things first hand about our free and prosperous America. One of the fine things about the conference is the presence of some white students, both men and women, as fraternal delegates. In the South that means real progress and it is the kind of progress in which students are notably taking the lead.



Norman Thomas

### THE "TRUCE" IN SOUTHERN TEXTILE

KING'S Mountain, scene of an important victory of heroic pioneers over the British in Revolutionary times, is in Gaston County not very far from Gastonia itself. I have been in Gastonia but had no time for careful inquiry. Superficial inquiry reveals an outwardly placid mill town, conspicuous for its churches and possessed of rather better mill houses than some other places I have seen, North and South. Unemployment and part time work are the rule and perhaps they more than the unpunished ruthlessness of "respectable" mobs have forced a truce upon the town.

Whether the truce in Gastonia and Marion and elsewhere will last the generation that Allen Raymond predicts in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune I seriously doubt. But unquestionably the employer is in the saddle now. Neither mill workers nor poor farmers nor exploited Negroes are drastically challenging his power. The bitter primary fight in North Carolina between Senator Simmons and Mr. Bailey has nothing to do with any issue bigger than party regularity in 1928. Not even prohibition is seriously discussed. The prevailing brand of religion—there are notable exceptions as was clear at King's Mountain—which shouts at you from revival tents and churches and even from the newspapers is indeed an opiate to the workers. But it is true as we are constantly told that North Carolina has good roads and is improving its schools. And to many Americans good roads are dearer than liberty.

### EMPLOYERS LEARNING THINGS

ALTHOUGH the employers are in the saddle they don't know how to ride. Witness the condition of the textile industry where their will has been all but supreme. The tobacco factories are more profitable to the owners but if anything they pay worse wages and are now also hit by unemployment. There is no economic planning in the industrial expansion of the South. The newspapers, as in the North, rejoice over the growth of their cities irrespective of the quality of the growth or what it means in terms of human well being. Last summer's strikes aside from that they may have done to arouse the workers have had some effect on some intelligent employers. Even Mr. Baldwin has been cleaning up the dreadful sanitary conditions in his company's mill and houses at Marion. And at the "three h's" of important textile companies in the South have recently denounced exploitation of women and children and night work without, however, getting anything much done about it.

### PENSIONS FOR SOLDIERS; WHAT OF WORKERS?

BY the action of Congress, prodded by a powerful lobby and its own dislike of the President into overriding his veto, a man may be wealthy or suffering from a disease solely caused by his own vices and yet if he served two months in any camp in the Spanish War he is eligible for a pension in excess of \$2 a day.

But a man may have served not as a soldier in a dubious war but as a soldier in the continuing and necessary war for food and clothing, not two months but twenty years and Congress will give him no pension or any other form of security against old age and unemployment. And the states which give him anything make him wait until he is seventy and then prove his poverty and respectability in order to get a dollar a day. Draw your own moral.

### GEORGIA CONTEMPLATES MURDER

IN enlightened Georgia six persons face possible death sentences for inciting to insurrection although there was not even a riot as a result of anything they said or did. Thus a United Press dispatch on May 31st tells the story:

"Georgia's drastic law enacting possible death as penalty for conviction of a charge of attempting to incite to insurrection today had been invoked against four additional persons. Indictments were returned naming two women and two Negroes, all Communists, on charges of insurrection growing out of Communist demonstrations here and the alleged heckling of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, during an address here."

"Mr. H. Powers and Joe Carr, Communist organizers, already facing trial for that charge, in connection with Communist meetings here, were the first persons in history to be named defendants in the act."

"The new defendants are Mamie Dalton, of Atlanta, charged specifically with heckling Mr. Green; Ann Burlock, of Atlanta; Henry Story, of Atlanta, and Gilmer Grady, of New York."

However great their condemnation of Communism surely Mr. Green and the A. F. of L. generally for the sake of a decent regard for liberty, for their own honor, and for the protection of the workers against a dangerous precedent will want to do what they can for the defense of men and women against so monstrous a law. Especially is this true in this case growing specifically out of heckling Mr. Green. Such heckling is disorderly conduct from which Socialists also have suffered; it scarcely deserves death! Even the Kaiser and the Russian Tsar did not employ such punishment for lese Majesty. (Later: I have just heard the good news that some strong Atlanta union men are lining up for the defense.)

### WHAT IS THE BRITISH LABOR PROGRAM?

IN contrast with this Georgia proceeding it must be admitted that the British Government in India has shown a certain restraint. It is not trying to put Gandhi to death and it has tried to break up great demonstrations without shooting down the demonstrators. Nevertheless each day's proceedings make it clear that no force will of itself make India quiet and no conference next fall will succeed without Gandhi and the National Congress. No amount of argument that Gandhi does not really represent India or that India's castes and religious differences; her illiteracy and her native princes, make unified self government difficult can alter that fact. It is true that Gandhi's civil disobedience has not successfully excluded violence but it has been and can be a singularly effective instrument against the British rule. Surely the British Labor Party cannot be willing to stay in office "till the end of the year" as the newspapers say it can, simply because the old parties are willing to have it pull their chestnuts out of the Indian fire. Surely it must be counting on something more than muddling through. What are its plans?

### BRITISH LABOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

IN the general talk of what the Labor Government in England has not done there is danger of losing sight of what it has done or is doing. It is for instance, pushing a bill which gives consumers' councils the right under certain conditions to fix prices. And it will soon put through Parliament a slum clearance bill designed to get rid of about 500,000 sub-normal housing units. That is practical socialism which looks almost utopian in our country.

THE ticket headed by Jim Davis in Pennsylvania spent more money in the primaries than did Grundy. Vane, various members of the Mellon dynasty, those great capitalists Messrs. Widener and Stotesbury, and a brick manufacturer named Bonitz—to the tune of almost \$100,000—were the angels. The open shop Samuel Vaucian was treasurer. How does the pro-Davis crowd like its company?

AT A time when publishers advertise summer reading let me recommend William Floyd's "People vs. Wall Street," (Vanguard Press) which is as interesting as it is instructive. McAllister Coleman's "Eugene V. Debs" (Greenberg) and Harry Laidler's pamphlet of facts "How America Lives" (League for Industrial Democracy). Above all I urge Socialists and progressives generally to read and circulate the admirable leaflets that are now being put out by our National office.

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Is Combined

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## Indian Freedom Or Labor Resignation Is Seen By Thurtle

Labor M.P., in Response to New Leader Query,  
Says Party Will Refuse to Rule Nation by  
Force—Predicts Disappointment in Simons  
Commission Report

IN RESPONSE to the cabled request of The New Leader to the British Labor Party for a statement of the party's attitude toward India, we take pleasure in placing the following article written especially for The New Leader by Ernest Thurtle, Labor member of Parliament.

In an accompanying letter by W. W. Henderson, secretary of the Press and Publicity Department of the Labor Party, we are informed that no recent statement on India had been made by the party. However, Mr. Henderson requested Mr. Thurtle to prepare this article because "for a long time has taken a great interest in the Indian problem." Mr. Henderson adds that the article is an "expression of personal opinion, and not in any way an official document."

We are glad to be able to place this exclusive article before our readers, an article that so clearly explains the problems and difficulties that face the Labor Party.

By Ernest Thurtle, M.P.

WHEN the British Labor Government's present Indian problem is envisaged, the doctrine of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children inevitably springs to mind. Consider the position! Here is a democratic Government, whose ideal is the rule of the people, and for whom the right of oppressed peoples to self-government is an article of faith, which finds itself saddled with the responsibility of trying to solve the knottiest problem which the British Empire has yet created for its rulers. Entirely against its will and inclination, Labor in office is finding itself cast for a role in which it appears to the outside world as

the opponent of the Indian people's claim to freedom. Labor men and women have worked hard, for many years, to create a great political power, designed mainly to grapple with the social and economic wrongs of the masses of the people at home. Now they find their task is seriously complicated by an urgent and menacing overseas problem arising out of the imperialism of past generations. It is not to be wondered at if, like Hamlet, they rail at the perversity of Fate.

What is the Indian problem? There is no doubt that the great majority of the three hundred millions who make up India's population

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## India Backs Gandhi Peace Conditions

Wedwood Benn Being  
Misinformed Regarding  
Behavior of British  
Troops, Slocombe Says

By George Slocombe  
(Mr. Slocombe is the London Herald  
Correspondent in India.)

BOMBAY, May 22.—The publication of Gandhi's peace terms as declared to me in Yeravd prison has elicited a remarkable response from leading Indian moderates today.

Gandhi's "peace terms" to which Mr. Slocombe refers was made in an interview with the Nationalist leader seen by Mr. Slocombe in jail. The copyright interview appeared in the London Herald and New York Times of May 21st. In it, Gandhi said he would be satisfied if India could have dominion status such as enjoyed by Canada and South Africa. Referring to his talks with Gandhi, Mr. Slocombe's interview continued: "From our subsequent conversation I gathered that, even at this critical hour, a settlement is possible, and that Gandhi was prepared to recommend to Congress the suspension of the civil disobedience movement, and cooperation in the round table conference (in London in October) on the following terms: (1) The terms of reference to the round table conference to include the framing of a constitution giving India the substance of independence. (2) Satisfaction to be granted to the demands for the repeal of the Salt Tax, for the prohibition of liquor, and for a ban on foreign cloth. (3) An amnesty to prisoners convicted of political offenses to coincide with the end of the civil disobedience campaign. (4) The remaining seven points raised in Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy to be left to future discussion."

Editor, The New Leader.

In a series of striking statements, one Liberal statesman after another—including men who were among the first publicly to disapprove of the campaign of civil disobedience—insist on the conciliatory character of Gandhi's offer, and urges that it provides a basis for negotiations.

Sir Phiroze Sethna, president of the All-India National Liberal Federation, says that Gandhi's terms are not unreasonable. Liberals have always asked for Dominion status with safeguards, whereas Gandhi now demands the "substance of independence." The only difference, contends Sir Phiroze, is in the words—the intention is the same.

Regarding the four points, three of them can be settled by the Indians themselves under self-government; the fourth—concerning the amnesty for political prisoners—is the sole essential condition, and he hopes that it will be granted.

Sir Phiroze Sethna declares that Gandhi is the greatest man in India today, and he invites the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) to shake the

## Senate Body For Freedom of Philippines

Committee Favors Plebiscite by Filipinos at  
the End of Five Years  
"Preparation"

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—Sen. Hawes of St. Louis, Democrat, filed in the Senate on June 2 the majority report of the committee on territories and insular affairs, providing for the independence of the Philippine Islands after a five-year period of preparation. The most significant features of this plan are the setting up of a temporary national government, subject to numerous vetoes from the government of the United States, including approval of the constitution by the Congress of the United States, and the gradual laying upon the Filipino people of all the burdens of an American tariff against their products. If, after passing this test of patience, the people of the Islands vote to embrace independence, their vote in a popular plebiscite is to determine the issue.

Explaining why immediate independence is not proposed, the report says that the Filipino representatives ask for it, "although they realize the difficulties of reconstruction and readjustment. They prefer any hardship to the possibility of their remaining forever a subject people."

As to the setting of a date for independence far in the future, the report points out that this does not give the Filipinos a chance to express their views. Secretary of State Stimson suggested that the United States declare that it would hold the Islands another 30 years, and he hoped that at the end of that time both sides would agree that separation would be a bad thing. The committee majority agrees with Stimson that long delay would bind the Islands, economically and industrially, to the United States, while it could not give the Filipinos hope of American statehood.

Filipinos Like Bill

"The acid test provided in this bill is the hardest ever given a nation seeking independence," they say. "In the election at which they shall decide whether or not they shall be independent, the Philippine people will be called upon to say whether they shall sever their connection with the United States at the very hardest period of their reconstruction problems, after having been subjected to the weight of our trade barriers and to the full effect of the constitutional provisions which we impose upon them in

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## Senators May Report Bill on Injunctions

Protest On Sending  
Measure to Justice  
Dept. Forcing Admin-  
istration to Reconsider

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—Fires of protest from organized labor as the labor press at home, lighted under Senator Deneen of Illinois, Steiwer of Oregon and Robinson of Indiana, have quickly broiled the complacency out of their scheme for killing the Norris anti-injunction bill. The Federated Press discovered a number of very anxious administration statesmen, June 3, in the course of a brief canvass at the capitol. It seems that the hostile majority in the Senate Judiciary committee is now converted to the plan of reporting the Norris bill—adversely, but still on reporting it—to the Senate calendar in the present session.

Steiwer, who came into the Senate as a labor press champion, a Tory American Legion Republican, was chairman of the caucus of ten hostile members of the judiciary committee. In the midst of a roll call on reporting the bill, May 28, this majority group began to demand a formal report from the subcommittee which had drafted the bill, and then insisted on sending the measure to the Department of Justice for an opinion by Attorney General Mitchell. They knew that Mitchell had issued a formal statement in support of Judge Parker, wherein he upheld all of Parker's decisions, including the infamous Red Jacket decision endorsing the yellow dog contract injunction. Over the protest of Norris, Walsh, Blaine, Borah and the other minority members, the majority sidetracked the bill to the Department of Justice. They pleaded that Norris, Walsh and Blaine had not fully answered the briefs filed by the League for Industrial Rights and the National Association of Manufacturers regarding the constitutional features of this legislation.

Steiwer Explains

Norris argued that it would require a month for the Department of Justice to make a complete study of the subject, and that it was strange that after two years of delay the hostile group had suddenly remembered the constitutional argument. He charged that Steiwer, Deneen and the rest had simply played a trick to delay any action in the committee in the present session.

Now, on June 3, Steiwer came out to see The Federated Press correspondent in the President's room very anxious to set the labor press right. He began by saying that the Norris bill in its present form was "fatally" wrong because of its "violation of the due process clause" and its character as "class legislation." He praised the brief of the League for Industrial Rights, and seemed surprised to learn that this organization is unwilling to disclose the identity of its membership or its officers. He admitted having talked with James Emery of the National Association of Manufacturers. He held that the yellow dog contract could not be outlawed, and that nobody in the Senate agreed with Borah that it was not a contract in fact. But, he conceded, the bill could be re-

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Conference June 17

To insure the success of that rally, and to bring the message to all organizations in Brooklyn that Mooney and Billings have served 14 years for an offense which even those who convicted them now believe them to be innocent, a conference of the representatives of the various organizations will be held at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 519 Broadway Avenue, near

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Arrangements have already been made for an all-Brooklyn rally, to take place at the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn, on July 15. A provisional committee, of which B. C. Viadeck is the chairman, and on which many prominent men and women drawn from various walks of life have agreed to serve, is being organized under Viadeck's direction.

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## Amusements

### RED SHOW COMING

REHEARSALS for the Summer comedy which the new producer firm of Wolf and Fish plan to bring to New York within a few weeks are to begin in Washington, June 9th. The production as yet is nameless, but Walter Winchell is said to have heard that it will be called "Tracking the Reds." At any rate, the word "reds" will be in the title. Suspicious of Earl Carroll, Ziegfeld and others who are grooming their own summer comedies for early production, the rehearsals will be held in secret.

The enterprise is somewhat in the nature of a government-endowed theatre. An appropriation of about \$40,000 to stage the production is reported to have been agreed upon by Ham Fish after conference with Majority Leader Tilton and Chairman Snell of the rules committee of the lower house. In addition to footing the production bill, the government will supply several members of the cast. Edgar Hoover, chief of the bureau of investigations of the department of justice, is being considered for a leading low comedy

## Maurer Named To Lead Penn. Socialist Fight; Pinchot Record Attacked

Pardon Of Mooney And  
Billings Near, Is Rumor

SAN FRANCISCO (F.P.)—Rumors that Gov. C. C. Young of California may pardon Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings after 14 years imprisonment on a labor frameup are strengthened by the announcement of the San Francisco News, Scripps-Howard paper, that it will support Young in the primary. The News has been militantly pro-Mooney.

Young himself says that if the state supreme court declares itself for Billings' release, he will take action. He claims there are "still doubts to be cleared up," particularly in the refusal of Judge Dunning, who sat in the Billings' case, to indorse the pardon appeal as Judge Griffin had done in the Mooney case. Political observers believe Young is sitting on the fence to see how far he is indorsed by union labor and other

ostensibly pro-Mooney forces. It is even possible that the supreme court decision on Billings has already been made known to Young, but that he does not want to take action that would antagonize either element in the citizenry until he has a better idea of how the nomination cast is going to jump.

The News excuses its championing of Young by saying that it disagrees with him totally in the preparedness day frameup, but on other grounds considers him the best Republican candidate in the field. It is also probable that the paper has canvassed the other two candidates and has found them both opposed to a pardon. One of them, Dist. Atty. Buron Fitts, successor to Asa Keyes who is in the penitentiary, is a hardboiled legionnaire.

Big Mooney  
Rallies Called  
By Socialists

Brooklyn Academy of  
Music Meeting July 15  
—Manhattan Rally to  
Be in Open Air

TAKING again the lead in a nationally-organized drive to hasten the release from prison of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the two labor leaders serving life terms in California prisons as a result of a frame-up, Socialist party locals throughout the nation will rally workers in all of the large cities during the week of July 15-22nd at large indoor and outdoor rallies.

The appeal that these meetings be held, and the demand for the release of the two labor martyrs made impressive, has been issued by Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist party. The New York City Socialist organization, through its executive committee, has decided to make the rallies here the largest of any in the nation.

Arrangements have already been made for an all-Brooklyn rally, to take place at the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn, on July 15. A provisional committee, of which B. C. Viadeck is the chairman, and on which many prominent men and women drawn from various walks of life have agreed to serve, is being organized under Viadeck's direction.

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Following the lead of the Theatre Guild, the producers plan to run the show on the "Red-star" basis. Early reports of the hiring of Max D. Steuer, who has scored many hits before a number of juries, and of Martin Littleton, for leading "heavies" appear to be unfounded. At a later stage, Mr. Littleton, who played in a similar performance in Albany during the famous "Trial of the Socialist Assemblymen," may be called in. He also scored a triumph by playing a leading role in the notable American play, "The Oil Patriots."

Unusual interest attaches to the fact that Fish and perhaps Wolf will do some acting of their own, in addition to staging the show. Fish definitely will have a good part, while Wolf will do more of the back-stage work. There are

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Gubernatorial Candidate  
Promises Campaign on  
Working-Class Issues—  
100 Delegates Attend

## DENOUNCES RULE OF REPRESSION

Organization Plans Are  
Mapped Out — India  
Resolution Is Sent to  
N. E. C.

By Arthur G. McDowell

READING.—Late Sunday afternoon of June 1st, the 1930 conference of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania adjourned, leaving a record for vigor and enthusiasm that was a surprise to the most optimistic. From the moment that the more than a hundred delegates that crammed the Reading Labor Lyceum on the morning of Saturday May 31st, swung to their feet to the International there was not a moment that dragged. Mayor Stump of the Reading Socialist administration, who did not hesitate to point out to an interviewer that he had been arrested for picketing within a year of the time that he was elected mayor, welcomed the convention to the city.

Organization of the conference proceeded in good order with the election of Chairman and Secretary and of Committees on Program, Constitution, and Platform and Resolutions. The report of the State Secretary frankly ignored any minor accomplishment that might be credited to the Party in Pennsylvania in the recent past, and listing extent and nature of party strength in the state, announced the appointment of Arthur G. McDowell as State Organizer, and pointed out a program of organization and reorganization for the entire state area facing firmly toward the future. The conference adjourned the first session ahead of schedule to visit the City Hall and be welcomed as a body by city officials.

