

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The London Naval Treaty Becomes an Important Symbol—Victory for Southern Workers—Boss Curry's New Degree—Chicago and New York Styles in Gangs

### AN IMPORTANT BUT IMPERFECT TREATY

IF THERE is any one lesson that history teaches from the time of the Pharaohs down to Mussolini, it is that no one nation can ever be strong enough to keep peace by its own force. What ever else it is, peace is a matter of international agreement. Competitive nationalist armaments, necessarily create fear and suspicion and make war more not less likely. Disarmament or limitation of armaments alone is not a patent medicine for the evil of war but it is good for much in the struggle for peace.



Norman Thomas

How are those who believe in these general principles going to apply them to the London Naval Treaty? I think we must say that although the London Naval Treaty is decidedly unsatisfactory the failure of the United States Senate to ratify it would be a hard blow to our hope of peace. The reason that it is important to ratify an unsatisfactory treaty is that defeat of the treaty will be a victory for roaring Rear Admirals, the Tories, and the militarists in every country, and not for those of us who are dissatisfied because the treaty did so little. Moreover, the critics of the treaty have brought it to pass that in England, defeat of the treaty will be taken as a direct blow to limitation of armaments by agreement a slur on their sincerity, and a challenge to a naval race.

There is no reason for us to fool ourselves about the treaty or to claim for it things that it does not do. The treaty does not actually reduce fleets in being. It does not even save us much on the building program to which Congress has been committed. It does, however, save us a good deal on such a program as the British advocated at Geneva and the American admirals advocated after Geneva. Of course, it saves us an enormous amount on the cost of an unlimited naval race both in money and in goodwill. Moreover we do not have to build up to the maximum figures permitted by the treaty. Neither does England nor Japan.

A second objection to the treaty is that in its more important points it is a three and not a five-power treaty. France and Italy are out and they may upset the apple cart. The so-called "escape clause" which is Article 21 of the treaty, inserted at the request of Great Britain, gives anyone of the three signers a right, upon notification to the other signers, to exceed the limitations in a given class of ships imposed by the treaty if it thinks this necessary because of the naval program of any power which did not sign the treaty. In plain English this means that a naval race between France and Italy, which did not sign the treaty, may make Great Britain feel that she must increase her building in order to live up to the unwritten law that her navy must be as strong as any two European powers. Such building would greatly well knock the treaty into a cocked hat. It is, however, by no means certain that France and Italy will force their building to such an extent during the life of the treaty. And it is exceedingly unlikely that a labor or liberal government in Great Britain would find it politically wise to provoke the United States to fresh building by taking advantage of Article 21. Moreover Article 21, itself, suggests the possibility of diplomatic consultation before actual new building is begun.

What worries our admirals and our jingoistic editors and Senators is not so much these things, however, as the question whether or not the treaty gives us parity with Great Britain. Now, as I have repeatedly tried to point out in this column, this parity business is an impossible and dangerous fetish. If we mean the Kellogg treaty seriously and are not going to fight, parity doesn't matter much, or rather the logical parity would be zero, that is naval disarmament. If there is danger we are going to fight we want not parity but superiority, at least for aggressive wars. For a defensive war, as the last war proved, a smaller navy in home waters can more than hold its own. Finally, there are so many elements that go into parity including not only the size of the navy but the number of merchant ships, the economic resources of the country, etc., that no absolute formula for parity can ever be devised.

The best argument that the treaty gives something like a fair compromise is the fact that the Tories and Admirals in England and Japan oppose it on exactly the same grounds as their colleagues in America. Some enterprising lecture bureau ought to exchange admirals, the Americans to tell the British how we got gypped by the treaty, and the British to tell us how they were robbed. It never will be possible to get limitation by agreement if the naval general staff of each country is going to insist on its own program at all costs. For us to have argued for twenty-one 8-inch cruisers or nothing would have meant no treaty or, at best, a treaty to increase navies. Perhaps the advocates of the treaty in America including the minority of admirals are wrong in arguing, as they did, that for certain purposes, at least the six inch gun cruisers are as good. The majority of our naval board may be right on such technical matters. We can afford to admit that the agreement on cruisers was a compromise in order to get any treaty. The British gave up their demand for limiting the size of six inch gun cruisers to less than 10,000 tons and they came away down from their Geneva figures. The Japanese also made concessions. That was the price of the treaty. If we had been willing to make more concessions to meet the hints or open suggestions of the English there would have been further reduction of battleships or aircraft carriers. Our admirals blocked that, which is one more victory than they ought to have won.