Fighting Platforms Adopted

Additional delegations principally from local Philadelphia joined the conference at its second session, which immediately took up the report of the Platform committee, following speeches by Organizer Yoe of Reading and also from Raymond Hofes, Editor of Reading Labor Advocate, who described the successes of the Socialists in Reading in carrying out administration entrusted to them while keeping fresh in their own and the masses of the workers' minds the fact that what Reading had was not Socialism nor any approach to a substitute for Socialism.

The report of the platform committee emphasized the immediate demands of the Socialist Party for working class relief in darkest Pennsylvania. The repeal of the Pennsylvania Sedition act, the complete abolition of Coal and Iron Police and of the State Constabulary or Cossacks, the curbing of Injunction judges, the wiping out of Yellow-dog contracts, the abolition of limitation of suffrage by poll taxes and fees, were demanded in the face of the employer-class drive against labor; Pennsylvania being the scene of some of the most bitter struggles of recent years.

In the face of the growing industrial and financial crisis, proposals for the immediate establishment of the 40-hour week, government unemployment insurance with a system of free employment exchanges, the pensioning of veterans of industry by a system of government old age pensions and the abolition of child labor were put forward. Socialization should be planned to begin with the public ownership of public utilities selling service at cost and be extended to industry as trustification creates monopoly. This program which included recognition of the necessity of the growth of workers' organizations on the industrial fields to insure that the program should point toward a democracy of workers, not mere State-Socialism, was unanimously accepted by the Convention.

Delegates Look Ahead

At a banquet at the Socialist park at Sinking Springs Saturday evening attended by over three hundred delegates and local comrades the only reminiscencing of the two-day conference occurred. Sarah Limbach, present State

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## Power Group Awaits End Of Congress

"Train Robbery" Predicted As Soon As Federal Commission Gets A Free Hand

WASHINGTON (F.P.)—Confident that President Hoover, Secretary of the Interior Wilbur and Executive Secretary Bonner of the Federal Power Commission are about to deliver a billion dollars' worth of federal power properties to the power trust, the power lobby in that capital is impatiently awaiting the adjournment of Congress. Hoover has never wavered from his campaign pledges of hostility to public competition with the trust, and the month of May has seen his greatest service to private monopoly—the whipping line, for private leasing of Muscle Shoals, of a majority of the House. Now he is ready for what the foes of the trust describe as the "train robbery."

Bonner, denounced and self-implicated when a witness before the Senate committee on interstate commerce as being a mere tool of the Electric Bond & Share and other groups in the trust, signed the lease of the Flathead power site to the trust within fifteen minutes after the Senate Indian Affairs Committee had been assured that no lease would be made until after the proposed terms had been gone over by the Department of Justice. Wilbur signed at the same time. Whether Secretary of Agriculture Hyde and Secretary of War Hurley have signed, thereby delivering the lease to the dummy Rocky Mountain Power Co., is not yet announced. But Hoover, who appointed them, expects them to sign. Flathead power is lost to the nation for fifty years—tied up by a contract that does not permit Montana to develop industries with this power, and which does not permit Montana or the federal government to squeeze the water out of the capitalization on which the Montana Power Co. will base its extortionate charges to consumers of Flathead electric current.

**Many Applications Pending**  
Now comes the long list of power leases held up for the past year by the devotion to public duty of Chief Accountant King and Solicitor Russell of the Federal Power Commission. Bonner, acting for M. O. Leigh of the Electric Bond & Share lobby, has denounced them for "delay" in approving the inflated capitalization of cost-claims made by the trust in seeking leases for these sites. Bonner seeks their dismissal or their forced resignation.

Wilbur, as acting chairman of the commission, has whitewashed Bonner on charges of having taken documents from the commission's files. He has dismissed the file clerk who accused Bonner. Sen. Wheeler is demanding that the Senate call for all the evidence in this case, with a view to showing up Wilbur's whitewash. But the administration will fight Wheeler's resolution, just as it is fighting the Shipstead proposal that no more leases be granted until the Power Commission is reorganized. Sen. Couzens' reorganization bill is smothered in the House, at the order of Majority Leader Tilton, headman of National Committee on Roadbuilding of Connecticut, power trust official, who was recently entertained at the Hoover camp on the Raritan.

**"Progressives" Line Up**  
Study of the House roll call by which the Norris bill for government operation of Muscle Shoals was defeated in favor of private leasing bill—very similar to the private leasing bill drafted by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce committee on water power—discloses that the administration staked everything on this play. Members like Stafford of Milwaukee, who had pledged themselves in the election of 1928 to the Norris bill, repudiated their pledges to their constituents. Semi-progressives such as Kelly of Pittsburgh answered the summons of the power lobby and of Hoover. Many Democrats from Tennessee, Georgia, Arkansas and other states of the South joined the procession. DePriest, the Negro member, was as eagerly pro-trust as Foster Eaton of New Jersey or Cordell

Hull of Tennessee. It was not a party vote—it was a class vote against public ownership, public operation and even effective public rate control. It showed that the House had reached a lower level than at the worst stage of the Ohio Gang's regime.

Resignation of Solicitor Russell will probably follow a big delivery of power leases, over his protest, to the power trust. But before Congress returns in December, Hoover and Wilbur and Bonner may easily have transferred to private lot far more of the nation's resources than were involved in the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills naval oil frauds.

## House Kills Norris Bill on Muscle Shoals

Stafford Makes Feeble Explanation of Vote in the Lower House

WASHINGTON (F. P.)—Before the House voted, May 28, by 187 to 135, to kill the Norris government-operation bill and adopt the power trust's private leasing bill for the government's power site at Cove Creek, Rep. Stafford of Milwaukee, administration Republican, made a peculiar confession. He was one of the leaders of the fight for the power trust bill, and yet he admitted that he was violating his conscience.

"Paraphrasing," he declared, "I may say I could subscribe to the principle enunciated in the Norris resolution to create a board to sell the power and only use the existing nitrate plants for experimental purposes in the development of fertilizer, but I was not elected as a Socialist from the fifth congressional district of Wisconsin. I was elected as an individualist, believing in our present economic theory, and I would have to use every power at my command to oppose the socialist proposal embodied in this amendment."

Stafford made the point of order under which the McSwain substitute for the House committee bill was ruled out of order in the committee of the whole—a process of gagging the House and thus forcing it to accept the measure favored by the power trust lobby.

Since the Senate will not accept any private leasing plan for Muscle Shoals, the government plant will remain under temporary and half-capacity contract with the power trust for another year or two.

## Early Registration Possible in New York

Under an amendment to the New York election laws enacted at the last session of the Legislature, central registration of voters is provided for long before the regular registration. Voters who want to register early, either because they may be out of town on the regular registration days, or for any other reason, will have their first opportunity to do so any day beginning June 1st and ending September 10.

Affidavits for Central Registration will be furnished at the Central Registration Boards, located at the following places: Manhattan: Room 1835, Municipal Building; Bronx: 442 East 149th Street; Brooklyn: Room 600, Municipal Building; Queens: 8931 161st Street, Jamaica; Richmond: Borough Hall, New Brighton, S. I.

Voters must go to the Board in the borough in which they reside. Offices will be open every day from June 1 to September 10, with the exception of Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., and Saturday from 9 A.M. to noon. If those who apply for registration intend to be away on Election Day they can file at the time they register an application for an Absentee Voters' ballot. Socialist voters who are in doubt whether they will be here during the regular registration period are urged to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the amendment to the election laws.

## TELEGRAPHERS REELECT PRESIDENT MANION

LOS ANGELES—(F.P.)—Reelection of officers and adoption of a modernized constitution completed the convention work of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers in Los Angeles. E. J. Manion continues as president and L. J. Ross as secretary-treasurer.

## New Blow To Hoover Given In Both Houses

Congress Gives President Stinging Rebuke By Over-riding Veto of Pension Bill

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(F.P.)—Smashing of the Hoover veto of the Spanish War veterans pension bill by roll call votes of 61 to 18 in the Senate and 298 to 14 in the House, on June 2, gave new hope to the progressive groups in Congress in regard to Federal old age pension legislation and other social insurance measures. The almost unanimous revolt of the House against the administration's demand that only the destitute and "moral" veterans be pensioned, was hailed as a repudiation of Hoover on the one hand, and assertion of sympathy for the disabled or semi-disabled veterans of war, on the other. In the minds of many Senators and Congressmen the vote was a pledge that veterans of the World War, when the time is ripe, will be equally well pensioned. Advocates of pensions for the veterans of industry welcomes this as a powerful argument for old age pension legislation that will be more generous than any yet enacted by any of the states.

Senator Norris, turning the batteries of his scornful eloquence against Hoover's argument that only the destitute should receive pensions, called attention to the fact that Congress voted a year ago to hand back to millionaire taxpayers some \$160,000,000 in taxes which they were bound by law to deliver to the Treasury. It was a princely gift, urged by Hoover.

**Norris In Bitter Address**  
"We have given away the public funds to the millionaires," said the Nebraska leader, "but now it is proposed to require the soldiers to prove, in their advancing years, that they are paupers before they can receive any public money by way of pension. When the war is on they are heroes; nothing is then too good for these 'paupers.' But when the war is over, when those who stayed behind have become millionaires because of the sacrifices of the soldiers, who went to the front, then we suddenly become economical."

According to the veto message the soldiers of the Spanish-American war are going to be required to prove that they were Sunday school boys; that they never did anything wrong; that they never yielded to the temptations that war always brings to those who engage in it.

"We send them into hell—for war is nothing but hell, the worst kind of hell, especially under modern conditions, where the human being becomes a demon before he gets off the battlefield if he ever leaves it alive. . . . Then we say to him: 'While you are back from the front resting and recuperating from another battle you must be good; you must be virtuous; you must do nothing wrong! . . ."

**War Forced on Soldiers**  
"We brought on the war; it was not the soldiers who declared the war—not any of them. We send them forth; they are compelled to go, if they seem to hesitate, but as a rule they rarely hesitate. Now, when the time comes that they are getting old and want a pension, when some of them are about to go to the poorhouse or otherwise become objects of charity, we say: 'First prove that you never committed a sin; prove that you are a pauper. And then we shall give you a pension! . . ."

Senator Connally of Texas led the fight in the Senate. Crisp of Georgia led in the House, where it proved a stampede to wipe out the veto. But in both branches one of the most potent arguments was that the soldiers had earned the gratitude of the nation by performing useful service; that they would in many cases become dependent upon charity anyhow; that the sensible way to meet the nation's obligation was to pay them a regular pension which would save their self-respect and that of the government.

These arguments all apply logically to pensioning the veterans of industry—the men and women whose useful service has made the United States the richest of all nations. When legislation for the aged workers' secure maintenance is brought up in the House and Senate, within two years, this over-riding of the Hoover veto will be cited as a fundamental argument for similar treatment of the soldier of industry with the soldier of destruction.

## Wage Cuts Steady In Fisher Body Co.

CLEVELAND—(F.P.)—Practically every department of the Fisher body plant in Cleveland has received wage cuts in the last two months, ranging from 5 to 40%, while most of the departments are working with half the number of men who were operating last year. In many of the departments workers have to wait several hours for stock without getting paid for the hours they wait.

## BAKERS SIGN CONTINENTAL

DALLAS—(F.P.)—After 12 years of organizing effort Bakers Local 111 has converted the Dallas shop of the Continental Baking Co. into a union house. It is one of the largest bakeries in the southwest.

## Thurtle Writes On India And Labor Party Position

(Continued from Page One)

ulation want freedom from British domination. There is equally no doubt that the great majority of British people are willing to concede India that freedom. It is therefore common ground between the two peoples that the British, as rulers, should leave India. What is not agreed, and what has to be determined, is the manner and the time of our leaving. Shall it be in five years, or fifty? Shall it be by peaceful, friendly arrangement, or after the arbitrament of force and bloodshed? Everything appears to hang on these questions of manner and time. As one writes, the position in India, with its reports of scattered riots and loss of life, appears to have in it all the possibilities of a great tragedy. And the irony of it is that if that tragedy comes, and works itself out through much bloodshed and suffering, it will have come without having been desired by either side in the struggle. Circumstances, once more, will have proved stronger than the will of man.

The major difficulty now, which prevents India from passing peacefully from a state of bondage to one of freedom, is that the Indian people, or at any rate those who count in these matters, have lost faith in the honesty of British politicians. They no longer believe that our word is our bond. And the distrust applies all around. Many years ago they lost faith in the Conservatives and Liberals. Now they have lost faith in Labor. Left and Right helped in the process. The spokesmen of the Communist International vied with the permanent officials of the Government in India in assuring Indian Nationalism that British Labor was not to be trusted, and that in its Indian policy a Labor Government would be like all other governments which had preceded it. Then came 1924, when a Labor Government, at the request of officialdom in India, brought out the Bengal Criminal Ordinance, under which large numbers of Nationalist leaders were arrested and imprisoned without trial. From that time onward Indian Nationalists refused to believe in Labor's honesty and purpose, and have acted on the assumption that no British political party is to be trusted so far as India is concerned.

Thus, when all three parties in England co-operated in the setting up of the Simon Commission of Enquiry, which was to determine the basis of India's next constitutional step towards self-government, the Indian Nationalists, both Moderates and Extremists, contemptuously refused to have anything to do with the Commission. They boycotted it so effectively that no representative Indian had anything to do with it. Last year, by way of an olive branch, the Labor Government made an offer of a Round Table Conference, at which all Indian interests would be represented. This Conference was to consider the findings of the Simon Commission and, if possible, make agreed recommendations as to what changes should take place in Indian government. Nationalist India, suspicious of a trap, refused this offer, and proceeded to declare for complete severance of the British connection (as against Dominion status), and for a mass civil disobedience campaign to bring this about.

This campaign, set into motion by that strange, enigmatic idol of the Indian masses, Mahatma Gandhi, is now gathering momentum. Conceived as a non-violent movement, it has already, inevitably, led to very considerable disorder and serious loss of life. This is not surprising. Many of the younger Nationalists, while admiring many of Gandhi's qualities, have no use for his pacifist doctrines. They have made a close study of the history of the Sinn Fein struggle for Irish freedom—it is a most popular historical study with Indian students—and they think in terms of a similar struggle for their own liberty. About a year ago a young Indian barrister standing in the Lobby of the House of Commons, mentioned that he had been seeing, in Dublin, a cemetery full of the graves of those who fell in the Irish struggle. His significant comment was: "We in India must pay that price before we can hope to get our freedom."

Shortly the Simon Commission Report will be issued. In Labor circles there is hope, not, I fear, very securely founded, that this will provide the occasion for another gesture of peace which will propitiate the insurgent forces in India. Meantime, willy nilly, the Labor Government is engaged in what looks like a campaign of repression. With Mr. Gandhi and his followers definitely challenging authority by defying the Salt Tax and other laws, Labor was forced to choose between governing and getting out. For the time being it is governing. It has once again sanctioned arrests and imprisonment without trial, and has re-imposed a drastic Press Act, which has had the effect of causing practically all the Indian papers to suspend publication.

But while Labor is thus, reluctantly, taking these repressive measures, it looks to the future with much disquiet. There is in its ranks uneasy recognition of the truth of Burke's dictum, that a nation is not governed which has perpetually to be conquered. With a people in rebellion force, at best, is only a temporary expedient, which gains a breathing space. It is no final remedy. The history of the Irish struggle showed that in recent years. Moreover, if India, with its great area and its huge population, becomes really infected with the Sinn Fein spirit, repressive forces will become an impossible proposition, even as a temporary expedient.

What will happen then? I will hazard a guess that the Labor Government will not engage in the hopeless task of attempting to bludgeon the insurgent Indian millions into submission. On the contrary, I think it will ask for Parliamentary authority to concede India's claim to freedom, and to negotiate with India's representative leaders the terms of the necessary contract. If authority for this policy is not conceded, Labor will lay down the reins of office. There will then be left to others the folly, in this post-war world, of seeking to resist by force the legitimate claims of an oppressed people.

## India Backs Gandhi Peace Proposals

(Continued from Page One)

hand of friendship which Gandhi offers.

Sir Tej Sapru, the Liberal statesman and former member of the Indian Government, commenting on the Gandhi interview, recommends the Government to declare unequivocally for the establishment of Dominion status, subject to safeguards, and urges the Viceroy to take some public men into his confidence and give a word of hope.

Sir Peshotamdas Thakurdas, the great Bombay industrialist and politician, said that Gandhi was the only man in India who spoke for the whole people. If the Government was not prepared to grant the right to Indians to manage their own affairs it might as well make up its mind to govern India by martial law and ordinances forever.

He urges the Viceroy and the Prime Minister to utilize this official message from the imprisoned patriot.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, another prominent cautious Liberal, utters similar views.

Finally, the venerable Congress leader, Mr. V. J. Patel, who recently resigned the Presidency of the legislative Assembly to support the civil disobedience campaign, describes Gandhi's message as a distinct ray of hope, which should satisfy everybody except a few extreme partisans of independence.

He points out that what Gandhi really wants is adequate terms of reference for the Round-Table Conference, and merely "satisfaction" on other points.

The "Evening News of India," a moderate Anglo-Indian organ, describes Gandhi's statement as a distinct advance on the Delhi declaration, and suggests that Dominion status, with certain territorial safeguards, might easily come within Gandhi's definition. In these circumstances, the sooner the terms of reference of the Round-Table Conference are issued the better.

## Green Reports Little Job Improvement

Usual Spring Recovery Absent During May, A. F. of L. President Declares

WASHINGTON—(F.P.)—"Unusually little improvement" shows William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in summing up the job market for April and May of this year as compared with the same months of 1929.

"Trade unions in 24 cities had as many members still out of work in May as in the month of January, although there is usually a 27 percent improvement by this time of year. Our figures show 20 percent out of work in May as compared with 21 percent in April (revised figures). The last two months have failed to show the usual spring improvement, due partly to the serious situation in building and also to the general slow recovery of trade and industry."

"After the crisis of 1928, improvement from March to May was five times as great as in the same months this year. Last year in May hardly more than half as many union members were out of work, and in metal trades four times as many are now unemployed."

## Few Back At Work

"Casual laborers who drift into cities in winter from farms and nearby country towns have now largely found work in agriculture, road building and other outdoor activities. Bread lines are no longer necessary. But of the city wage earners who have been unemployed since January, comparatively few have gone back to work permanently, and others have recently been laid off."

The largest improvement was in the building trades. The number out of work decreased from 40 percent in April to 36 percent in May. But even this change for the better is only half the improvement from April to May after the crisis of 1928, and 44 percent more building tradesmen are out of work than in May two years ago. In metal trades employment increased slightly from April to May, and in printing the same high holds, with twice as many printers out of work as in May last year."

Federation reports show that the unemployment figures for trade unionists, month by month, for 1928, 1929 and 1930, were:

	1928	1929	1930
January	18	15	20
February	18	15	22
March	18	14	21
April	16	12	21
May	13	11	20

## Senate for Freedom Of the Philippines

(Continued from Page One)

the formation of their new government."

Members of the Philippine Independence Commission in Washington have been in conference on this bill for a week, and are expected soon to announce their acceptance of its provisions.

The report declares that Philippine public opinion is unanimous in its demand for independence. This sentiment is reflected in the testimony before the Senate committee, the Independence Congress of over 3,000 delegates held in Manila, and the resolutions adopted by business, educational and other groups. The Independence Congress discussed particularly the economic difficulties presented by the American tariff wall, but it voted for independence at an early date. Opposition to independence is organized by the Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce of New York, which does not want to see Philippine investments put outside the tariff enclosure. In 1900-08 only 32 percent of Philippine exports came to the United States, but in 1927 the American share was 74 percent.

Attention is drawn to the "disturbances in the United States due to the growing number of Philippine laborers (coming here) whose hire can be obtained at prices far below the standard wages of American working men and women." Also, the average daily wage in the Islands is reported to be 50 to 75 cents for field laborers, and \$1 for industrial labor. The American Federation of Labor has for 32 years advocated Philippine independence, in view both of the inherent rights of the people of the Islands and the danger of their low wage standards present to American wage standards.

Bad men spring from bad things; hence let us correct the things.—Victor Hugo.

## Thomas and Dewey To Speak at Sessions Of the People's Lobby

A two day session of The People's Lobby on "Neglected Phases of International Cooperation" began Friday morning, June 6, in the Auditorium of the Nurses Settlement, 99 Park avenue (entrance on 40th street), Manhattan. John Dewey is chairman of the sessions.

Among the speakers Friday were Dr. Lynn R. Edminister on "Tariff Policies." Norman Thomas and Joseph P. Chamberlain discussed "International Allocation of Natural Resources" and Harry W. Laidler led in presenting "World Underconsumption" in the afternoon. This was followed by a discussion "Military Missions" by Octavio Siegle of Cuba, Salomon de la Selva of Nicaragua, and J. L. Hachtman of Haiti and San Domingo.

On Saturday at 10 a. m., Louis T. McFadden will speak on "Control of the Bank for International Settlements" which will be followed by a discussion "Control of International Loans" will be considered by Max Winkler, Robert W. Dunn, and Dorothy Detzer. At 2 p. m., "International Labor Standards" will be the subject of an address by Lefur Magnusson which will be followed by Isador Lubin who will discuss "World Radio Control." The last address will be by Thomas T. Reed on "World Oil Control."

## Gunman-Scab Acquitted of Murdering Unionist

PHILADELPHIA—(F.P.)—Through sabotage in the prosecutor's office, William Pfeiffer, brazen Aberle mill strikebreaker, has been acquitted of the murder of Carl Mackley, striker in a Philadelphia court. Three others held for the murder are expected to be released.

Hosiery Workers Federation officers were stunned by the verdict. They explained the freeing of the self-confessed slayer as due to the reluctance of all but one of the district attorney's staff to interest itself in the case. Asst. Dist. Atty. Gordon charged that the weight of the police department was thrown on the side of the strikebreakers and that the district attorney's office had to fight its own detectives to get all the data for a successful prosecution.

Union counsel believed Judge Samuel Reed's charge favored a second degree murder or a manslaughter verdict. Medical experts proved Mackley was killed by one of the seven bullets the gunman fired into the auto filled with four unionists. Defense attorneys said Pfeiffer had suffered "convulsions of the brain."

Observers attributed the acquittal verdict to the "hopelessly supine attitude of the people of Philadelphia for the past two generations." "Rotten politics," they said, "has rotted the moral fiber of the people."

## Amusements

(Continued from Page One)

four lawyers in the production, all members of the investigating committee loaned to the production for the summer by Congress. A big staff of detectives are at work digging up original quips and songs for the performance. Since these "red" plays have been quite the rage during the last ten years, the producers are determined to dig up some new line.

Edgar Hoover played an important role at the time A. Mitchell Palmer staged "The Nation Must Be Saved," in 1919 and 1920. He will be remembered for his fine acting in the scenes where he convinced Immigration Commissioner Caminetti of the imminence of a Communist uprising. This stirring acting, it will be recalled, led to the mob scenes wherein Caminetti issued warrants for the arrest and deportation of 20,000 "red" aliens. That show had as its finale several deaths by beating, slugging, etc. It is not proposed that the present production, because of the summer weather, will go in for such heavy tragedy. Humor will very likely be its strong point. Hoover performed so well under the Palmer management that Mr. Harry F. Daugherty, once a luminary in the production field, subsequently placed him in several of his productions. The producers are counting on a long and impressive run in New York and other cities but are confident that if the sophisticated city audiences do not take well to it, the show will be sure to go well in the provinces. It is being advertised to take the people's minds verted as a sure-fire hit guaranteed by the producers and similar obsessions.

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## Aged Pension Movement Is Spreading Out

Association Reports Committees Being Set Up in All Sections of Country

A NATION-WIDE wave of vigorous organization of committees, conferences and associations to work for the establishment of old-age pension systems in every state of the union is sweeping the country since the enactment of the pension measure in New York State, the June issue of the Old Age Security Herald, organ of the American Association for Old Age Security, reports. The Herald reported that calls for organizers, literature, advice and help had been received by the Association from many parts of the country, "from Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., and across the continent to the Southeast."

"Despite the fact that the legislative season is over and the Summer lull in other fields has begun to set in, there is greater demand than ever in the past for the launching of local, city and state organizations for pensions," the publication wrote. "The life of the movement for the social protection of the aged poor of America has been considerably quickened and intensified."

Appeals for aid in organization had come, the Herald reported, from the Portland, Ore., League of Women Voters, and the Federation of Women's Clubs, a newly formed "Three Score and Ten Club" of Miami, Fla., from legislators in Oklahoma and Ohio and from judges in Michigan and Kansas. Other pension help has been asked by city officials of Baltimore and Boston.

## Reply To Forbes

During May, permanent old-age security conferences have been organized in Connecticut, Michigan, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In Connecticut, the newly-established conference, with which are affiliated civic, labor and religious bodies, is preparing a pension bill for introduction in the Legislature. The Michigan Old Age Pension League is planning a pension campaign in the Fall and special efforts are being made by the New Jersey Council on Old Age Pensions to promote the pension movement in that State.

The Herald announced that the Massachusetts legislature had passed a pension measure for the relief of persons seventy years of age and older and that the proposal is awaiting the signature of the Governor. If passed, the Massachusetts measure would be the second pension system established on the eastern coast this year, New York having enacted its measure a few months ago. A pension measure has also been introduced in the Louisiana legislature and pension appropriations have been requested in a resolution now before the Baltimore Board of Estimates.

An attack on B. O. Forbes, editor of Forbes' Magazine, for publishing misleading and contradictory information about the old-age security movement was contained in a special article in the Herald, written by Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the Association. Mr. Epstein, criticizing a Forbes series of articles by Samuel Crowther, declared that he had exaggerated the cost of a pension system, had given incorrect information about the extent to which American citizens are insured and had overlooked the need for protection for the American aged poor.

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## Penna. Unions Give Maurer Long Ovation

### Convention Delegates Then Endorse Davis for U. S. Senate and Pinchot for Governor

ALTOONA, Pa. (FP)—Few greater ovations have been given any labor man in recent years than that tendered James H. (Jim) Maurer, Socialist leader, when he arose to address the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor convention in Altoona. Conservative labor men cheered and miners stamped as the man who has grown gray in the service of the labor and radical movement in this country arose to address them, in a speech that ranged from a cold analysis of the evils of private profit industrialism to a stirring appeal to labor to unite on the political and industrial field to take control from inefficient, wasteful, labor crushing employers.

Maurer spoke as a delegate of the Reading Plumbers Union. Men to whom Socialism seems a strange and foreign idea, men who had just come through a primary election in which they had supported conservative Republican candidates, cheered Maurer to the echo when he appealed for a 16-hour week as sufficient to support workers' decency if they would throw exploiters off their backs.

Then, in a curious switch the Federation dusted off its Labor party and placed Secretary of Labor James J. Davis on that ticket as its nominee for the U. S. Senate and also give a Labor party endorsement to Gifford Pinchot for Governor, whom it had opposed in the primary!

Between 250,000 and 300,000 workers are jobless in Pennsylvania, State Secretary of Labor Peter Glick told the convention. This unemployment is costing wage earners \$1,000,000 a day in purchasing power, said Glick, who placed the responsibility at the door of employers who "control the opportunities for work."

**Private Detectives Attacked**  
Maurer's principles were echoed by Dr. Charles D. Rockel of the Christ Reformed Church, who declared unemployment could be solved only by a radical reconstruction of the social order, with in-laws and in every other possible way—until definite steps are taken by legislative bodies and the workers to remedy the present situation.

**To Draw Model Bill**  
The recent statement by the American Federation of Labor indicates that unemployment is still on the up-grade. With the continued advance of the machine and with the entry of Russia and the United States of Europe into the international market, this evil will increase rather than diminish. It is imperative that ways and means be adopted without hesitation to relieve the situation, which the shorter work week will tend to do, and to give immediate aid to the unemployed when actually hit by this paralysis. Unemployment insurance commends itself as the only step in this latter direction.

"We plan to formulate a model unemployment insurance bill, and to carry the message of the need for its passage to every available source of public opinion, particularly among the workers, who are the victims of the present diseased social condition. Research workers will aid in that task, and the immediate campaign of agitation and education shall be in charge of Louis Francis Budenz, executive secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor action who is returning to New York City to take up this work. Mr. Budenz has been in charge of a number of strikes and organization drives throughout the country during the past few years—including the militant strikes at Kenosha, Wis., and Nazareth, Pa.

**Clash on India**  
Another speaker at the dinner, which was attended by almost 200, was Oscar Ameringer, editor of the Illinois Miner. Because of the current interest in India and the C. P. U. A's anti-imperialist principles, Sallendra Nath Ghose, J. Vijaya-Tunga, and Dr. John H. Lathrop were invited to speak on the Indian situation. Ghose denounced the Labor government in unmeasured terms, and urged forcible rebellion in India in contrast to the program of non-resistance favored by Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Vijaya-Tunga proved to be a supporter of Gandhi. "I am only 25 per cent nationalist," he said. "If I were 100 per cent nationalist and believed in violent revolt, I think I should be in India rather than devoting my time to making after-dinner speeches in New York City."

**Philips Is President**  
Following an address by Pres. John J. Manning of the A. F. of L. union label trades department the Federation convention asked the legislature prohibiting the importation of prison made goods into the state, in accordance with provision of the federal Cooper-Hawes act. Margaret Burke of the Women's Trade Union League asked union support for the southern organizing campaign.

John A. Phillips, new Federation president, told the convention that his administration would work for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, shorter hours for women and children, strict enforcement of the workmen's compensation act and its extension to cover occupational diseases.

All truth is safe, and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men for motives of expediency is either a coward or a criminal.—Max Muller.

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## Green Gets Medal for Industrial Harmony

Pres. William Green of the A. F. of L. has been awarded a Roosevelt medal for his efforts on behalf of peace in industry. The medal reads, "If I must choose between righteousness and peace, I choose righteousness."

"As president of the A. F. of L.," reads the citation, "he has both symbolized and directed the new policy of cooperation in industry, representing the American concept of industrialism and self-reliance and fighting with success the disruptive influence of the radical element preaching Communism and class war. In a period of unrest and readjustment he has prevented conflict and at the same time strengthened the position of the trade union in the social order."

## C.P.L.A. to Wage Campaign for Job Insurance

### 200 Attend Annual Dinner of Labor Progressives in N. Y.—India Discussed

A NATIONAL campaign for unemployment insurance and a shorter work week, "within unions and without, at mill gates and in every other possible way," was launched by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at its annual dinner Tuesday in New York City. The announcement was made by A. J. Muehle, chairman, and Louis Francis Budenz, executive secretary of the Conference.

Mr. Budenz will direct the campaign. Beginning with New York City and vicinity, the "plan is to spread the demand for unemployment relief in a practical way into every possible city and hamlet," the announcement states.

Muste said: "A national campaign for unemployment insurance and a shorter work week, as urgent immediate forms of relief in the intolerable unemployment situation, will be launched by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at its annual dinner this evening. We plan to carry on this campaign within unions and without, at mill gates and in every other possible way—until definite steps are taken by legislative bodies and the workers to remedy the present situation."

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## Chicago Socialist Club Urges Gandhi Release

CHICAGO.—"Free Gandhi immediately! Vindicate Labor Honor!" This is the text of a cable unanimously ordered sent to Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of England by the University of Chicago Socialist Club on learning that the Labor and Socialist head of the British empire had permitted the Indian freedom leader's imprisonment.

Everyone can see the ill-effects of bad theories. It is only about good theories that they are sceptical.—Hobhouse, in "Social Development."

## N. Y. Millinery Workers Celebrate 20 Years of Battle for the Union

### Spector Recalls Two Decades of Struggle Amid a Rapidly Changing Industry

MILLINERY workers who for 20 years have battled for the unionization of one of New York's major industries, celebrated the 20th birthday of Local 24 of the Millinery Workers International Union.

Nathaniel Spector, manager of the local and one of the original organizers, told The New Leader the story of its inception and struggles which make Job's trials sound mild.

"In 1910 most of the women workers who made the elaborate hats bespiced with flowers and feathers, that women were wearing then, came from New England and southern Europe as seasonal workers. They invaded the shops on the lower east side and remained only for the duration of the season," Spector explained.

"The prospect of reorganizing them every year was no encouraging reflection," he continued. "As a matter of fact the first five years of our activity were a constant struggle to keep the vision of the union alive and to educate the women to class conscious consideration of their problems as millinery workers instead of women who made hats part of each year."

**The Strike of 1919**  
"By 1915, with four years of grueling work back of us, interest had been aroused in unionism, and the 5,000 members then enrolled were so eager for improvement of conditions that spontaneous individual shop strikes occurred in great numbers. A few had to succeed, but the bosses beat fully 95% of them. By the end of the year, manufacturers weary of battling their workers and began to take us into working agreements. In five years our local and locals 42, 43 and 50 practically covered the industry. Wages were forced up from 15 to 30% and working hours

## Big Mooney Rallies Called by Socialists

(Continued from Page One)  
Myrtle avenue, on Tuesday evening, June 17.

Harry Kritzer, Joseph Viola and Marjorie Dorman, representing the Kings County Committee of the Socialist Party, are actively engaged in making plans for the conference and the mass-meeting. Nationally-known speakers are being invited to attend the Academy of Music meeting, and special committees are being formed to visit various organizations to secure their participation in the arrangements.

A Socialist Committee of One Hundred, with representatives from every Assembly district in Kings County, was organized at a meeting held last Thursday evening at 167 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn. The encouraging and spontaneous response to the appeal that the Brooklyn rally be made the largest in the nation has convinced the Academy of Music will have a capacity audience on the evening of July 15.

**Outdoor Rally Planned**  
New York County Socialists are contemplating a large outdoor rally. Marx Lewis, executive secretary, announces that an effort will be made to procure Union Square for a rally. As soon as definite information is received from the authorities that the use of the square will be permitted a committee representing labor and civic organizations, as well as Socialist party branches, will be organized to insure the success of the meeting. It is expected that large outdoor rallies will be held during the entire week that has been set aside for the Mooney release meetings, and these meetings will serve to stimulate interest and bring support for the larger rallies to be held on the Square and other centrally located places.

Additional details will be made public in next week's issue of the New Leader. In the meantime, Socialist party officials and workers in various counties are being requested by Lewis to submit suggestions for meetings in desirable places during the week of July 15-22.

## N.Y. Drug Clerks Union Issues Publication

A new publication has made its entrance into the labor press with the first issue of the "Voice of the Drug Clerks," published by the Drug Clerks Union of Greater New York. The union is struggling for a foothold in the city, but one would never guess it by the make up of the paper. It looks more like the convention number of the Retail Druggists Association. The articles themselves militate enough stressing the need for organization and telling of the present plight of the drug clerk. However, much of the force of the argument is lost by the swell cover and the expensive paper in the journal. It seems that a cheaper paper gotten out more often would have much greater propaganda value and would be of more help in organization.

decreased from 60 to 48 hours a week."

Discussing the strike of 1919, Spector said, "When the bulk of our agreements expired in 1919, we wanted to gain further ground. Industrial unionism was our ideal, and we called an industrial strike. Our general strike of 1919, which lasted 19 weeks, saw even retail stores picketed. We spent \$250,000 and lost the strike. Police and scabs—women scabs—broke that strike."

"Over 900 frame makers who struck in sympathy saw their whole industry crash when, on the heels of this defeat, the introduction of felt hats began. As for us, where five workers had been required to make a hat such as had been worn, one worker could turn out a felt hat, and in less time. Workers, practically starving at the end of the strike, begged for jobs. With only one-fifth as much work to do, and plenty of hungry yellow dog workers, slashed wages, reverted to old conditions, and it looked like Smith had been written on our union."

**Union's Trying Years**  
"All through 1921 and '22, with workers literally running when they saw a union official on the street, reorganization was a slow and thankless job. The women were a hopeless problem. Our tactics were to go to homes night after night, and when some stranger to the trade optimistically launched out making the new style felt hats we approached him. If he knew little enough about our late defeat we had a chance to break in."

Reverting to the early days again, Spector told how "during the first five years of our struggle the A. F. of L. engineered one of its famous jurisdictional disputes and tried to make us go over to the Hatters Union which makes men's hats. We refused, were read out of the Federation, and later, when the Federation officials had reflected a little, we were readmitted."

## Senators May Report Bill on Injunctions

(Continued from Page One)  
vised, or an adverse report should be made before Congress adjourns. He declared himself merely waiting for the opinion of the Department of Justice before taking some action to bring this or a substitute bill before the Senate—to get it on the calendar, though not to enact it this summer. He complained that the majority of the committee needed a real report on the Norris measure, and had been refused one. He was reading Frankfurter's book, which is in effect a brief for the Norris bill, but he must have the Department's view in reply.

**Deneen Sees Impatience!**  
Deneen was all suavity. He assured this correspondent that the labor press had been too urgent, "trying to drive this bill through without proper consideration and study." Like Steiwer, he complained that the subcommittee had made no printed report. But he denied for the benefit of organized labor at home, that he was trying to kill anti-injunction legislation. Far from it! All he wanted was time to study every phase of it. He saw no reason why an adverse report could not be made, bringing the bill to the calendar before the summer adjournment.

Norris smiled when he heard that the opposition promised to let the bill come to the calendar, under an adverse report. He was ready to make a minority report. But he had not seen fit to tell him so. He still felt that they were engaged in sabotage.

Though it is the working class which produces all the world's wealth, it is not the working class that enjoys most of it.—William Restelle.

## Minn. Labor Rejects Plea Of Green for G.O.P. Senator

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Endorsement of U. S. Senator McCall by President Green of the American Federation of Labor in a circular sent to Minnesota trade unions comes into conflict with the unions in this state. The trade unions in Minnesota support independent political action through the Farmer-Labor Party. In addition to this the voter who has not regularly supported the Republican Party cannot participate in the Republican primaries. To attempt to vote in such primaries the voter would be liable to perjury if he is not enrolled as a Republican.

Commenting on this situation the Union Advocate of St. Paul declares that for 50 years the labor movement has been "dabbling in capitalist party politics and is today confronted with more serious economic and political problems than at the outset." It adds that this policy has brought labor a "blow in the face" and that "it were much better to stay out of politics entirely than to be forever traveling in a circle and doomed to disappointment." Continuing, the Advocate says:

## One Train Service Is Union Proposed

BUFFALO (FP)—Among issues threatening to stir lively debate at the Switchmen's national convention in Buffalo June 9 is a proposal that the Switchmen, Conductors and Railroad Trainmen consolidate into one union. The Switchmen belong to the A. F. of L. but the Trainmen, independent, challenge their right to yard employees.