If any one wants the facts in convenient form on the technicalities of the treaty I recommend to such an inquirer the Information Service of the Foreign Policy Association in New York. These technicalities have a certain importance but the decisive argument ought to be not the perfection of an imperfect treaty but whether we will take a short step towards sanity by making some sort of an international agreement. Having gone so far, to turn our back on what has been done will only increase the fear and suspicion that future historians may yet record our rejection of the London Treaty as a contributory cause of war.

### THE WORKERS HAVE AMOS 'N' ANDY

WHEN last week I wrote some impressions of the South I had not heard of the textile corporation in Gastonia which proved that it had a heart by letting its workers off on the days when the mill worked fifteen minutes earlier so that they could get home to hear Amos and Andy. Who wouldn't gladly work ten, eleven or twelve hours for a company so generous as this? But what I should like to know is how many of the employees have radios on their low wages. I should also like respectfully to suggest that it is funny business for these Southern upholders of white supremacy to become so enthusiastic over imitation Negro comic philosophers. If Amos and Andy were really black—well, you finish that sentence yourself.

### HE DOCTORS THE LAW

A CATHOLIC college in Maryland has made John Curry, the Tammany boss of New York, an honorary LL.D., that is Doctor of Laws. It is a fitting honor for Mr. Curry, who more than most recipients of the degree has doctored the laws. To which we may add, and how. Boss McCooey of Brooklyn will get jealous. He also has been a doctor to a great many laws, lawyers and judges and he should not be left out.

### LEGALIZED RACKETEERS

THIS gang murder of a Chicago reporter gives dramatic point to the seriousness of the power of the organized underworld in America. This power will not be easily wiped out until we have re-established certain standards of honesty and decency in our economic life and in our politics. A nation whose motto is "money first" cannot well fight gangsters. Citizens who merely shrug their shoulders when they hear of dishonesty and corruption even in courts cannot expect to teach gangsters wholesome respect for judicial processes. Here I take New York rather than Chicago for example. Another judge has been forced to resign to fight innumerable indictments. He was McCooey's man and endorsed by Jimmie Walker. Whatever he did about getting a lease for a City dock had to be done with the approval of the City Administration. Doctor Doyle refuses to tell the court how he split his huge fees for getting special favors from the Board of Standards and Appeals. Magistrate Ewald is under investigation by the City authorities. The circumstances of the indictment of Mr. Cooley, the chief of probation in New York, have reflected upon several of the most recent developments and a public which only shrugs its shoulders at these things will never make a good fight against the underworld.

# NEW LEADER

With Which Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by Eugene V. Debs

VOL. X.—No. 19

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1930

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

Price Five Cents

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year . . . . . \$2.00  
Three Months . . . . . .75  
Six Months . . . . . 1.00

## India Raps, Britain Likes Simon's View

First Section Contains Survey of Conditions as Commission Finds Them — "Herald" Comments

PUBLICATION of the first section of the Simon Commission report on India has aroused interest all over the world because of the unrest in that country. The Simon Commission, composed of four Conservatives, one Liberal and two Laborites, is holding back the second edition of the report for two weeks till the first section has been digested by the reading public.

The present report reaffirms the Indian goal of self-rule but it is mainly devoted to a presentation of the economic conditions, the social customs, religious divisions, languages, provincial and local governments, the franchise, and other matters that are typical of India and the Indian people. The round table talk that is to follow presentation of the full report is expected to take place in October and this conference will consider the reforms and concessions recommended.

Sees Religious Strife The vast area of India and her enormous population, about two and one-half times the population of the United States, are stressed. Of the languages spoken the report says:

"No single vernacular tongue has so wide a range as English, but the last census showed that only 2,500,000 persons (sixteen in every thousand males and two in every thousand females) were literate in English. The languages with the widest currency among the general population is Hindustani but it is far from being generally understood all over India. The census enumerates altogether 222 vernaculars for India, and a man who wished to make himself generally understood in all parts of India would have to be master of as many separate tongues as a linguist who was prepared to accomplish the same achievement throughout Europe."

Of the religious differences which include chiefly the Hindus and Moslems the commission expresses regret that there has been little improvement but it adds that the tension is due not entirely to religious antagonism but to "ambitions aroused in both religious communities by the prospects of India's political future." The assumption is that the absence of British force would result in dangerous political strife based upon religious views.

Sees Equality Demanded As to the Hindu caste system, which involves the misery of the millions of outcasts are untouchables, the report is not optimistic. It admits just a shade of improvement in isolated regions, but says that progress is not only slow but will so continue. There is no specific linking up of this phase of Indian life with the political situation in the official summary.

There is, however, in Volume 1 a full chapter on the subject of women in India, which is something new in official documents concerning that country.

One of the most interesting parts of the report is that concerning public opinion in India. It contains this comment:

"Indian political thought finds it tempting to foreshorten history, and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. It is impatient of the doctrine of gradualism. 'With all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment.'"

This statement is followed by a reference to the views of "moderates" and "extremists" in India, and ends with the important admission that "all alike are in sympathy with the demand for equal status with the European and proclaim their belief in self-determination for India."

The first volume ends with the following paragraph: "In our view the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long standing, which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian people themselves. They are much less likely to be remedied if the blame for their continuance can be put, however, unreasonably, on others. We desire to see the forces of public opinion which exist in India concentrated and strengthened for the practical work of reform. It is only when the difficulties of constructive policy are

(Continued on Page Two)

## N.Y. Back In Days Of "Boss" Tweed, Waldman Says

Resignation of Judge Vause May Permit "Higher-Ups" to Escape Punishment for Corruption, Socialist Leader Charges—Points Out Other Scandals Were Hushed Up

RESIGNATIONS that satisfy popular clamor, but leave the system of corruption untouched, impair the advantage gained by bringing to the light unhealthy conditions in the administration of government, Louis Waldman, co-chairman of the Socialist Party's Committee on Public Affairs, declared Tuesday, in reviewing the facts and implications arising from the Judge Vause and Doyle scandals. Waldman spoke in the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street, at one of a series of neighborhood mass meetings being held by local branches of the Socialist Party to arouse public sentiment against corruption and to demand a state investigation of city affairs.

Referring to the resignations of Judge Mancuso, Magistrate Vitale, and now Judge Vause, Mr. Waldman declared that villains are singled out, sometimes rebuked and seldom adequately punished, but that the villain of which they were only an important part goes on under the benevolent protection of the higher-ups who refuse to lift a finger to either clean out corruption or even help bring the facts to light.

"Our campaign to awaken the civic conscience, and to arouse the people to the fact that we are back in the days of Boss Tweed, would not be necessary if Judge Vause and Dr. Doyle were merely isolated instances of corruption in public office," Mr. Waldman said. "It would perhaps not be necessary to undertake this campaign if those who are not accused, but who are higher-ups, and who have either known what their associates are doing, or, if they did not, are guilty of gross incompetence and ought to be driven from public office on that account, would give the

(Continued on Page Two)

## New Evidence Opposition in Found That N.Y. Fur Union Wins at Polls

Pasadena Survey Shows Employment Question Largely Ignored—Probe May Be Asked

(By a New Leader Correspondent) CHICAGO.—Again the social workers, "liberals," and labor unionists who have fought hard against the Chamber of Commerce and National Manufacturers Association attempts to block the taking of an unemployment census will be disappointed. The information secured by this census will not be dependable enough to enable any plans to be laid to deal with unemployment. The "engineering mind" at the head of the government has surrendered to the Republican bosses who integrity it ever had and has allowed the census to be taken in such a fashion as to make it utterly unreliable.

Instead of making civil service tests for census takers, the Republican machine took the census under the spoils system, which has been discredited times without number. The political appointees, of course, do everything they can to help keep their machine in power.

The charge that the unemployment census is being manipulated for political purposes is gaining in weight through evidence being received by the national office of the Socialist party from widely scattered parts of the country.

Union Poll Taken The charge was originally made by Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the party, in a press release from Washington, D. C. which was also sent to all labor papers. The statement, after asking if the local Republican machines were not giving orders to enumerators to "soft-pedal" unemployment in the interest of stemming the tide of Socialist and Democratic sentiment, requested all readers of labor and Socialist papers to send the office their experiences with census takers.

The data received has proved that in most cases cited, the enumerator asked, "Were you at work yesterday?" and if he received an affirmative answer, made no attempt to discover whether the person questioned had a steady job or was only casually employed on the previous day. In numerous cases, the only question asked was, "What is your occupation?"

In Pasadena, according to the Labor News which made a careful poll of many groups, only 39 men out of a group of 119 interrogated were even asked the first question, which is the key one. Only 19 of this group were asked, "Have you a job of any kind?" and only two were asked, "How many weeks have you been out of work?"