Another resolution proposes that Negroes be permitted to join the union. There are about 3,000 Negroes employed in switching yards now, mostly in the south, but they are filtering as far north as Newark, N. J.

## Mo. Convention Hears Plea for Fighting Spirit

### Kansas Delegate Stirs Unionists With Plea for More Aggressive Methods

HANNIBAL, MO. (FP)—Stricter factory inspection, a statewide drive for the 5-day week as an unemployment remedy, abolition of one man street car in big cities, and a legislative crusade for an old age pension system by state law were voted by the annual convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor at Hannibal.

Pres. Wood's report deplored the starving condition of most labor papers, urged the workers to wake up with constructive support to their press and to start thinking about a daily labor paper to carry their printed messages. Abolition of the public service commission, utility regulating body, is asked because it has been too liberal with rate boards on telephone, gas, electric and traction lines.

The defeat of Parker for the U. S. supreme court was saluted as one of "the greatest victories ever won by organized labor." Sen. Hawes, Missouri, was thanked for his negative vote and his colleague, Sen. Patterson, was lashed for his vote to promote the yellow dogger. The Shipstead injunction bill was endorsed and its immediate passage urged. The recently enacted Hofstadter-Lefkowitz anti-injunction bill in New York was approved as model state legislation designed to uncrown the injunction kings.

**Immigration Opposed**  
Halt of all immigration for a period of five years was favored, and Congress was called upon for immediate action to put Muscle Shoals to work under government ownership.

Fraternal Delegate H. C. Ledyard from the Kansas Federation, a bricklayer, electrified the delegates with an address in which he appealed for a return to the labor militancy of old, when "we fought and did not care so much about telling the bosses how respectable we were." In their own hands lies the workers' sole salvation in the present jobless crisis, Ledyard said.

"Why try to deny the existence of a class struggle," he shouted, "when a select few spend their summers by the seashore, while millions of able-bodied men tramp the streets begging for enough work to give their kids bread. The American worker is treated worse than a jackass who is fed when he brays. But you can bray, out of a job, until Gabriel blows his horn, and your master don't care whether you are fed or hungry."

Following its annual custom for years, the convention called upon Gov. Young of California to give Mooney and Billings unconditional pardons. Officers were instructed to tighten their lines against a projected drive for state police in the coming legislature as well as an effort to kill the state primary law. The primary system of nominating candidates was endorsed as "the people's political police force." The next convention goes to Jefferson City.

It has also undertaken several ventures which have been successful only by virtue of the arduous efforts of the women of the committee. Two theatre parties were run, and on New Year's Eve a dinner dance was held at Webster Hall, where friends of the School gathered. Recently they ran a most enjoyable card party in the Studio of the School.

The committee, in addition to its regular meetings, has held a series of open meetings to which members of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party and friends have been invited. The speakers on these occasions were Dr. O. Knopf of Vienna, Dr. William H. Bridge, formerly of Hunter College, and Dr. T. N. Tennenbaum.

In view of the fact that a number of the women of the committee will spend the summer at Sandville, Camp Tamiment, the women are considering a special affair to be held at the camp during the summer. The committee is planning a number of unusual events for the coming season, and hopes to cooperate with the committee planning the 25th Anniversary Celebration of the School in some of the major undertakings of that committee. The Rand School is to be congratulated in having so able a body of women to assist and aid it. The Women's Committee assisted the School financially during many of its trying periods; in fact, it has contributed about one tenth to the school budget.

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The Labor Temple Poetry Forum, 242 East 14th street, N. Y. C., announces three more meetings before the close of the season, June 19, 24 and 29, Tuesday, 8:15-10:15 p. m. Madam One, Goldine Hillson, David

P. Berenberg, Stanton Coblentz, Philip Gray, Walter Adolphe Roberts, James E. Phillips, Edwin Markham and other poets will read. Book and magazine prizes to poets and audience. Admission 25 cents.



# Governor Roosevelt And The Tammany Scandals

By Louis Waldman

OFFICIAL corruption in New York City under Tammany-McCooley Rule rivals that of Chicago in the best days of the Crowe-Thompson combination. It is now four weeks since prosecutors and grand juries have been nibbling at Judge W. Bernard Vause. The major question, however, is not so much the alleged criminal or illegal activities of Judge Vause, but rather the disposition of the slush-fund of \$250,000 received by the Judge from the United American Lines for the procurement for the company of a lease from the city for ten years on piers numbers 84 and 86 North River.

Who received that money? Not having been given by the shipping company for legal services—since they had a lawyer to do the legal work, whom they paid well—why was this huge sum paid by the company to Judge Vause? For whom was that money intended?

Although these questions are on everyone's lips, Mayor Walker and the city administration have not taken a single step to obtain answers to these questions and to learn the truth. Our present administration may be accused of a lot of things, but it cannot be accused of being dull or obtuse. It knows that the whole city is anxious to learn for whom the \$250,000 was intended. It knows that Judge Vause was not a member of the Sinking Fund Commission. If the money was given to the judge in connection with these leases, then it was given as a slush-fund for some people whose influence was to be purchased.

Whose was it and what was paid for it? The Sinking Fund Commission, consisting of the very heads of our administration, voted on those leases. Their records must disclose upon whose recommendation the leases were approved by the Sinking Fund Commission. An inquiry from the Mayor from those appearing on those records would reveal all the links in the chain. Silence on the part of the administration when it is its plain duty to speak, condemns it before the public as concealing something—or shielding someone.

By pure accident, what used to be common rumor about the Board of Standards and Appeals became matter of public record. Were it not for an incidental examination of Mrs. Cutler in a bankruptcy proceeding, and her testimony that she paid \$10,000 to get the approval for a gasoline station from the Board of

Standards and Appeals, Dr. Doyle's traffic would have still continued unabated. As it is, some very significant facts have been disclosed.

Dr. Doyle, a former veterinary, deposits in a short period of three years, about \$1,000,000 in "fees." Most of these fees were received in cash. Why? For whom was the cash intended? His testimony, under oath, is that he split fees. With whom?

It is a matter of record that where other lawyers failed to get decisions from the Board of Standards and Appeals, Doyle succeeded. In fact, he got some very curious decisions. Why? And what was his power with the Board? Why was he able to command such huge fees? Was it his great skill and ability before this high tribunal that entitled him to those enormous fees? Or, was there another reason? If so, what was it? The Board of Standards and Appeals is the creature of the Mayor. He can remove its members at will. For close to a month the press was full with the shocking stories of the activities of Dr. Doyle and the Board of Standards and Appeals. Chairman Walsh lives in a \$4,000 a year apartment and pays for it \$1,500 in a building which came under his decision. The implications of these facts

are very serious.

Is there no pride left in our Mayor or the city administration? Every thoughtful citizen considers the Board of Standards and Appeals implicated in the disclosures. If chairman Walsh and the other members of the Board are innocent of wrongdoing, they should be cleared at once. If guilty, their continuance in office is a crime.

Why does not Mayor Walker do something about it? Has he ordered an investigation? Has he tried to find out what is going on? Dr. Doyle may conceal himself behind the constitutional immunity of refusing to answer because it would tend to "disgrace and incriminate him." What excuse is there for the administration's silence? Its failure to act constitutes a gross breach of duty.

In fact, the Tammany-McCooley combination in the Board of Aldermen cynically voted down a resolution to investigate the Board of Standards and Appeals on the ground that there was "nothing to investigate."

Obviously, the people of New York can no longer expect the city administration to "clean house." In a letter dated May 23, written by its Public Affairs Committee, the Socialist Party

made a demand upon the Governor that he order an investigation of the administration of the City of New York. To date, we have not heard from the Governor, who has just returned from Warm Springs, Georgia.

The need for an investigation of the revolting scandals in New York City is no longer a matter of politics; it has become a matter of morals and civic duty. If elementary honesty in government is to continue, we cannot afford to permit men high in public office to escape responsibility for criminal conduct. Not a thousand Communist agitators, let loose, would have the effect of undermining faith in democracy as much as official corruption such as is revealed in New York today.

Bribery of public officials has been deemed so vicious and reprehensible an offense that the state constitution itself undertook to regulate the subject. It did not leave it even to the Legislature. Article 8, Section 2 of the constitution provides that:

Any person holding office under the laws of this state, who, except in payment of his legal salary, fees or perquisites, shall receive or consent to receive, directly or indirectly, anything of value or of per-

sonal advantage, or the promise thereof for performing or omitting to perform any official act, or with the express or implied understanding that his official action or omission to act is to be in any degree influenced thereby, shall be deemed guilty of a felony."

Section 3 of the same article makes it a felony for any person to offer or promise a bribe to an officer.

Whatever excuse the Governor may have had for vetoing the legislative resolution authorizing him to appoint an investigating commission of New York City affairs, such excuse does not exist today for his failure to make an investigation. The very serious Vause slush-fund was then not yet brought to light; the Doyle-Board of Standards and Appeals scandals were still a matter of speculation; the Cooley scandal was publicly unknown; the unsavory recent appointments by the Mayor, referred to in our letter to the Governor, were not yet made. All of these matters came to light after the Governor vetoed the resolution to investigate New York City.

The people of the City of New York can expect no relief from the city administration. Mayor Walker meets each new exposure

with a cynical indifference. His current appointments to important public office reek with the corrupting odor of Tammany Hall. The latest outrage to public decency is his appointment of Magistrate McAndrews as his personal secretary and first aid. The New York Times correctly describes Mr. McAndrews as "the closest friend of John F. Curry, leader of Tammany."

With commendable frankness, The Times goes on to say: "During Mayor Walker's absences from City Hall the Tammany organization, it was said, has felt at times the lack of a guiding hand of sufficient power to carry out a desired program or check an action on the part of some subordinate city officials not desired by the organization. None of the Mayor's aids, it was said, was in a position to insist upon prompt compliance with instructions during the Mayor's absence. This will now be remedied."

"With Judge McAndrews, as he is known, in the Mayor's office, backed by the influence of Mr. Curry and the Tammany organization, it is expected that the disciplinary relationship between the Mayor's office and the city departments will be tightened at all times. The appointment of Judge McAndrews, said to have

been contemplated as long ago as two months, has materially increased Mr. Curry's prestige in Tammany, already advanced materially by the sweeping Democratic victory in the city election last year."

The Tammany-McCooley machine is running wild. Governor Roosevelt has the unparalleled opportunity to show his fearlessness and non-partisanship by ordering an investigation at once. He did not hesitate to appoint Mr. Undermyer to make an investigation in Westchester County when there were some charges that Mr. Washburn, a Republican supervisor, was improperly implicated in some sale of land for community purposes. By comparison with what is going on today in New York City, the charges against Mr. Washburn are a Sunday-school sermon. By ordering an investigation of New York City, the Governor could not be charged with politics. On the contrary, he would then truly demonstrate that in matters of elementary honesty in government and in public morals, he is willing to apply the same yardstick to Democratic local administrators as to Republican. His duty is plain.

Will he act?

## N.Y. Socialists To Get Pledge Fund Appeal

### Failure to Meet Appeal Will Seriously Curtail Party Activity

BETWEEN 2,500 and 3,000 members of the Socialist Party, readers of Socialist publications, and members of organizations in sympathy with the Socialist movement, will be asked during the next few days to join the Sustaining Fund now being raised by the New York City Socialist organization to enable the party to intensify its activities during the summer in preparation for the State campaign.

A letter, sent by the direction of the executive committee, and signed by Marx Lewis, executive secretary, appeals to 500 members and friends to pledge \$1 a month—25 cents a week—for the next five months, and 200 to pledge \$2.50 a month for the same period. If successful, \$1,000 will be added to the sustaining fund each month, and enable the party to begin issuing weekly leaflets, organizing large rallies, and appointing assistant organizers wherever necessary to build up the organization for the campaign.

Failure to raise the money will not only prevent the expansion of the party activities, but will lead to a curtailment of existing activities, due to the slump in the receipt of finances which comes with the summer season, Lewis declared.

With the income from dues practically abolished since the change of the dues system to \$1 a year, Lewis explained, the Socialist organization must rely more than ever on voluntary contributions and pledges to finance its activities. At the beginning of the year, close to \$2,000 was pledged to the Sustaining Fund, part of which was paid in immediately. The monthly income from pledges now is \$125.

"The sustaining fund as it now stands, neither reflects the extent to which party members are willing to contribute to the party, nor affords the party the opportunity to carry on its work efficiently throughout the city," Lewis declared, in making these figures public. "The bare figures will convince the party membership that they are not giving the party officials an opportunity to do their utmost for the rebuilding of the party."

"We know that many party members are called upon to give to their branches, and to other party activities. Yet there must be at least 700 party members and Secretary, Jane Tait well known Socialist agitator during the movement's most trying years, and William Adams, still active as Allegheny County Organizer at 70 years, were permitted to spend all

## Maurer Leads Fight Of Pennsylvania Socialists

(Continued from Page One)

the time they wanted in the contemplation of the past but refused, eagerly bending their thoughts ahead. One vacant place was noticed with regret; that of Birch Wilson, long time pioneer worker for Socialism in Reading. Flowers and a copy of McAlister Coleman's biography of Debs, autographed by the entire Convention, was forwarded with a group of the delegates who visited Comrade Birch Wilson at the Sanitarium. Comrade Lilith Wilson, wife of Birch, presided.

The final sessions of the Conference, Sunday, June 1st, rose to the highest pitch of enthusiasm with the official nomination of "Jim" Maurer for governor. Comrade Maurer "accepted" in a speech that rang out the challenge of militancy, sharply castigating any policy of political opportunism, declaring, with the experience in Reading immediately at hand, that no gains of political office or advantage could be so important as the function of the Socialist Party in bringing a large section of the American working class to a realization of the nature and the significance of the fundamental quality of capitalist civilization, the CLASS STRUGGLE.

In homely pungent phrase, Maurer pictured the capitalist system today with its tariffs and disarmament conferences sowing the seeds of war horror, and its wealth-coining industry grinding out wholesale misery for the producing workers.

seeds of war horror, and its wealth-coining industry grinding out wholesale misery for the producing workers. For solidarity of labor on the international front to fight against the international disaster of war that the capitalist system is brewing openly each day.

Maurer Hits Pinchot. Maurer grimly paid his respects to the "liberal" candidacy of Clifford Pinchot, former governor, whom he declared definitely under the thumb of Grundy and the most corruption-ridden governor that he had known in his 17 years Presidency of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Maurer was greeted with prolonged and affectionate applause.

A full state ticket was finally nominated, including Mary Winsor of Haverford for Lieut.-Governor, William Van Essen of Pittsburgh for U. S. Senator and David Rinne of Pittsburgh for Secretary of Internal Affairs.

### Debate On India

The report of the Resolutions committee closed the Convention with the stormiest session of the two days. The report of the Resolutions committee dealing with prison reform was unanimously adopted. It was immediately followed by the moving of a resolution from the floor expressing sympathy with all colonial peoples in their struggle against imperialist oppression and specifically mentioning India. The resolution was opposed by Chairman Joseph E. Cohen of the Resolutions committee as being an attack on and a rebuke of the Labor government of England. This meaning of the resolution was accepted by the proponents of the motion and the absence of any difference between the Labor and other imperialist governments pointed out and denounced.

A stormy debate led by Raymond Hofes of the Labor Advocate and Mary Winsor for, and Joseph Cohen against the resolution followed, which was finally compromised by a narrow margin of five votes on a motion calling the attention of the National Executive Committee to the resolution at their next meeting at Bridgeport, Connecticut, the last of this month.

The length and heat of the debate led Mary Winsor to modify a resolution proposing endorsement of total disarmament to one asking study of Senator Frazier's proposed constitutional amendment for total disarmament in the United States. After caustic criticism and defense of the original resolution killed by the Resolutions committee, the motion to recommend to locals and branches for study was unanimously passed.

Turning again to the immediate task of building a working-class Socialist movement in the state, the 1930 conference adjourned for work, singing Solidarity.

## Capacity Fills Tamiment on Opening Days

### Seven Hundred Guests Take Possession of Camp Three Days

CAMP TAMIMENT did too much advertising, or else there were too many old timers talking up the merits of its organization. When the office opened last Thursday morning clouds of dust from the worn highway rose like the oncoming of a tornado. New shining buses were beginning to snake their winding way into camp and by midnight almost seven hundred souls had been housed and fed and made ready for the cold brilliance of the morning.

Cold does not keep Tamiment adherents away, and not one is a letter-carrier pledged to the rain and sleet slogan, either. There were so many tennis rackets on the porch of the office that one would think seven hundred waiters had arrived from all the campuses in the U. S. A.

Tennis tournaments, ping pong forays for Tamiment letters, plenty of spirited horses and a high wind for tennis, together with a dining hall packed to the steps with gay faces and with ten sweaters on, made a record crowd of it. And record it was. Never in the history of Camp Tamiment were so many people assembled on a Decoration Day before, and never were there so many eager vacationists turned down for lack of space.

The fireplaces were blazing, the roads at night under the stars had their marching couples in quota. The days warmed up and by the time Sunday morning cut open the blue horizon of night with its golden spears the summer warmth had burned to stay. All were reluctant to go home.

Entertainment included crack orchestration for the dances, plays by Louis Parker and Lawrence Langner, a sensational creation from Shakespeare by Reginald Goods, the famous actor, who was a guest, and a musical revue program. The daily Tamiment Times kept the crowd informed of all activity, giving them current news and intimate chatter. Don Hartman's staff worked hard to make "everybody" happy. Among those present were Louis P. Goldberg, Dr. Louis Reiss of Newark, Emil and Rose Schlesinger, Charles Manhof of Newark, Dr. Nicholas Kopoloff, Dr. I. Swetlow, Norris Berman, I. Jacobson and wife, Dr. Saul Carp, Harry Gair and wife, and Charles Shapiro.

### Bronx Socialists to Hold Dinner on June 21st

Bronx County Socialists are engaged in many activities, more than in any year since 1917. The renewed life has permeated the membership and further momentum will be given to it by a big affair now being arranged. A very fine banquet has been arranged by the County Committee for Saturday evening, June 21st, at the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Avenue, between Westchester Avenue and 163rd street. An interesting program is being arranged by the committee in charge who are Louis Well, Irving M. Knobloch, Dr. Louis Hendin, Murray Gross, David Kaplan and Dr. A. Mollin. The committee promises that the meal will be an excellent one.

## Pioneer Youth Staff Meets Needs Of Eager Youngsters

EXPLAINING that the intelligence and earnestness of Pioneer Youth club leaders whom he had met in leaders training conferences is the reason why he accepted the appointment as director of the national experimental camp during the coming summer, Alexis Fern has announced this season's camp staff at the annual meeting of the Pioneer Youth board of directors held recently.

Fern, a pioneer in creative education for working-class children, said that Henry Paley teacher at the Brooklyn Ethical Culture school will direct the junior division for children 9-11 years old. Paley, who has had three summer's experience in the Pioneer

Youth camp, was for two years a teacher at the City and Country school and taught for one year in a progressive school in California. Assisting him will be several old members of the staff: Celia Paley trained in work with younger children; Jack Eisenberg, a medical student; Rose Smoke, Pioneer Youth club leader and a member of the neckwear workers union; and Hal Cantor, a Pioneer Youth boy now studying at New York University. New counselors in this division will be Raymond Koch, Commonwealth College student, a carpenter by trade; and Martha Ephraim, a Hunter College graduate who will assist with the music.