Unless protests are made from all over the United States and the evidence showing the untrustworthiness of the census is presented to the public, we shall soon see the whole machinery of the government put behind the lies that all the newspapers are spreading that there is no serious unemployment problem. As long as the people can be drugged by such propaganda as this, there will be no effective steps taken to remedy unemployment.

## New York, B'klyn, Newark Arrange Mooney Rallies

JULY 15, the day on which Tom Mooney was taken to the San Quentin prison, where he and Warren K. Billings have spent 14 years for an offense now believed by practically every one, including those who prosecuted and convicted him, they never committed, will be commemorated at a series of mass-meetings in all parts of the country.

## Injunction Bill Report Is Forced Out

Adverse Recommendation Will Be Given Senate—Norris Leads Minority

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Under sharp pressure from organized workers in all sections of the country, the hostile majority in the Senate judiciary committee abandoned, June 9, its attempt to hold in committee until next December the Norris anti-injunction bill. After Chairman Norris had read to the committee a letter from Attorney General Mitchell in which Mitchell refused to pass up on the measure, they voted without roll call to report the bill adversely. Norris and the six other supporters of the bill on the committee were satisfied to let the measure go to the Senate calendar in this way.

Agreement was reached that majority and minority reports—the latter strongly advocating the enactment of the bill—would be filed June 20. If the Senate adjourns before that date, then the reports will be filed on the last day of this session. In any case, the anti-injunction bill will be on the calendar when the Senate meets after the coming elections.

### Reports Being Written

Senator Steiwer of Oregon, regular Republican, is preparing the majority report opposing the Norris anti-injunction bill. Assisted by printed briefs from Alfred Thom, general counsel for the Association of Railway Executives; James A. Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers; and Walter Gordon Merritt, counsel for the League for Industrial Rights, he will seek to convince the Senate and the country that the yellow dog contract is sound, that injunctions in labor disputes are often necessary, and that the Norris bill is legislation which discriminates in favor of the working class.

Two volumes of hearings conducted in 1928 before the Norris-Walsh-Blaine subcommittee offer further material from the anti-labor side, for use by the administration spokesmen. These arguments by witnesses were directed against the Furusheth-Shipstead bill. That measure was brief. It read: "Equity courts shall have jurisdiction to protect property when there is no remedy at law; for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction, nothing shall be held to be property unless it is tangible and transferable, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

### Norris to Defend Measure

Against this drastic curtailment of the equity power the defenders of the injunction rallied in force. There was Emery, Thom, Merritt, his chief, Davenport, and such local enemies of the labor movement as Lan.fram of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce protested that the bill was unconstitutional. Finally, after a year, the subcommittee drew up a substitute bill, expressly forbidding the Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes under certain definite conditions, and setting forth a policy of safeguarding the rights of wage earners in carrying on peaceful activities as a labor movement. This substitute, now known as the Norris bill, seeks to outlaw the yellow dog contract as one step toward protection of labor's rights. Against this bill the anti-union lawyers are quite as busy as against the Furusheth-Shipstead bill.

Chairman Norris has nearly completed his minority report in favor of the subcommittee measure. He anticipates a long and bitter struggle in the next session of Congress, to pass this bill through the Senate. No organization of pro-labor members of the House has been created, but in the new Congress a group will be formed to take responsibility for forcing action.

## Labor Party Started By Phila. Unions

Couzens Power Board Bill Reported Out

Textile Workers Take Initiative in Move for Independent Political Action

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Sen. Couzens' bill providing for the creation of an independent Federal Power Commission in place of the present body consisting of three cabinet members, has been favorably reported by the House committee on interstate commerce. It passed the Senate some weeks ago. The only amendment made in a House committee was an increase in the proposed commission membership from three to five men.

## Socialist N.E.C. Meets in Conn. June 26 and 27

New Haven Gets Sessions—Mass Meetings to Be Held in Many Cities of State

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—The State of Connecticut is to have the pleasure of entertaining the National Executive Committee, and from all reports the comrades throughout the state are stepping lively. The Workers' Circle and the Mothers Clubs all over the state are cooperating with the state office in trying to make this one of the finest meetings held. The N. E. C. meeting will be held in New Haven, and the Committee there have already arranged for a sightseeing trip. Other entertainments are being arranged. Bridgeport is arranging for a meeting with Com. Mrs. Berger and Com. Maurer on Friday, June 27th and New Haven is to have the same speakers on Thursday, June 26th. Hartford is arranging a very large meeting for Hillquit on Friday, June 27th. Wallingford is also to have an outdoor meeting. Arrangements are not yet complete with Waterbury and further announcements will be made. New London is arranging a meeting for Sharts on Friday, June 27th.