### Praise

"He (McAlister Coleman) knows the arts of the modern biographer but has wisely avoided the smart and the easy clichés of the amateur psycho analyst. The result is an objective, swiftly moving narrative of the man Eugene V. Debs . . . A real contribution to a nation and a movement both of which need to cherish great men as their richest possessions."—Norman Thomas in the Herald-Tribune.

"Coleman's book will open the door to an interesting period in American labor history and to a highly interesting personality."—The New York Times.

"In honest and reasoned political writing, Mr. Coleman gives you a good portrait of a man whose abilities were poorly recognized during his lifetime. Honestly recommended."—The New Yorker.

"McAlister Coleman has made Debs the vivid figure that he was in life. Eugene gives from one chapter to another, a stormy petrel, the superb agitator, the adorable man, the affectionate comrade and courageous spirit. He lives again in the pages of this fine biography."—James O'neal in The New Leader.

### And Dispraise(?)

"But his (Coleman's) personal admiration for Debs too often gets control and sweeps into passages of sloppy panegyrics."—Time.

## Special New Leader Offer

"Eugene V. Debs" by McAlister Coleman, and The New Leader for Six Months. Both for . . .

\$3.00

(The book sells at all book stores for \$3.50, and The New Leader at \$1.00 for six months. This offer means a saving of \$1.50).

Offer Limited to One Month It Expires July 7th. This Offer Applies to NEW Subscriptions Only and NOT TO RENEWALS.

"Gene—tender, brooding, his golden voice rising and falling, as he talked of the joys of the coming co-operative commonwealth."

## EUGENE V. DEBS

A Man Unafraid

By McALISTER COLEMAN

GREENBERG, Publisher

America's Greatest Socialist in a Biography That Reveals Debs the Agitator, Debs at Home, Debs the Strike Leader, Debs the Foe of War, Debs the Prisoner.

"Eugene V. Debs" Leaves the Color of a Great Symphony as One Puts Down the Book—The Slow, Sweet Moments of Boyhood—"The Tow-Headed Kid at Terre Haute" Struggling for the Mastery of His Own Mind and Emotions—The Doubts of Early Manhood Sweep Him Into the Whirlpool of Labor Organizing and Union Politics—The slow Rumbles of Revolt and the First Great Crescendo, "The Debs Rebellion"—Marching Troops. Clash of Arms, Workers in Blind Revolt—Then an Interlude of Meditation—Debs in Prison—The Symphony Resumes in Clear, Strong Notes as the Full-Grown Debs Emerges, Politically Aware, Emotionally Afflame—The Fire Burns Strong as Debs Joins and Leads the Socialist Pioneers—Years of Strident Battle Leading With Inevitable Climax to a Hero Standing Before a Sneering, Snarling Nation, Maddened by War—"I Abhor War"—The Storm Breaks Around Debs' Erect Head—Mob Hysteria, Lynchings, Deportation, Prisons Fail to Bow Him—The Symphony Ends—Beauty, Fraternity, Devotion, Promise—"The Heart Beat No More, Gene Died With His Hand in Theodore's."

"Eugene V. Debs" Illustrated With New Hitherto Unpublished Photos

The 15-Year-Old Gene—Marguerite Debs, the Mother—Gene's Father, Jean Daniel—Gene, the Organizer of the Railroaders—Katherine M. Debs—Secretary of the Firemen, 1886—A Convention of the Locomotive Firemen—Organizer of the A. R. U.—The Troops Arrive at Chicago, 1894—During the "Debs Rebellion"—The "Quiet" Period at Woodstock Jail—Theodore Debs—"The Red Special"—The Presidential Candidate—"The Old Agitator"—"Journey's End"—Debs' Favorite Cartoon of Himself

THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th St., N.Y.C.

Enclosed please find \$3.00 for which you will send me post-free a copy of EUGENE V. DEBS by McAlister Coleman and a six months' subscription to The New Leader.

Send the Book to

Send The New Leader to

Name . . . . .	Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .	Address . . . . .
Name . . . . .	Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .	Address . . . . .

Date, . . . . . 1930

Marx Lewis, Secretary  
Socialist Party,  
7 East 15th Street, New York City.  
Dear Comrade Lewis:

To aid in carrying out the enlarged program of Socialist Party activities in New York City during the balance of the year 1930, I pledge the following amount:

(Please check amount of total pledge)

\$1.00 | \$2.50 | \$5.00 | \$10.00 | \$25.00 | \$50.00 | \$100.00 | \$

This I shall want to pay at the rate of \$ . . . . . (per month, quarterly) on or about . . . . . 1930.  
(Please fill in date or dates of payments)

Name . . . . .

Street and Number . . . . .

City and State . . . . .



## WE "GO SOCIAL" TOO

A CAT may look at a king and let a queen scratch the back of her ears. And then, when she has had enough, a cat will get up, stretch—and yawn contemptuously in the very faces of royalty.

For among all the animals the cat is the purest of the pure. By that I mean that a cat is possessed of a certain austere, clean-cut integrity of character which rises superior to circumstances, is indifferent to pomp and title and is completely unaffected by the ordinary vicissitudes of existence. The cat is the aristocrat who comes to stoop either to conquer or to acquiesce.

Just now, you must know that there is raging throughout the feline world a controversy to my way of thinking far more profound and absorbing than any misty Humanist row. It has been precipitated by the pronouncement of a scientist who has been experimenting on cats and now makes the rash statement that the findings indicate that male cats are more intelligent than female cats.

When we brought the news to The Bear, the talented granddaughter of the even more talented Isabel, there came from her sleek black body a rumbling sound indicating mirth, withering, satiric. "So they judge the intelligence of us women by the alacrity with which we step on plates," she said, turning up a disdainful whisker. "As a matter of fact, I am astonished that any self-respecting tom should engage in such a childish under-taking. I thought that intelligence tests and the like had gone out, together with pillow-dex and the 'Ask Me Another' books. And I cannot help but regard it as a degradation of our species that we should be subject to such trivia."

"Stepping on plates, indeed," and by this time The Bear was fairly a-bristle with indignation. "What do they think we are? When I want food I announce that fact and food is provided. If it isn't there, you know well enough what happens. I just raise such godawful hell that the whole house starts opening salmon cans. Tell that feel-minded scientist that the experiment simply goes to prove how the male of our species has degenerated. The next thing you know they will have cats on the stage counting up to ten like dumb ponies or jumping through rings in the manner of performing seals. And when that day comes may I have had my tenth death and be stalking through the shades of Avernus."

And that settled that. But before we leave the subject of cats we wish to make a strenuous and whole-souled plea for some comrade-reader who is sympathetic with the nature of those adorable beasts to give us a hand in placing four or five of the finest cats who padded around on four feet. Their owner wants to give them a good home for the summer. They are kittens who have in them the blue blood of Isabel herself and if you are interested and mean business we shall be tickled to death to have you write us and say, "Send them along and we'll see that they have a swell home."

We have before us a \$1,500 page advertisement in The New York Times of True Story Magazine. While we have on other occasions expressed our profound admiration for the author of these masterpieces, this latest product leaves us practically inarticulate. It is headed: "Jim Smith Eats a Lettuce Salad and GOES SOCIAL." In the sweeping style of an ancient singer of sagas it goes on to relate how Jim Smith, a factory worker, came home one night and found Mr. and Mrs. Wallace, neighbors of his, in the living-room of his house.

"When Jim came into the living-room, Wallace was wearing a neck-tie and a sheepish look and Mrs. Wallace was actually dressed up." Of course, being a poor, simple factory worker Jim couldn't imagine what the Wallaces were doing there. "Jim went batty trying to think it out. When a neighbor is in trouble, he came to your house or you went to his. But he didn't dress up for the occasion." So the groggy Jim, all befuddled, goes in and puts on his coat at his wife's command and sits down at the table and starts to grab his food thinking maybe the house was on fire or something. But his wife, who has been reading books on etiquette, snatches the platter out of his hands and passes it first to the Wallaces. Did he get up and sock the good woman on the jaw? Not Jim. A great transformation had taken place.

"Then something suddenly happened to Jim Smith, something about as beautiful as ever comes into the life of a man," to quote our favorite author. What do you suppose that was, boys and girls? Do you reckon that Jim found a fifty dollar gold piece at the bottom of his soup? Do you figure that Jim was told that he had been elected Vice President in Charge of Pic-Nics of his Company Union? Do you dare it out that Jim had become a father during a lull in the conversation? Uh-uh. "Instead of diving down to get his food," we are quoting again, "he looked up and began talking to his neighbor. Timidly at first as a young girl at her first love affair."

But it wasn't until his wife came in with nothing less than a lettuce salad that the BIG BANG hit Smith. It was then he "Went Social" with a vengeance for it seems among the lower classes, of which Jim is a member, lettuce wasn't food at all. "Lettuce was usually designated as grass."

Who says that advertising isn't one of the greatest educational forces in the modern world? Who dares deny the cultural potency of 24 point, snappy layout and plenty of white space?

Were it not for the illumination which advertising like this throws into the inner life of the factory worker at home, all our lives might go in utter ignorance of the habits of those obscure but nevertheless fascinating persons. What years of patient research must have gone into the discovery that factory workers never go visiting unless there is a funeral! How prolonged and exhaustive must have been the field work necessary to establish the fact that factory workers think lettuce is grass! And what wouldn't we have given to have the blessed privilege of standing with the author of this gem on the sidelines while Jim Smith talked to neighbor Wallace like a "young girl at her first love affair." As the advertisement concludes: "Why True Story Magazine should be the only publication interested in these tremendous economic and social changes (i.e., the serving of lettuce salad, etc.) of our wage-earning masses is quite beyond understanding."

We don't understand either, Bernarr, but we are mighty glad to hear that you are all "having a bully time at True Story Magazine." We are having a perfectly adorable time here at "The New Leader" and Eddie Levinson, who has always thought that shrimps were a sort of Alfalfa, has just sent out for a mess of them. As for me, I have GONE SOCIAL and I'm sitting in the corner with my coat on crooning at Jim Oneal through my brand new megaphone.

McAlister Coleman.

### Competition

Competition is the wrangling of savages around a table at which they might sit at peace and pass each other victuals; it is the grabbing of the dishes as they are brought on by the waiters of Providence—the laws of Nature; it is the flinching from weaker neighbors of their portion, so that one is hungry and another is drunken.—Sir Oliver Lodge.

## From Our Foreign Correspondents

# The Flemish Problem Unsolved

## Celebration of Belgium's Revolutionary Anniversary Brings Reminder of Belgium's Race Question

By Emile Vandervelde

(Special Correspondent of The New Leader in France and Belgium.)

BRUSSELS, MAY 18th

THIS year Belgium is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the revolution of 1830 which separated it from Holland and gave it political independence.

There will be brilliant exhibitions at Antwerp and Liege. Taking into consideration the Belgian character, there is no danger of lack of rejoicing. It is less certain that the workers will participate in the fete and that, in this jubilee year, the majority in Parliament will consent to prolong the session so as to pass two pieces of social legislation impatiently awaited: increased old age pensions and obligatory insurance against illness and invalidity. As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, it wouldn't look good for it to fail to rejoice over the centenary of a regime which once made Karl Marx remark that Belgium was the paradise of capitalism.

Nevertheless, there is something which doesn't cease troubling the fete. This is the conflict, which doesn't seem to be as yet on the road to a settlement, between the two language groups into which the Belgian population is divided—Flemish and Walloon.

Some Flemings who are autonomists or separatists like to com-

pare their situation with that of the Irish.

It is necessary to say that this comparison is not exact. In Great Britain, before Home Rule, two peoples were facing each other who spoke the same language, but who didn't have the same religion, or the same political and economic interests.

In Belgium today, on the contrary, there are two peoples who don't speak the same language, but whose interests and religious beliefs are not in opposition.

In fact, the census shows that of 7,000,000 Belgians, about 3,000,000 speak only French, while 3,000,000 others speak only Flemish, i.e., a German tongue identical, as a language of culture, with that spoken in Holland.

Besides, about 1,000,000 Belgians speak both national languages, but nearly all of these are Flemings and the majority are the so-called French Flemings, belonging to the bourgeoisie, who take pride in being the representatives of French culture in Flanders.

It is just the existence of this French minority that has given rise to the "Flemish question" and created a very serious problem, both political and social, at present. Immediately after the revolution of 1830, the whole Belgian bourgeoisie, in Flanders as well as in the Walloon country, used French almost exclusively and, as this bourgeoisie was the sole possessor of the vote under the early franchise system, it didn't cease, for three-quarters of a century, to work for the compulsory "Frenchification" of the country. Forty years ago the Belgians speaking Flemish, in spite of their elementary rights, were tried, ordered and administered in French, i.e., in a language that they understood poor-

ly or not at all; and the Flemish language, disdained, scorned and regarded as a "vulgar patois" as the language of the workers, peasants and domestics, hardly had any place at all in official Belgium.

But conditions have changed, as they naturally had to change from the moment when, thanks to the Labor (Socialist) Party, the Belgian workers, both Flemish and Walloon, won the right to vote. Since then, expressly since universal manhood suffrage pure and simple (through the suppression of the double or triple voting power possessed by the rich) had existed, i.e., since the World War, laws have been enacted putting the two languages upon an almost equal footing.

In the Flemish part of the country the courts function in Flemish. In Flemish cities the administration is conducted in Flemish. In the army there are Flemish units and French units of the two State universities, the one at Ghent has been exclusively Flemish for several months now. In short, the Flemish movement has practically accomplished the complete realization of its slogan, "In Vlaanderen Vlaamsch" (In Flanders, Flemish).

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that this legal equalization has sufficed, or can suffice, to settle a conflict which many regard as a serious menace to national unity.

First of all, in the Flemish country the French bourgeois, those dubbed the "fransquillons," try their best to twist the language laws and to maintain, practically, the old supremacy of French.

Secondly, the Walloon population, which is a minority in the

whole country, is uneasy at noting the growing influence of the Flemish element, whose birth rate is much higher than its own. These people are wondering if, in the long run, the ancient French domination will not be displaced, in Belgium, by a Flemish domination which will put them, in their turn, in a state of inferiority.

Finally, in Flanders itself, there has been since the war a party called the "Frontists," the "Flemish Nationalists," which is not satisfied with the language equality, something that it holds illusory in many cases, and which sees salvation only in more radical solutions—home rule, complete administrative separation, replacement of the unified Belgian State either by a federation of provinces, or by twin states with only one link except a personal union under the scepter of King Albert. It is against these rather confused tendencies that the Belgian Labor Party takes a firm stand. In opposition to the extreme centralization advocated by the bourgeoisie of the big cities, the party demands broad autonomy, both for Wallonia and Flanders, especially in the cultural field. Believing in complete language equality, it strives to bring about this equality within the framework of the Belgian State, which it regards as a national and an international necessity at the same time. The party holds that to divide little Belgium into two slices, to transform it into a confused group of provinces, some of which would feel French influence and others of which would be bound to be drawn into the orbit of the Germanic peoples, would both compromise the peace of Europe and disastrously weaken the power of a proletariat which half a century of political and so-

cial struggles has welded into a solid unity, despite the differences in language.

And so it seems to anybody with good sense that Belgium is indivisible, politically and economically.

What would become of Brussels in the case of a hypothetical separation? The capital of the country is located in the Flemish region, but two-thirds of its inhabitants are of Walloon origin or have French for their mother tongue. On the other hand, how could Antwerp, a Flemish city, the only great port in the country, live if it were to be separated from its principal hinterland—the industrial centers of Wallonia?

And besides, who can fail to see that Belgium isn't an artificial creation, a European arrangement, a buffer state designed as a barrier between France and Germany; but that for centuries, on the contrary, the provinces have constituted a unit and that, despite the difference in language, the Belgian workers would have nothing to gain and everything to lose if the impossible should happen and they should cease to be united?

Even the opponents of Socialism are compelled to recognize that, in the language of one of them, "The Belgian Labor Party constitutes the best cement of the national unity." But let no one be deceived on this point! We are attached to this national unity, not because we are "nationalists," but rather because we are, above all, internationalists. Belgian unity is a guaranty of peace for Europe. Belgian Socialist unity is a necessary condition of existence for a powerful and disciplined party which derives the best part of its strength from the maintenance of this unity.

# The Decline of the "Heimwehr"

## Armed Forces of Austrian Reaction Less Useful to Its Creators—Foreign Pressure Operating

By Benedikt Kautsky

(Special Correspondent of The New Leader in Austria.)

VIENNA, MAY 19th.

THE political developments of the last month were along the lines indicated in our last letter. Vice Chancellor and Minister of War Vagoina has taken the place of Dr. Seipel as leader of the Christian Socialist Party. Of course, he is generally regarded as a representative of the Seipel wing and is one of the most spiteful enemies of the Social Democracy, but he means by no means to possess the authority of Seipel, even though he boasts of having completely transformed the army into a tool of the Christian Party and of having established very close touch between the army leaders and the Heimwehr (the armed forces of the Austrian reaction). He will hardly have the strength to follow the same course as Seipel and openly to bring about a violent clash between the Heimwehr and the working people.

For it is quite apparent that the influence of the Heimwehr is declining and that the disrupting tendencies within its ranks are constantly becoming more effective. The rows among the individual "leaders" and the discovery of wholesale corruption among the Heimwehr officers have greatly lessened the prestige of that institution, even among the Austrian bourgeoisie. At a 11 events, no serious-minded bourgeois politician hopes any longer to fight the Social Democracy effectively with its aid.

And so Federal Chancellor Schober has been able to raise the question of general disarmament during the last few weeks without losing the backing of the bourgeois parties supporting him. It is true that his plans are still quite vague and are regarded with justified mistrust by the workers, because they don't credit the armed forces of the State with the objectivity necessary to carry out disarmament. But the fact that the bourgeois parties are becoming aware of the impossibility of crushing the Social Democracy and the trade unions with armed hands certainly signifies great progress.

Of course, the most powerful incentive for this shifting of policy by Schober, which would have been impossible only six months ago, did not come from within, but from without. Federal Chancellor Schober continued his visits to European capitals by carrying on negotiations in Paris and

London about the proposed loan for investment purposes. On these occasions the whole political situation of Austria was under discussion and it is an open secret that Schober also touched upon the question of the union of Austria with Germany. Judging from the satisfaction that he obtained, especially in Paris, with his visit and also from his own very guarded expressions in the French press, we may conclude that he at least treated the "Anschluss" as a problem of no immediate importance. Indeed, he probably declared that the Austrian Government was not interested in it.

Schober's vacillating attitude to the problem considered by the whole Austrian population as a vital question has aroused lively and widespread discontent. It has again shown all too plainly how dependent weak Austria is upon the great financial powers of Western Europe. The situation of the international money market, which assigns a leading role to France in all international loans, has strengthened still further French domination of European politics and enabled France to give greater emphasis than before to its opposition to the "Anschluss," due to its fear of an alleged strengthening of Germany.

The bourgeois classes of Austria, who always parade themselves before the working people as the real representatives of the nation's ideals, are not at all in a position to make serious sacrifices for the right of self-determination of the German nation. It has been said of certain nationalist politicians, with a bitter twist of the words of Gambetta about Alsace-Lorraine, "Never talk about, always think about it!"—meaning that they always talked about the "Anschluss"; in reality, however, never thought about it.