State Convention of the Socialist Party is to be held on Sunday, June 22nd at 11 a. m. in Maenner Chor Park, West Haven. We are looking forward to having the largest convention this year as we expect a record breaking crowd.

## Yipsels Trek To Reading Is Arranged

ALL arrangements for the Young Peoples Socialist League jamboree and conference to be held at Reading, Pa., on July 12 and 13 have been made. The comrades of Reading have set aside their own picnic park for the Yipsels. Every offer is being made to give the young Socialists the time of their lives. Comrade J. Henry Stump, the Socialist Mayor of Reading, will welcome the Yipsels officially. Norman Thomas, Powers Haggood, Clarence Senior, Andrew J. Biemiller, Louis F. Budenz, Arthur G. McDowell and Esther Friedman will address the Yipsels.

The conference program will consist of the following: Youth and Politics—Jules Umansky, New York City; and Manfred Ettinger, Chicago, Ill.; Youth and Industry—Lester Shulman, New Bedford, Mass.; and Winston Dancis, New York City; Youth and Education—Abe Kalish, Boston, and John Hall, Lynn, Mass. Chairmen for the sessions will be Emanuel Switkes, national chairman of the Y. P. S. L., and Abe Belsky, executive secretary of the New York Y. P. S. L.

By Joseph Schwartz (New Leader Correspondent) PHILADELPHIA.—The political Gibraltar of the labor movement—the non-partisan policy—is being lifted by the mill workers in Penn's backwoods. A resolution appointing a committee to lay plans for the formation of an independent labor party has been unanimously and enthusiastically carried.

This movement has grown up as a result of injunctions handed down by capitalistic controlled judges. The famous English Taft-Vale decision has found its parallel in Philadelphia injunction rulings. Just as the Taft-Vale verdict opened the eyes of the British workers to the need of a labor party, so have the injunction judges in the great metropolis of Philadelphia taught the workers to return the liberty bell to the rightful heirs—the workers.

The labor party movement is the third step in the development towards politics by the textile workers. The growth has been gradual and is rich with experiences.

The first stage of the embryo was the endorsement of political pledges who gave lip service to the needs of labor. The utility of rewarding the fifty per cent. lesser evil led to the second rung in the political ladder.

The textile workers organized the Northeast Progressive League to serve as an independent political expression of the workers. Candidates were nominated from the "League" membership to participate in the most interesting and exciting Republican primary in the history of Pennsylvania. Earlier editions of The New Leader described the events and experiences of the "League."

Encouraged by the phenomenal vote polled by the "League" candidates and aroused by the gross miscarriage of justice in freeing the scabs who murdered a union hosiery worker, the "League" swung its full strength in creating the foundations of a city wide labor party.

The business agents and organizers of the various textile groups, an international president, socialists, rank and file, all joined in supporting a labor party constitution read by the local chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Hearts and minds were in one accord in agreeing on the third step, a Labor Party.

The bitter fights and disagreements of a month ago between those who desired to participate in the Republican primary and those who refused were no longer visible when it came to laying the foundation of a labor party. In the last step, there was harmony and warmth and great hope.

This movement will tend to materially and favorably change the attitude of the labor movement of Pennsylvania towards political action. Textile workers, as they are found at least in Philadelphia, are fighters and can make things fly once started.

The newly elected president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, John Phillips, is known to be sympathetic to the Labor Party idea. Phillips is one of the most progressive men in the ranks of the conservative labor leaders. He is a shrewd, intelligent observer of the labor movement. He seems to have the knack of attracting persons of all shades of opinion, and somehow manages to get the progressive and conservative to work together. Phillips appears to be watching the labor scenes very closely. One can almost pick a Phillips agent in the many camps within the Labor movement.

One of the vice-presidents of the State Federation is an active Socialist, another is a textile worker prominent in the formation of a labor party.

The labor party started by the textile workers will no doubt give considerable courage to the president with the assistance of the two vice presidents to further propagate the labor party idea. Socialists and progressives will have a field to work in to further the ideals of social justice. And perhaps The Record, which is the one newspaper in Philadelphia not included in Oswald Garrison Villard's "Cabbage Patch," may join a real movement instead of being compelled to support a Pinchot or Wet Republicans such as Bohlen and Phillips.



## Socialist Women Fed 40,000 Idle

N. Y. Kitchen Closes—Will Probably Reopen Again in the Fall, Miss Newman Says

ANNOUNCEMENT was made this week by Pauline M. Newman, chairman of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party, that the Emergency Kitchen for unemployed men and women was closed last week. During six weeks that the kitchen was open 40,000 jobless workers were helped. It is probable that the kitchen will again be opened in the fall and announcement of future plans will be made later.