The real decision about the "Anschluss" was made in 1922 when Austria was facing the choice of rehabilitating its national finances, either by its own strength through using the riches of its own classes, or by a foreign loan putting it under the control of the Western capitalist powers. Today the situation is similar. It is true that the Austrian financial administration is in order and produces surplus enough not only to cover the interest and amortization of its loans but also to take care of the most important investment in the State industries without resorting to fresh loans. Of course, the tax burden which has made this result possible is rather heavy and the bourgeoisie, whose economic short-sightedness is astounding, believes it can expect a material lessening of the economic crisis through a lightening of this tax burden.

In order to lighten the taxes it is intended no longer to take care of the investments out of cur-

rent receipts, but out of a foreign loan, without giving heed to the fact that in the long run industry will be handicapped more heavily by interest and amortization than by direct financing of the investments from current taxes. In fact, no reduction of the whole tax burden is planned, but merely a lightening of property taxes, which, like the income and corporation levies, the bourgeoisie feels to be especially oppressive.

But even today the Austrian budget is so arranged that 70 per cent of the State's receipts come from customs, monopolies, consumption taxes and the sales tax. Therefore, the unsocial character of the Austrian system of taxation will be more apparent than ever after the carrying out of the bourgeois financial program.

In order to oppose at least a little resistance to this development, the Social Democrats reminded the Government of a promise made to the working class more than a year ago. Although Austria's social insurance is highly developed in almost

every branch—we have State insurance against illness, unemployment and accidents—it as yet has no old age pensions. This situation, in such sharp contrast with conditions in the most important neighboring countries, especially Germany, was recognized by the general public as intolerable. Consequently, the Christian Social Party saw itself obliged to pass a law quite some time ago providing for the establishing of old age insurance. But the establishment of old age insurance was postponed until the arrival of an improvement in economic conditions which would make it bearable by Austrian industry. Last year the Social Democratic Party succeeded in replacing this pretty vague assurance with the somewhat more concrete promise that old age insurance was to be established coincidentally with a reduction of taxes.

Nevertheless, the grotesque situation has obtained for years of having the old age pension law on the statute books without its being actually put into effect. Now the

time appears to have arrived to make old age insurance a reality and the working class organizations are bending all their forces toward putting it through. The Austrian bosses, on their side, are doing all in their power to prevent the establishing of old age pensions, but it is to be hoped that their efforts will be in vain.

The introduction of old age pensions is of particular importance to Austria because a disproportionately large number of the working people are very old. Many times the employers hesitate to discharge old workers, who frequently have toiled for years in the same shop, which often leaves young workers jobless. Only after the establishment of old age insurance can we expect a real recovery in the Austrian labor market, with its appalling high unemployment.

This would be especially welcome at present, as unemployment this year is materially greater than during the preceding three years, although it was pretty high then. At the end of April there were 192,500 persons drawing unemployment benefits in Austria, of whom 82,000 lived in Vienna. The magnitude of these figures becomes apparent when we remember that the population of the whole country is only 6,500,000 and that the number of manual workers and "white collar employees" working for private employers doesn't exceed 1,000,000. Therefore, although the Spring season has brought a material improvement in the labor market—at the end of February there were 318,000 unemployed, of whom 284,500 received insurance benefits—20 per cent of the workers and employees are still jobless.

And in other ways the economic outlook is far from promising. The big banks, especially the Vienna bankverein and the Creditanstalt, have reduced their dividends for the purpose of replacing their reserves and maintaining their liquidity. And likewise a number of industrial enterprises have had to either cut their dividends or pass them altogether. The number of workers in the plants, so far as can be ascertained, is lower almost everywhere than last year. Furthermore, some industries have been affected by the crisis which had not been touched by it before, such as the important paper industry, which plays a decisive part in the country's foreign trade. The crisis in the textile industry is as severe as ever, and recently there has been a noticeable decline in the iron and steel industry. In such a weak and poor country as Austria the effects of the international crisis are particularly severe, while thus far improvements in the situation always have arrived late and in a comparatively debilitated condition.

## The Future Socialist Press

Representative of German Party Press Tells of Radio News Service Serving 195 Daily Papers

A VISION of the American Socialist press of the future based on hard reality is afforded in the achievement of the Social Democratic Press Service of Germany, which broadcasts labor news every day from its own radio station to no fewer than 195 German language labor dailies in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Danzig.

Dr. S. Lipschitz, American correspondent of the great German Socialist press service, has sketched its organization and accomplishments in an interview. Founded in 1920, the German press service started modestly with a hundred or more daily Socialist papers of a decade ago.

Reorganized in 1924, it now serves 171 Socialist dailies in Germany alone with an extensive news and feature service that covers the labor field from happening in far off India and Australia to news of women in the German trade union movement. Every afternoon for three to three and one-half hours the President's radio station in Berlin flashes by air from its big radio plant the news it has received in the past 24 hours by cable, telegraph and telephone. In the big Vorwärts office in Berlin and in the smallest Socialist newspaper plant, typists pick up the broadcast for the editor's use.

Each day 30 to 35 pages of mimeographed copy is mailed to editors. This news includes economic and political articles, suggestions for editorials, women's and children's features, labor,

sports, trade union and fraternal news. From the editor of the smallest 4-page tabloid daily in a provincial town and the editors of the big Vienna and Berlin Socialist dailies select their material.

Each of the 195 newspapers also sends news into the central Press Service office. In the bigger cities the service maintains its own correspondents and has a large foreign staff in Paris, London, Rome, New York, the Far East and elsewhere.

The American representative is Dr. Lipschitz, university graduate and world traveler. He has been in the Orient and throughout Latin America for his service. Recently he was promoted from the Mexico City office, where he had been for three years, to the newly established New York office.

International Leaders Address Berlin Rallies

BERLIN.—A giant mass meeting of Berlin workers was held on May 11th in the two big halls of the "Neue Welt" in Berlin in connection with the Berlin meeting of the Labour and Socialist International. Speeches were made by Abramovitch, Albarde, Bauer, Compton, Crispin, Grimm, Longuet, Modigliani, Moller, Soukup, Vandervelde and Wells, who were greeted with loud applause. The chair was taken by Kunster and Ledtke. Speeches were made at another meeting in Spandau by Bracke, Brockway, Stelling, Treves and Wibaut. The representatives of the International addressed considerably more than 10,000 German comrades.

## The Chatter Box

Certainly this is no weather or season for controversy. And even an attempt to generalize on life and its interesting foibles would only encourage the sweat-glands into bowling globules of moisture down the back. Therefore, be it resolved that we turn the column over to our comradely scribes and contribs. . . .

Stopping only to mention that Alfred Baker Lewis, the redoubtable champion of our cause and paper way down east sponsors the following rebel songs from the Ypsels of Boston, John Hall, Eddie Goldstein and Kenneth Porter. . . . They ought to go swell in camps and places where the Socialists play at leisure.

Sing to the tune of "I Can't Give You Anything But Love."

Politicians treat you pretty rough, worker, Talk's the only thing you get lots of, worker, Be a sap—take the rap—vote with your boss, You can always have a six foot grave, You'll be safe beneath the moss, Politicians won't help you, we say, worker, Vote the Socialist ticket all the way, worker, With the party that will pull you through, worker, We can give you life and liberty.

Sing to the tune of "Have A Little Faith in Me."

No more humming, Socialism's coming, Give your vote for better days, And when the old crowd's out, We'll gather round and all about, For our own flag's scarlet blaze.

In the future there's a crimson morning— We'll see it dawning, And that just means success and happiness, Oh, we'll come through, men, With the help of you, men— Give your vote for better days.

Sing to the tune of "Painting the Clouds With Sunshine."

Oh, this prosperity is just a joke to see, We know they're painting the clouds with hokum! A guy can't be quite bright who says things are all right— The sap's just painting the clouds with Hoovey! Out of work blues, in capitalist news, painted as prosperity, Playing the clown, all over the town amid poverty, But we won't stand that stuff and since we've had enough We'll paint the world with red Socialist sun shine.

STAIN SONG

Drink 'till all your troubles pass, Drink 'till your senses spin, Drink 'till you forget you're an ass, Soused up to your neck in gin, Politicians say to fight for booze, Tell them to soak their head, We want not rum but shoes; The fight is not for beer but bread, For your wives—for your kids— For the future of humanity, Let your lives—let your deeds—be given To Make the World free.

SO

Think, you workers, use your brains, Think of the wealth you've made, Think how little comes back again— You know it's a damn poor trade, Then, workers of the world, unite, All wealth is born of you, With all your courage fight! fight! fight! Until we build the world anew!

And to sort of keep some local color in the case, may I just mention that the poetess who offers the lyrics following also hails from the land of bean and the cod, where the Lovells and Cabots and Fullers have a lot to settle with God. . . .

PILGRIMAGE

Is this the same wind blowing east, Upon the stiffened bones of earth? This wind once combed the hair of corn, But now a factory licks her heel.

This wind once laid her cool hands on The golden urge of rye and wheat, Now her sad litany is heard In the rude squalor of a street.

Vulgarity of city steel, And smoke stacks of blasphemy, Reach for her riveted thighs, and feel Freedom in her impotency.

This wind once combed the hair of corn, And quenched the thirst of western hills, Now silent lies her harvest song In the thunderous, grinding mills.

Her amber thighs and starburnt hands Embrace the thieving pouch of death,— Which holds this secret contraband: Bones and blood and riveter's breath.

NITA SMALLEY.

And then, as if to hint us all into easing up on the membership drive and things, a comrade sends us in this teaser:

I LEAVE YOU COMRADES . . . I leave you, comrades, soon for many weeks . . . But I'll return when Autumn comes again, With body firmly knit by country days And hours spent beneath the warming sun, And evenings at the brink of Whaley Lake, Just dreaming of the many times to come When you will need me most and I Will gladly serve in your campaigns.

I leave you, comrades, soon for many weeks . . . But I'll return when Autumn comes again, And yes—leave wide and open all your doors For as I march to greet you once again With songs and cheers of solidarity, I hope to bring the many back with me, Who in the joy of little things Forget the Cause that must not die!

DOUGLAS B. KRANTZOR.

And which I shall supplement by informing all of you that neither Hoover, nor Coolidge, nor any of them big guys will have anything to boast about after my return from the lakes of Maine . . . whereunto

I hie me this Monday hence for bass, pickarel, trout and sunburn.

In the words of one Hylian, once and now forgotten Mayor of Gotham, "even . . . a columnist must live . . ."

S. A. de Witt.



# Mammy—With Al Jolson—Now At The Strand

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

### MASS MOVIES

As everything in Russia is deliberately developed with the interests of the people—that is, the government—in mind, it is natural that cinema, too, should have its justification in terms of Soviet philosophy. Brought to this country by Paramount, Sergei M. Eisenstein, director of "Potemkin," "Ten Days That Shook the World," and "Old and New," is giving clever revelations of the motives that have led to the special Soviet technique. While he assures us that the principles of the Russian film production can be applied to many themes, it was noticeable that Mr. Eisenstein is very shrewd, not only in his talk, but in his selection of film-shots to illustrate his methods.

Mass is the central thought behind the Soviet films. They are pictures for the masses; therefore, they are pictures of the masses. The amount of educational work being done with the cinema. Mr. Eisenstein merely pointed to, with a word of villages where machines are believed the work of the devil, and an allusion to traveling cinemas, that show educational films in town after town. Yet this, he declared, is the most important work, made possible partly by the money from the big films.

The big films, such as are shown abroad, work with mass movements. The theme of revolution is played upon; first in the rebellion of "Potemkin," then in the successful break recaptured in "Ten Days." Always what interests the director is the crowd, the surging mass in the port, the sailing over the vessel, the seething soldiers as the revolution takes its toll but sweeps irresistibly on. Not a man and a woman in the foreground, with the French Revolution in the background, as Hollywood might show; but the mass itself as the hero, as the dynamic force that drives the steeds of time.

These urging impulses of the people are not confined in cardboard imitation scenes, where hastily constructed palaces will be torn down next week, and painted drops imitating sky and spaces; the Russian palaces and plains, the century-old homes of the peasants, and the endless reaches of ground outside, are used in the action, for the camera to hold. Nor are the characters themselves caught other than figures from the life represented in the picture; each player (picked up from the street, maybe, or seen on a farm, or chosen out of two thousands) is scheduled as naturally fitting the part to be played. As Eisenstein says, the professional actor may have an hour, or a week, to learn the role of a greybeard; any old man has had seventy years to grow into the part.

There is no trouble, the director says, persuading those picked for heroic roles to consent to taking part; there is great unwillingness, however, when the deeds are a villain's. The man is afraid, Eisenstein explains, that his friends may think he is like what the picture shows him; which is a logical enough fear, considering that the policy is to find a person who lives the part he is to play. Which, while it may help the naturalness of each picture, is of course destructive of the star system, if not actually fatal to acting as an art. A man may be called upon once, in a leading role, and his type never needed again. We are, in this country, growing out of the period of the "character" actor, who is fit for only one kind of part; and we judge a performer by his versatility through several seasons as well as by his skill in a single play. Naturalism in the pre-revolutionary Russian Theatre, instead of destroying the actor, produced some of the best-trained and harmonious playing groups in the world, as the visit of the Habima and the Moscow Art Theatre showed us; what effect naturalism on the film will have it is hard to say. But it is of

### At The Winter Garden



Conrad Nagel as he appears in "Numbered Men" with Bernice Claire at the Winter Garden.

safe to predict that Eisenstein's stay with Paramount will hardly deal the Hollywood star system a mortal blow.

### NO WISER

"It's A Wise Child" having reached its 350th performance the other evening, I visited the Belasco theatre to see how it was bearing up under a second year of hot weather. The audience was as ruffled with laughter as ever. Belasco boasts that "It's A Wise Child" proves his claim that not a star but a good play most lengthily holds the public; and, though a combination of the two is happiest, it must be admitted that this play continues to please.

Without a star, the play is not without good acting; though some of the performers seem to need a rest, the warm weather did not seem to affect Cool Kelly the ice-man (Sidney Toler), nor the neatly dumb playing of Leila Bennett as the maid, and Mildred McCoy is still coy as the expectant heroine.

If there are any left who have not seen "It's A Wise Child," it may be mentioned that, while character portrayal provides incidental humor, the main fun is in the device chosen by Joyce Stanton to get rid of her persistent fiancé, the financier G. A. Appleby—also well played, by Harlan Briggs. When Joyce meets a conference of the four suspected fathers of her non-existent child, few can refrain from laughter. And as final spite—though we are at the end kept a bit waiting—every act has an amusing curtain.

### "Hungarian Nights," New German Film For 55th Street Playhouse

"Hungarian Nights," a new German production from the Ufa studios of Berlin, is to have its first American showing at the 55th Street Playhouse beginning next Friday, June 6th.

This successor of the Ufa film "Hungarian Rhapsody" tells a highly romantic story of military and aristocratic life against the colorful background of the Hungarian steppes. All outdoor scenes have been actually taken in Hungary. Lil Dagover, star of "Dr. Calligari," has the leading role, and is supported by Hans Stuewe (of "Dich Hab Ich Geliebt").

"Hungarian Nights" was produced under the direction of Victor Janson who was also responsible for the direction of "The Last Night," lately shown at the 55th Street Playhouse.

On the same program will be a Clark McCullough comedy, "Beneath The Law"; an English short-film of marionettes and the News in Sound.

Give me the young man who has brains enough to make a fool out of himself.—Stevenson.

### One of the Most Thrilling Plays of the Year



The scene above is from Herman Shumlin's "The Last Mile," which is now at the Sam Harris Theatre. The play is thrilling and exciting, and has evoked plaudits from the press and the bench.

### "Pori" Premieres at the 8th Street Playhouse

"Pori," Ufa's unusual travel film will have its American premiere at the Eighth Street Playhouse (formerly the Film Guild Cinema) 52 West 8th street, commencing this Saturday, June 7.

The most unique idea of this film is the camera record of the two white children traveling through the jungle with their parents. The civilized child's reaction to the wild makes an absorbing by-interest in this exciting film.

Werner Bohne was in charge of the camera work and he has brought back film which is true to the Ufa standards.

German critics selected "Pori" as the finest European travel document.

On the same program the Eighth Street Playhouse will present "Killing the Killer," Ufa triumph in the short animal picture, together with a selection of sound novelties. "Pori" is silent.

### Earl Carroll to Offer Art Exhibition in Lobby of New Amsterdam Theatre

The lobby display at the New Amsterdam Theatre for the new eighth edition of Earl Carroll Vanities, opening in June, will be an art display, instead of the customary photographic exhibits of girls.

Fourteen of the most famous and representative artists and illustrators in America are contributing paintings and drawings of their conception of the most beautiful American girl. This will make the lobby of the theatre a permanent art exhibition throughout the run of the new Vanities, and will mark another pioneer movement on the part of Earl Carroll, who has brought many innovations into the theatre. The artists who will be represented are James Montgomery Flagg, Penrhyn Stanlaw, Guy Hoff, John LaGatta, Howard Chandler Christy, Rolf Armstrong, Haskell Coffin, John Holmgren, Hayden Hayden, R. M. Crosby, David Robinson, Harry Morse Meyers, W. T. Benson, Bradshaw Crandall and McClelland Barclay. Near the paintings will be displayed photographs of the Vanities girls for comparison between the artist's and Mr. Carroll's conception of beauty. It is a unique plan, the first time ever essayed in the theatre.

### Gorki at Cameo

The American premiere showing of the screen version of Maxim Gorky's soul stirring novel, "Cain and Artem," is the screen attraction at the Cameo Theatre this week.

This forceful characterization, produced by the Sovkino Company of Russia, is the first film to come out of Russia since the Soviet regime that adhere strictly to the cinema art and does not deviate and fall into political preachment.

The story of this picture, as in Gorky's novel, deals with the friendship of two men, utterly different in physique, intelligence, and disposition. Showing all the realism and expression that figures in Gorky's literature, "Cain and Artem" brings to the screen a tale that is vivid in its portrayal of Russian peasant life.

### At the Little Carnegie

Next week's program at Little Carnegie Playhouse, under the direction of Leo Brecher and located at 146 West 57th street, will be headed by "High Society Blues," featuring Janet Gaynor and Chas. Farrell, which is to be offered on Saturday, June 7th through Tuesday. This musical romance was directed by David Butler after a story by Dana Burnett and has in its cast William Collier Jr., Hedda Hopper, Lucian Littlefield, Joyce Compton and Louise Fazenda.

Little Carnegie's attraction for the three days beginning next Wednesday, will be "The Man From Blainville," John Barrymore's delightful comedy which Alfred E. Green directed.

"Redemption," starring John Gilbert, commences a four day engagement at the Little Carnegie on Saturday, June 14th.

"Born Reckless" at Roxy Edmund Lowe, star of "What Price Glory" and "The Cock-Eyed World," is at the Roxy Theatre in the new Fox Movietone production, "Born Reckless." Lowe essays an entirely different type of character as the gangland hero of the film based on the novel, "Louis Beretti," by Donald Henderson Clarke. Catherine Dale Owen, as the young society matron; and Marguerite Churchill in the role of the gangster's sister, provide the romantic element of the film.

A notable supporting cast includes Lee Tracy, star of the stage and screen; Lola D'Avril, Warren Hymer, William Harrigan, and many more. John Ford directed from the scenario and dialogue by Dudley Nichols, who will be remembered as the author of "Men Without Women." James K. McGuinness was responsible for the screen transcription.

Interesting items in the news of the day will be presented in sight and sound reproductions, by Fox Movietone and Hearst Metrotone Newsreels. "A Russian Wedding" is the stage feature, with Slavic

### In New Thriller



Charming Winifred Barry plays the stellar role in "Mystery Moon," at the Brighton Theatre this week. It comes to the Royale Theatre shortly.

### Schooler at Capitol With Marion Davies

Admirers of Dave Schooler, will have an opportunity to greet him next week when he returns to the Capitol Theatre to star in "Star Blues," devised and staged by Arthur Knorr under the personal supervision of Louis K. Sidney. In it Mr. Schooler will not only play the piano with his accustomed agility, but will also sing and dance. A large array of talented artists have been engaged to appear in his support. The picture at the Capitol is Marion Davies in the costume comedy "The Floradora Girl."

### Lillian Gish, Child of Theatre

In Rising Sun, Ohio, a six-year-old child actress trembled with uncertainty on the stage of the improvised opera house as she pleaded with her father in that old melodrama, "In Convict's Stripes." Hisses and boos for the father and blatant cheers of encouragement for the daughter reverberated from the rafters when a premature explosion on the stage knocked the scenery askew and threw the helpless child into a panic.

The little girl's genuine fright touched the rough audience. It cheered her for five uninterrupted minutes and Lillian Gish's stage debut became an unqualified success.

Today, after years of success in motion pictures, she talks from the screen for the first time, in "One Romantic Night," now at the Rivoli Theatre.

Miss Gish was born October 14, 1893, in Springfield, Ohio, to Mary Robinson McConnell, whose family dates back in American history to 1650, and James Lee Gish, a descendant of the De Guise family of France.

Miss Pickford introduced Lillian to David Wark Griffith, who was then directing a half-reel picture called "The Unseen Enemy," in which Mary was appearing. The meeting with the pioneer director resulted in Miss Gish getting work in that picture as an "extra."

In the fall of 1914, when Griffith started work on "The Birth of a Nation," Miss Gish was in the principal role of Elsie Stoneman. This epic picture, universally recognized as a great masterpiece produced through the medium of motion pictures, elevated the former child actress of Rising Sun to instant stardom. "Hearts of the World" carried the Gish family and Griffith to the battlefields of France.

The next screen dramas in which Miss Gish appeared were "The Great Love," "Romance of Happy Valley," and "The Great Thing in Life." Then, on May 13, 1919, "Broken Blossoms" was offered with Miss Gish and Richard Barthelmess in the principal roles.

In 1921, through United Artists, Griffith's "Way Down East," starring Miss Gish, was released. The following year, through the same company, "Orphans of the Storm" was made and distributed. In "One Romantic Night," now at the Rivoli Theatre, directed by Paul L. Stein, Miss Gish definitely abandons the role of oppressed innocence she has portrayed most of her life to assume a new dramatic career as an interpreter of modern types.

### Lysistrata

Violet Kemble Cooper  
Ernest Truex  
Miriam Hopkins  
Sydney Greenstreet  
Hortense Alden  
Eric Dressler

44th Street Theatre  
West of Broadway  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

### "The Last Mile" An Exciting Play

When Herman Shumlin first read the script of "The Last Mile," now in its fifteenth week at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, he immediately realized that he had in his hands one of the most intense and thrilling plays that had ever come his way. He decided to produce it at once because he knew at once that such a play would give an audience the excitement of its life.

But that there was more than just excitement in "The Last Mile" has been attested to by the wealth of editorials that have been written about it and about the striking manner in which it brings out the question of capital punishment. Ministers, lawyers, judges, prison officials, educators, and other prominent men interested in social matters have discovered in the production which unfolds itself every evening on the stage of the Harris Theatre a most eloquent argument in support of their personal convictions.

Whatever the social value of "The Last Mile" may be, and many believe it to be very important, it was not the cause of its success on the stage. First of all it had to be a good show. And, as so many of the dramatic critics said in their reviews, it is just that: "The most exciting play of the year."

The realism of "The Last Mile" is not only its solidly built setting, its steel cell doors, its concrete floors, and its bleaching pistols; its realism is also in the uncompromising and relentless manner in which it portrays men waiting to die and then taking their lives in their own hands, to die fighting on

### Jolson's Life in Films; "Mammy" at Strand

It is popular knowledge that Al Jolson's first Vitaphone picture, "The Jazz Singer," was largely autobiographical. When the original stage version was on view in New York, Samson Raphaelson, its author, admitted he had drawn his inspiration from the career of the world-famous entertainer who began his life as the son of a Jewish cantor, but pursued his own vocation on the musical comedy stage instead of in the synagogue of his fathers. And now Irving Berlin has taken another episode of Jolson's biography as the pivot of the story for "Mammy," current at the New York and Brooklyn Strand Theatres.

In "Mammy," Jolson revives that interlude of his career during which he travelled with a minstrel troupe. It was eighteen years ago—in the summer of 1911—that Jolson, having scored his first minor success with a blackface vaudeville act, decided to strike out into new fields. A renewal of his three-act contract was waived and he joined the new Dockstader's Minstrels. The first parades, the stage shows, the verbal sparring between end-men and interlocutor, all these and more that is pictured in "Mammy," are details of the minstrel's life which are already familiar to him.

With Dockstader he toured every principal city in the country, and with Dockstader he experienced the "discovery" that eventually landed him on Broadway with his name in electric lights.

While the show was on view in a middle western city, J. J. Shubert dropped in one night to see it. He listened to Jolson sing a solo number. He was interested. He heard another and became eager, sure that he had found a comedy genius.

### At the 5th Avenue Playhouse

The Fifth Avenue Playhouse will present this Sunday to Tuesday (June 7 to 10) a double feature program consisting of "Why Bring That Up" with Moran and Mack and "Benson Murder Case," an S. Van Dine thriller with William Powell.

From Wednesday to Saturday (June 11 to 13) the theatre will show Marilyn Miller in "Sally," and John Barrymore in "Don Juan."

The triumph of Mr. Shumlin's production of "The Last Mile" is the manner in which this material has been brought into the theatre. It has to have dramatic form and to take place within two hours.

### "The Vagabond King" at the Hippodrome



Dennis King and Lillian Roth sing their way to success and popularity in the all-color "Vagabond King," which will be at the "Hipp" for one week beginning Saturday.

### "Mystery Moon" at Brighton Theatre

Mystery Moon, a musical comedy which boasts a mystery plot, comes to the Brighton Theatre for one week previous to a run at one of the Broadway Theatres. The cast which is large is composed of Winifred Barry, Frank Shannon, Frances Shelly, Frank Woods and a host of others. The book is written by Fred Herendeen, settings by Lou Wertheim, and music and lyrics by Sarlo and Sanders.

### Swami Yogananda's Lecture

Tonight and tomorrow night, Swami Yogananda will give his closing lecture at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and 7th Avenue. He has already given two lectures there to a well attended hall. His subject this evening (Saturday) will be "Secrets of Oriental Religion" and he will explain how to make your religion (no matter what it is) work for you. Tomorrow he will lecture on "Curing diseases and failures by Dynamic Will" and will give a demonstration of recharging the body. These lectures will be at 8 P. M. and will be preceded by a short concert. Tonight's artists will be Madame Anna Kaminski, concert pianist, and Natalie Bosko, Russian violinist. Anna Savina, mezzo-soprano, and Madame Eleonora de Cisneros will assist Madame Kaminski tomorrow.

### Dennis King at Hippodrome in "The Vagabond King"

At the Hippodrome screen this week commencing Saturday, June 7, Dennis King, Broadway's favorite operetta hero will be heard in the film version of his great stage success "The Vagabond King," in which he sings "Only a Rose," "Love Me Tonight," "Some Day" and "Song of the Vagabonds." Jeanette MacDonald, Warner Oland, O. P. Heggie, and Lillian Roth are also featured in the all technicolor romance.

Brems-Fitz and Murphy Brothers; Hooper and Gatchett, also comics; Felovis, master juggler of Europe; the McCann Sisters, late of the International Revue; Helen Denison and dancers, and the Zelds Brothers, provide the stage show.

The Pan-American airplane flight was the first one made from the United States to Nicaragua. The flyers left the United States December 21, 1923, and returned April 23, 1927.

### THEY CALL THEM

## NUMBERED MEN

Gene are their hopes—their loves—their country! Just numbers among other numbers.

Warner Bros. REFRIGERATED WINTER GARDEN  
Either B'way or 7th Ave. & 50th St.  
Continuous at Pop. Prices



First Popular Prices  
Al JOLSON  
in "MAMMY"  
Al Singing! Al Talking!  
WARNER BROS., REFRIGERATED  
BOTH N.Y. & B'KLN. STRAND

### HIPPODROME

SONGSON'S BRIGHTEST STAR  
Dennis KING  
in "THE VAGABOND KING"  
with Jeanette MacDonald & Warner Oland  
All Technicolor Singing Romance  
and 6 RKO ACTS  
BREMS-FITZ & MURPHY BROS.  
FELOVIS, HELEN DENISON  
DANCERS  
—CONTINUOUS—  
10:30 to 1 P. M. 25c; Mat. Orch. 35c; Eve. Orch. 50c, except Sat. and Sun.

### Theatre Parties

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

### 8th ST. PLAYHOUSE

(Film Guide Cinema) SPR 5005  
52 W. 8th St. AMERICAN PREMIERE  
UFA'S

## PORI

A film record of the trek thru the jungles (PORI) of East Africa of white parents and their children.

CONTINUED 1 P. M. TO MIDNIGHT

### GEO. M. COHAN

And His Company in  
THE TAVERN  
An American Saliro

Fulton Thurs., 46th St. W. of B'way  
Evs. 8:10; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

### VIRTUE'S BED

New Sophisticated Comedy Drama  
By COURTENAY SAVAGE  
with ARA GERALD

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

HUDSON THEATRE, 44 St. E. of B'way  
Evs. 8:30; Mats. WED. and SAT., 2:30

### Topaze

The Comedy Hit from the French  
of MARCEL PAGNOL  
with FRANK MORGAN

PHOEBE FOSTER  
CLARENCE DERWENT

MUSIC BOX THEATRE  
45th STREET, WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evs. 8:10; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

### 5th AVE. PLAYHOUSE

56 5th Ave. ALG 7661  
Double Feature Programs  
Sun. (June 8th) to Tues. (June 10th)

## "Why Bring That Up"

With Moran and Mack  
also "BENSON MURDER CASE"  
S. S. Van Dine thriller with Wm. Powell

Wed. (June 11th) to Sat. (June 13th)  
John Barrymore in "DON JUAN"  
also Marilyn Miller in "SALLY"  
TO MIDNIGHT

### THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

THE NEW  
GARRICK GAIETIES  
Guild Theatre

52nd Street, West of Broadway  
Evs. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

### Hotel Universe

A New Play by PHILIP BARRY  
As the subscription season for this play is over, excellent seats are available for all performances.

Martin Beck Theatre  
45th STREET WEST OF BROADWAY  
Evs. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

### CAMEO

AMERICAN PREMIERE  
Tense! Powerful! Dynamic!  
Maxim GORKI'S  
World Famous Story

## "CAIN and ARTEM"

Newest Soviet Triumph  
"Fine Picture . . . Pure Art . . . You must see this masterpiece . . ."  
Tempo, Berlin.

### RAMON NOVARRO

"In Gay Madrid"  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer all talking picture with

DOROTHY JORDAN  
LOTTIE HOWELL

—On Stage—  
Return of DAVE SCHOOLER with sparkling show. Capitoliens, Chester Hale Girls, Bunchuk, Grand Orchestra, Hearst Metrotone News.

### CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street  
Major Edward Rover, Mer. Dig.  
MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30

## RAMON NOVARRO

"In Gay Madrid"  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer all talking picture with

DOROTHY JORDAN  
LOTTIE HOWELL

—On Stage—  
Return of DAVE SCHOOLER with sparkling show. Capitoliens, Chester Hale Girls, Bunchuk, Grand Orchestra, Hearst Metrotone News.

### 5th MONTH

LAWRENCE TIBBETT  
In M-G-M's Technicolor Romance

## THE ROGUE SONG

ASTOR Daily 2:30-8:30  
Sat., Sun., Hol. 2-8-8:30  
B'way at 45th St. Sat. Midnite 11:45

### SONG OF THE FLAME

A First National & Vitaphone Picture  
Gave New York Its Greatest Thrill

With BERNICE CLAIRE  
ALEXANDER GRAY  
NOAH BERRY  
NOW PLAYING WARNER THEATRE  
Broadway and 52nd St.  
Sunday: 2-8-8:35  
Daily: 2:45-8:45



# THE SOCIAL PARTY WORK

# UNION DIRECTORY

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET IN CONNECTICUT

The National Executive Committee will meet in Bridgeport, Conn., on Thursday and Friday, June 13 and 14. Mass meetings with members of the committee as speakers will be held in the surrounding towns, in connection with a special membership and activity drive which will be put in following the state convention held the previous week-end.

## TWO AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Ben F. Wilson, described by the Buffalo comrades as "by far the best speaker in the movement, since the passing of Gene Debs," will be available for speaking dates between Erie, Pa., and Berkeley, Calif. after June 20. He wishes to stop only five times on this trip. Wilson is a warm friend of Ramsay MacDonald and has stumped England for the labor party. Locals and branches interested should write immediately to the national office.

## California

William W. Busick was named chairman of the new state executive committee and Stanley Rogers, state secretary. The committee is the organizer for Los Angeles and Rogers is the organizer of the Central Valley Socialist Club and one of the most active literature distributors in southern California. William W. Busick is a well-known labor leader and is highly recommended by Alfred Baker Lewis.

## Illinois

The nominating petitions for state offices are ready for securing signatures which will begin at the River View picnic in Chicago on Sunday, June 8. Volunteers for this work are urged to report to the acting secretary, M. V. Hulsman, Phone Spaulding 5586.

## AUGUST PICNIC

Plans are being made for a picnic in August under the auspices of the state office. Frank B. Metcalfe, candidate for Governor of Wisconsin on the Socialist ticket, will be the principal speaker. The picnic will be held on Sunday, August 24, at White City Park.

## COOK COUNTY

John M. Collins, Cook County chairman and a veteran in the Labor and Socialist movement, will be the principal speaker at a caucus, May 28. Collins stated that although he had been defeated for almost six years in the state during his long career, he is not discouraged. "Nothing can shake my faith in Socialism," he declared.

## Missouri

J. G. Hodges, 2720 Park avenue, Kansas City, is the Socialist candidate for Congress from the Fifth District. This assures the party a place on the primary ballot, August 15.

## 15th DISTRICT

The Socialists of Joplin and Webb have selected A. C. Eliff as their candidate for Representative in the 15th Congressional District. Candidates for other districts and state offices are being selected.

## Washington

A state picnic will be held Sunday, June 29, in Seattle. L. P. Woods, 346 Cedar street, Seattle, is in charge of arrangements. Washington is looking for an organizer to reorganize what was once one of the best organized states.

## Wisconsin

## STATE PICNIC

The preparatory work of the big annual picnic of Wisconsin is well under way and the various committees, numbering about 200 members, are being selected. The picnic will be held on August 10 at Muskego Beach. Last year the attendance was 10,000 and this year gives promise of a much larger attendance.

## Arrangements have been made for

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The branch continues to grow, having reached a total membership of 40. Its ambition is to round up to a 400. Four canvassers are in the field: William Salek, Alexander Kagan, William Havens and J. H. Dismant. They are making visits to enrolled voters. The next lecture will take place on Thursday, June 6, at Bohemian Hall, Second and Woodway avenues. For information write Robert Otto, 2034 3rd street, Astoria. Telephone Ravenswood 7743.

## At the last meeting plans were

adopted for more aggressive canvassing in the Bronx and Jackson Heights where there is a good number of enrolled Socialists. Comrade Goodgold, ways manager, will act as the drive manager, and by his efforts will give a splendid example. For information write to F. S. Goodgold, 9418 54th street, Elmhurst. Telephone Newton 7743.

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# NEW LEADER

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

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1930

## A New Utopianism

AN interesting theory has been expressed in Socialist circles in recent months that deserves extended consideration. Here we can consider only its main contention. This is the assertion of a divergence between the "younger element" and the "older heads." It is assumed that young members represent a generally unified opinion adapted to the present while older members represent general opinions that belong to the past.

The distinction is arbitrary and based upon a wishful attitude, not upon any survey of members and their opinions. Moreover, it assumes that a young member is the most reliable in views and activities, an assumption that is not warranted by the history of the Socialist movement in any nation, either now or at any other stage in its history.

The fact is that all of us who came to the movement in youth came in more or less as utopians. How long we held to our utopian views depended upon our eagerness and ability to learn. In one individual clarity might be a matter of a decade or more; in another it might be a few years. Even the founders of the movement went through this evolution from vagueness to clarity. If Marx and Engels spent a few years groping their way in their youth we may be sure that a young convert today is not necessarily the last word in wisdom because he is young.

What is important is not youth or age in the Labor and Socialist movement but the knowledge members acquire and the devotion they bring. Among the living and the dead, whether it be Marx, Engels, Jaures, Debs, Hillquit, Lee, or Thomas, we cannot know their value to the movement by ascertaining the day of their birth. To think so is to cultivate a new utopianism.

## The War Against Chains

THE chain monarchs that are dispossessing small capitalists in the retail trade throughout the country may forecast the rise of revolutionary politics. Let us not forget that the invention of the cotton gin revolutionized the slave system, concentrated economic power into the hands of a comparatively few families, and in turn led to the overthrow of the ruling class.

The first reaction against the chain corporations is an attempt to destroy them. This stage has been reached all over the United States. Here and there a few local successes may be reported but in this class war between the powerful chains and the men of small capital the latter are at a disadvantage. They are in the same position as the workers who destroyed machines in the early stages of capitalism.

In Rochester this struggle between big capital and small capital is assuming all the elements of a vivid drama. Independent stores display emblems reading, "Not in the Syndicate." These are distributed on a weekly rental basis of \$1.25, the proceeds going to the central organization fighting the chain monarchs. The struggle has produced its evangelist in "The Main Street Crusader" from Michigan who is speaking to large audiences. Here is a blast from one sermon:

Under the Syndicate, as under the empire or monarchy; the classes rule and the masses are subject; under the Independent System, as under Democracy, the masses rule and the classes are subject! The Syndicate System of business is centralized under the absolute moneyed rule of some uncrowned Caesar, while the Independent System of business is, by virtue of its structure, a practical rule of the People.

Pressed to the wall in a desperate struggle to prevent extinction, the merchant class through its spokesmen sounds the tocsin of a class struggle. As between the workmen and the great owners of industry the merchant class would never admit the existence of a class antagonism but when the merchants face down they seek allies among wage workers on the basis of a class war between merchants and their chain enemies. The workers enlist in the war of the merchant class as poor whites in the South often fought the battles of

slave owners against the menace of northern capitalism.

This is an inevitable phase of this struggle but it is not its final phase. The remorseless march of a capitalist oligarchy in both production and distribution will continue throughout the nation. The chains will continue to forge shackles and eventually the defeat of the merchant class will be evident. In some cities the battle is already half won by the greater capitalists.

When this stage is reached the next phase in the struggle will also appear. It will no more continue as a hopeless war against chains than the war against machines by workers over a century ago could continue. The dispossessed merchant and the wage serf will not be content to be dominated by the greater oligarchies of capital. A few of the merchants will be taken into the service of the chains as lieutenants and be reconciled to the status of retainers of the overlords. The others will be expropriated. There will be no course for them and the working class but to turn against the whole capitalist system.

The need of socializing the great empires of production and distribution will then emerge. The Socialist program will appear to be the most practical, a program that will appeal to all who think at all. It is in this sense that Marx's prediction that the great capitalists are their own "grave-diggers" will become evident. They conquer only to be conquered in turn and thus make industrial democracy in production and distribution a possibility for all.

## Nonpartisan Politics

WHAT is the posture of affairs, politically, in Pennsylvania as it affects the working class? The official trade union view is that of "nonpartisan politics." This method is supported on the ground that it obtains more union of sentiment and action than organization of the workers in a party of their own would.

Well, Pennsylvania is interesting because of this type of action. James J. Davis was nominated for U. S. Senator. He was supported by Labor. Why we do not know. Andy Mellon also supported Davis, financially and otherwise. Andy has never been loved by the trade unions but here are labor and Andy supporting the same candidate.

Several questions arise. Does Davis now belong to labor or to Andy Mellon? If Davis is satisfactory to Andy why should he be satisfactory to Labor? Or if he is satisfactory to Labor why should Andy support him? Or is Davis half for Labor and half for Andy or for Labor on Sunday and for Andy the rest of the week? Whatever the answer, readers should try to figure out some consistent philosophy.

Then there is the defeated Grundy. Is this a defeat of Labor? As Grundy represents the kind of tariff that Matthew Woll does then this is a Labor defeat. On the other hand Grundy is anti-union. Therefore Grundy's defeat is a Labor victory. No matter what happened to Grundy on the basis of the "nonpartisan policy" you can get any answer you want.

"Jim" Maurer is nominated for Governor of Pennsylvania by the Socialist Party. If he does not obtain more than a thousand votes in the state such a result would be more satisfactory than supporting the parties and politics of the Mellons, Grundys, and Vares.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Capitalism and its failure to meet human needs, turns men to robbery and theft, but the nation as a whole must pay for police, and courts, and prisons.—Tom Dickson, M.P.

While we have no use for the company union we at the same time like to always be in the company of the union.

Lay the proud usurpers low!  
Tyrants fall in every foe!  
Liberty is every blow!  
Let us do or die!

Burns.

Perhaps the big steals that have been emerging in the tariff bill have provided some inspiration to the smaller fry engaged in hold-ups in recent months.

The future comes on slowly, the present flies like an arrow, the past stands forever still.—Schiller.

Mr. Woll sends an urgent request to Congress to pass the tariff bill in order to "safeguard the employment opportunities of American workers." Carry the great news to those standing in the breadlines!

We wonder whether the powerful capitalists and bankers who finance the Republican and Democratic parties would decide against a second party representing the working class. If they would decide, why?

With Matthew Woll and Senator Grundy demanding the highest tariff wall in the world we have an interesting union of union and anti-union men.

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; without free speech progress is checked, and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousandfold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—Bradlaugh.

Will Rogers is of the opinion that northern Republicans who move to the South and take their politics with them should "be met at the line and deloused."

That comet that is said to be eight million miles from the earth just about measures the distance between Congress and relief for the millions of the unemployed.

## Its the Company He Must Keep

By Art Shields

ALL the punishment of jail is not being locked up. It's the company you must keep.

A prison guard sat in at our talk with Warren K. Billings in the reception room at Folsom penitentiary. He sat there with protruding belly and toothpick, butting into the conversation frequently and censoring it. Billings was telling of the Folsom mutiny. The guard interrupted with a growl.

"Trouble with this place is that we guards got no guns. I'm locked in with 200 of them, and nothing but my bare hands."

Billings went on with his tale. His rudeness, the guard, broke in again. "Don't talk of that. These people ain't interested. They didn't come to get that."

This didn't bother the labor lifer. He had fought the issue out before and was ready to go on when we said never mind. The other time was when he was giving the mutiny facts to Mary Gallagher of the Mooney-Billings defense committee who also accompanied us on this trip. Another guard on that occasion tried to shut him off. Billings wouldn't be shut.

"Look here," he told that guard. "I was here long before you. I helped to build this prison. You can't tell me what to talk about. I'll say what I want to. If I get out of here it won't be by being a good prisoner."

Yet he is a good prisoner, Warden Smith told Marcel Haldeman Julius who was in our party. He obeys the rules—and isn't bullied.

The guard listening and occasionally interrupting, Billings told us his life story. He told it simply and well. It might have been the epic of any one of thousands of American boys born to work and to fight for everything they ever got. After learning the shoe trade in Brooklyn he beat it by freight to the Pacific Coast. Wobblies he met on the road influenced his outlook and as an A. F. of L. shoe worker in San Francisco he was a scrapper. He fought the scab shoe companies, becoming local union president, and took part in the big fights against the public utilities company.

The rest is well known, how Martin Swanson, chief detective for the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. framed him on the dynamite charge that sent him to the penitentiary on an earlier jolt. And how in 1916 Swanson offered him \$5,000 to help frame Mooney. He refused and got framed again himself, for murder.

A vivid working-class epic. Even the guard was interested. As the group broke up he leaned over and hoarsely advised Billings: "Say! Why don't you write this story yourself and get money instead of letting them folks get it."

## The Best Sellers

(As reported by The Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.)

### FICTION

The Bystander, by Maxim Gorky .....\$3.00  
Jews Without Money, by Michael Gold ..... 3.00  
Pay Day, by Nathan Asch 2.50  
Forty Second Parallel, by John Dos Passos ..... 2.50  
The Scarab Murder Case, by S. S. Van Dine ..... 2.00  
Grim Youth, by John Held Jr. .... 2.50

### NON-FICTION

Eugene V. Debs, by McAlister Coleman .....\$3.50  
My Life, by Leon Trotsky 5.00  
Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, a debate between Seligman, Brockway, Nearing ..... .50  
Rise of American Civilization, by Chas. A. Beard 3.00  
You Can't Print That, by George Seides ..... 1.00

## The Needle Trades Problems

### The New Leader Offers An Open Forum

ONE of the most inspiring pages in the history of labor organization in the United States has been written by immigrants, first by the Germans and then by the Jewish workers. They brought a Socialist idealism with them which, in Europe has built the most powerful trade unions in the world.

In the early days the immigrants too often found an alien prejudice facing them by American workers. They had to fight their way to a place in the sun. In many cities they found small organizations of Americans endeavoring to retain the benefits of organization for themselves but the inflow of immigrants into American industries was such that they were able in time to compel recognition by their American brothers.

Actual experience in trade union organization convinced the American workers that organization of the immigrants was an asset and not a danger. The new elements to be found in American labor history. Their contributions to the whole labor movement, financial and otherwise, have been an inspiration.

The Jewish unions had greater obstacles to face than the Germans. The latter generally drifted

into more stabilized industries while the Jewish workers swarmed into the sweated trades that were typical of the garment industries. Here they faced chaotic forces such as the workers in no other industry in this country ever faced. They brought something like stabilization into the industry, raised the standards of work and living, and dealt staggering blows at that foul disease of the industry—the sweatshop.

Then came the aftermath of the war with another disease—Communism. Unfortunately, this ailment affected a large number of workers in some unions. The hysteria and internal war, the proscription of some unions, the dissipation of energy in suicidal strife, brought a new era in the history of the needle trades unions. All attention was turned to these troubles and years passed before the disease was conquered.

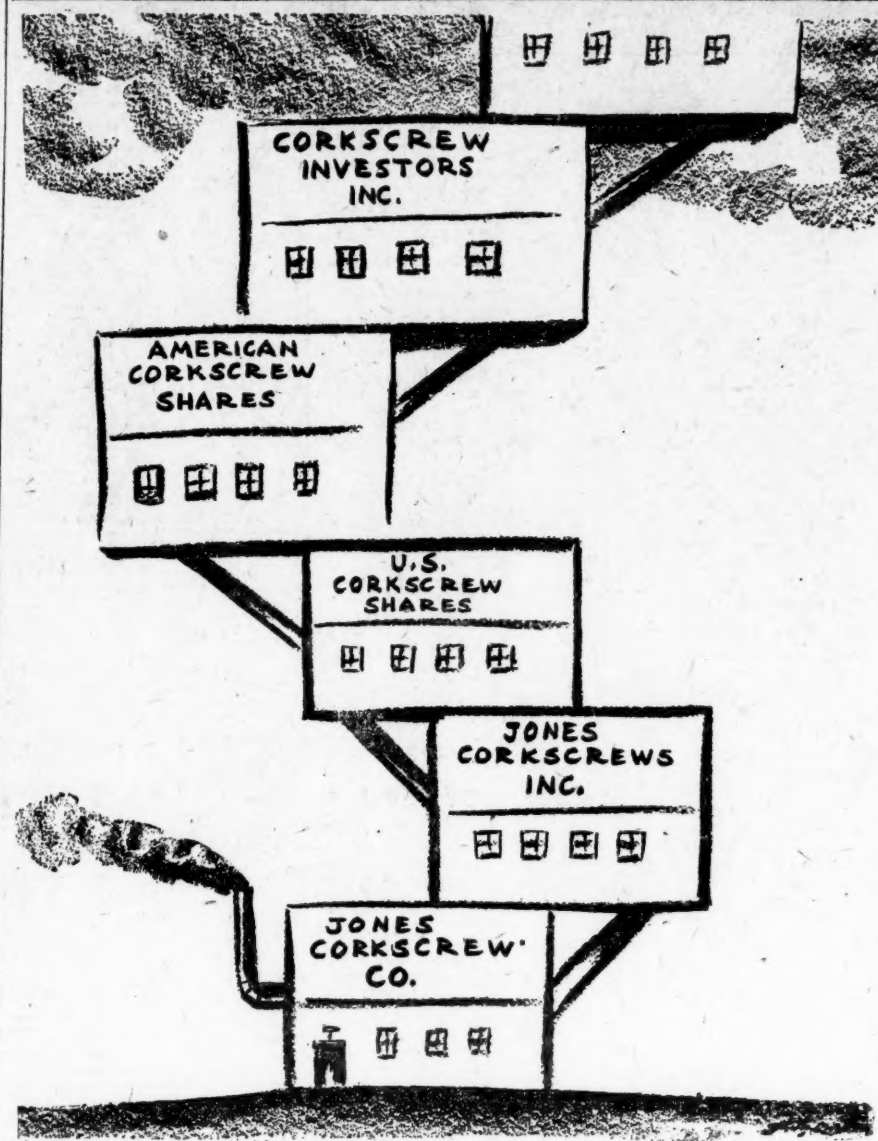
But like a man who had been fighting illness for years, the industry came out of the fever considerably changed. New problems, new trends, new forces, appeared in the reconstruction period. Moreover, cynicism afflicted many members. With some even hope had fled. They lost confidence in their class. Suspicion was rife. "What is the use?" was the mood of

Because of this latter aspect of labor history the Board of Management of The New Leader has decided to offer the services of The New Leader to members of the various needle trade unions as a forum for the discussion of their problems. There are varying views of problems, trends, forces and issues. Why not clarify them by intelligent discussion?

The New Leader and the New York Call which preceded it fought with the needle trade unions in their struggles. The New Leader served in the crusade of enlightenment regarding Communism. It now offers its pages to the members and officials of these unions in the hope that by the presentation of each view the unions will be helped, that more unified opinion will emerge, and that the unions will be strengthened thereby.

One rule will be observed in conducting this discussion. No personalities will be permitted. Facts, trends, issues, and policies must be considered without rancor. No other discussion would be worth while. The invitation is extended to all the unions in the needle trades in the hope that this forum will be helpful to those with whom we have stood in many a battle and whom we expect to serve in other struggles.

## Design for a Holding Company Skyscraper



Fitzpatrick in the N. Y. World.

## Johnson of the Mohawks

### The Irish Immigrant Who Became a Chief

By James Oneal

ONE of the outstanding figures of American colonial history was Sir William Johnson, an Irish immigrant who arrived in New York at the age of 23. Certainly the man who later became a Mohawk chief, Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Baronet, and whose activities were intimately related to the fur trade, the rivalry with the French for its control, and protection of the British frontier against French ambitions, is worthy of a modern biography. When we add that Johnson was not scrupulous in observing social conventions, that he had numerous children by three women, one of Dutch and two of Indian origin, and that like all official class colonialists he maintained a pietistic concern for the expansion of the Anglican Church, it is obvious that he was a man of more than ordinary interest.

Sir William has been rescued from his undeserved obscurity in a biography by Arthur Pound in collaboration with Richard E. Day (Johnson and the Mohawks. New York: Macmillan, \$5). The study has two merits that are commendable when considered in relation to a current type of biography. The authors avoid any attempt at interpretation in terms of inhibitions, complexes, and other jargon of the psycho cults and they amply fill in the economic and social backgrounds which largely shape the human material of each age in history. In fact, the



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

biography is in part a contribution to the history of the Mohawk Valley and the New York Indian frontier.

The authors surmise that the reason for the long neglect of Johnson in American history is "the long dominion of Massachusetts in the writing of the nation's history. William Johnson never stood well with Massachusetts folk, their leaders and writers. His expansive and expensive way of life, his wines and stables, and above all, his unconventional domestic arrangements in lieu of proper marriage, all ran afoul of Puritan ideology. Taking copy women to wife, in defiance

alike of the color line and Holy Writ, might be condoned in London... but in Boston and Salem—saints and ministers of God defend us from such impieties!"

Moreover, as the Puritan flock left the saintology of New England and moved west they succumbed to its individualist life, its "direct action, gambling, brawling, and loose sex relations," facts, by the way, that found no place in the "history" sponsored by the American Legion a few years ago. Of the influence of this environment on Puritan, Dutch and English alike the following paragraph is among the best short summaries to be found in American history:

There is something in the free air of the frontier which intoxicates the children of settled habits when they first imbibe it. From pious housekeepers, harried and oppressed at home, the Puritans changed rather quickly into raging landgrabbers, falling, as Holmes immortal pun saith, "first on their knees and then on the aborigines." Men who would still have been touching their hats to their betters if they had stayed at home became, in the new country, Indian hunters by conviction, and for short campaigns their colonial offspring were perhaps the most terrible fighting men let loose on this planet.

That passage explains more than all the complexes and inhibitions ever invented by the psycho cults.

It is in this environment that staged a struggle between the British and French for control of the Indians, lands, and the fur trade that Johnson emerged as a man of enormous wealth for his time and with a commanding influence over the Indians. He is one of the very few white men in our history who dealt with the savages on a basis of honesty, who interfered with the spectators, and grafters after Indian lands, who scrupulously observed the terms of Indian treaties, and who exerted his influence against the use of rum and low practices by which Indians were defrauded of their lands. It is not surprising that he was adopted by the Mohawks as one of their own and that they trusted him as no other white man was ever trusted by them. And this is the man whose life shocked the ancestors of Calvin Coolidge!

So far as the northern frontier was concerned this region of Johnson's authority was probably the happiest for the Indian since the white man crossed the Atlantic. Among the most charming passages in this book are the descriptions of the great councils held by the Mohawks at Fort Johnson with Johnson himself as "Warraghiyagey," the central figure:

In advance of a council there would be a vast stir around Johnson Hall and its neighboring farms—yarding and butchering of cattle, grinding of wheat and baking of bread, rolling of hogheads and clinking of wine bottles. Trusty Irishmen kept the keys and accounts; Negro slaves did the cooking and baking, while the fetching and carrying was done by copy slaves called Fandis (Fawns).

The guests would begin to arrive several days before the scheduled date. As the wise old sachems and war chiefs arrived, Sir William

## Smashing The Bad Trusts

By Joseph E. Cohen

REPORT has it that the Federal Department of Justice is after the illegal combinations of capital and is going to smash these trusts if they don't watch out.

Perhaps they have not heard the report.

For the papers fail to mention that there have been sudden meetings of the boards of directors of the monster corporations. There has been no unwonted hurrying and scurrying to cover by the gentlemen most mentioned in Wall Street. If any fear and trembling has taken place behind private entrances to executives' offices, it has been completely concealed from the public.

Maybe the jail gates are swinging open with fresh oil on their hinges, gaping for the entrance of the little crowd whom President Roosevelt stigmatized as "the malefactors of great wealth." If the gates are still ajar and in vain.

It may be the correct opinion of the Department of Justice that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been fractured and broken. Like the Eighteenth Amendment it has always been more honored in the breach than in the observance. And, like that provision, it has not been enforced because there is no enforcing it.

The Sherman effort was a last-stand of what President Hoover is pleased to call "our rugged individualism" against the onward sweep of combination. It meant to prevent "illegal combinations in restraint of trade." It aimed to keep wide open the channels of competition. It tried to put a "no trespassing" sign against the irresistible drive to bigger and more consolidated business.

But the law of man could not prevail against the law of industrial expansion.

Now the Department of Justice is bestirring itself with the Sherman Law for a broom to sweep back the tide of industrial growth before it swamps the line drawn upon the sand against the storm. But there is no chance for the bucket and shovel chain.

Small business cannot be brought back into play. The Government may dissolve trusts and compel the operation of the one monopoly under several units. It might even search some distance to keep such decisions from being printed on trust-made paper with trust-made type and trust-made ink on trust-made presses.

Why try to go back?

Long after the Sherman Law was passed Mr. Hoover had a number of men prepare a book called "Waste in Industry." In various fields of industrial activity it was shown how much could be gained by stopping duplication, avoiding lost motion, adopting standards and, in short, putting all business inside the like form.

The trusts cannot be "busted." The enormous chickens of big business cannot be poured back into the egg shells from which they came.

Most of the worth-while trade of the country is done by and through trusts. Mergers are the order of the day.

Doing things on a large scale is not an evil in itself. It is the control of labor conditions and prices by giant combinations which hurts the people.

Whenever the nation gets tired of being owned by the trusts, the nation will step in and own the trusts.

would have them escorted by ones or twos or threes through the great north door, where he and Brown Lady Johnson would meet them in the wide hallway, exchange greetings and lead them up the broad stairway, with its massive mahogany balustrades, to an upper room, the private council chamber.

Two pages are devoted to Johnson's zeal for promoting the interests of the Established Church and we wish that the authors had given more consideration to this phase of his career. The Johnson papers being published by the University of the State of New York contain some of the most delightful correspondence in relation to the church that is to be found in colonial documents. One can almost visualize Johnson fresh from sipping a glass of madeira, caressing his Brown Lady and patting the head of one of his little half-breeds, then turning to his desk and writing a pious letter to the rector of Trinity Church regarding the location of a good pastor in this region.

It was fitting that Sir William should pass out of the picture at one of those picturesque Indian councils. "For two hours he spoke in the vigorous Indian manner under a hot sun, stamping the earth for emphasis, bestowing the wampum, masking his feebleness with the art of the practised orator. While the presents were being distributed, he was seized with severe spasms. Assisted to his bedroom, he lingered two hours. . . . Molly lifted her voice in the death wail of her people; it was taken up by the dusky watchers in the grove, and fast as foot and voice could travel the word passed up and down the Valley that Warraghiyagey's spirit had departed."

This is excellent biography, reliable history, and ranks with the best in its field.