In a statement made to The New Leader Miss Newman extended the thanks of all who had helped to make this enterprise possible. She added that a detailed report of the undertaking will be published in a future issue of The New Leader. "Meanwhile I want to extend our thanks and our deep appreciation to all who have helped to make the kitchen the success it was," said Miss Newman. "Without the splendid and generous assistance of these men and women, without their interest in and devotion to this task the kitchen could not have lasted as long as it did. To those who have contributed money, food, time and energy we are deeply grateful. They have helped to put the Women's Section of the Socialist Party before the people. It was an undertaking worthy of the effort. We shall have more to say about this subject as soon as we have the time."

An informal supper for the workers who have given of themselves so generously to the work of the kitchen will be held on Wednesday, June 18 at 10 East 16th street, at 6:30 o'clock. The charge is 75 cents. Since the space is limited, reservations should be sent in to Pauline Newman, at 7 East 15th street. Reservations will not be accepted after June 16.

## India Raps, Britain Likes Simon's View

(Continued from Page One)

English Press Comment

British press opinion of the report naturally varies. The "Daily Herald," the organ of the Labor Party, in a lead editorial on the Simon report says:

"There will be protests that the difficulties are so great that Britain's promises to India are impossible of fulfillment. To give way to the faint-hearted, to the inventors of excuses, to the advocates of the mailed fist, would be petty and cowardice of the first order."

The Conservative Daily Telegraph declares that the report "is sufficient to demonstrate a dozen times over the total impracticability of the constitutional problem on the lines of complete self-government at short notice."

The Liberal News-Chronicle is among those journals supporting home rule which fear an adverse reaction. It says the proof that the Indians are capable of the practical application of home rule is seen in the tribute the commission pays to the way in which the Indians have worked, under difficult conditions, those institutions established in 1919.

Indian Comment Adverse

Comment by the Indian press on the report is generally bitter and both "moderates" and "extremists" are disappointed.

"The Simon Commission insults India," "Dominion status in the dim and distant future," "India not a nation," "British domination to continue."

Headings, such as these, glared across the front pages of the leading Swarajist newspapers of India epitomizing the feeling of the Congress extremists.

"The first installment of the Simon folly" is the front page caption in the extremist Bombay Chronicle, generally accepted as Mahatma Gandhi's semi-official organ. This newspaper goes on under another heading, "India De-famed," in its editorial columns to describe "almost every line of it as a subtle and revolting libel on India and her people."

"Whether they do or not, the country's course is clear. It will carry on the struggle and will accept no settlement save that arrived at through Gandhi and the

Congress and which secures to it the substance of independence."

The Indian Daily Mail, representing the Liberal and Moderate opinion, similarly discards the document as "uninspiring" and as a failure. The arguments in the report pointing to the impossibility of the Indianization of the army, leaving defense in the hands of Indian Ministers, and emphasizing the difficulties in the way of the country's achieving full Swaraj are advanced as the principal objections to its acceptance by this journal.

"Badly Cooked Rice Pudding"

The mail continues, "Its treatment of India's legitimate demands, its accounts of various situations, its guide book like inaccuracy, its childlike faith in official position, its comments, its generalizations and its obvious trend of thought can be dismissed as being nothing more or less than a rather badly cooked rice pudding, strongly flavored with the cinnamon of die-hardism."

The Swarajists unite in condemning the report as unacceptable. The opinions of individual Liberal and Moderate leaders vary slightly, though on the whole, judging by the views expressed they expect a considerable advance in the next section of the report, if it is to have any chance of success in India.

Rand Book Store Expects

Copies of Simon's Reports

The long-awaited Simon Commission report is at last ready, and India's fate can be seen and judged from the conditions described in the first part. Every Socialist should get acquainted with official English opinion on the subject, so that they may be better able to discuss self-determination intelligently.

The Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street, has ordered a limited number of copies and those first to respond will receive them. The price of part one is \$1.75. In ordering indicate whether you wish to obtain part two which will contain the commission's recommendations. Those interested in India's fight for freedom should read "India in Bondage," by Dr. Sunderland, now on sale at the book-store.

## Yugo-Slav Socialists in Convention

National Secretary Senior Praises Vigor and Accomplishments of Federation

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT, Mich. — The most spirited convention of the Yugo-Slav Socialists in years was held here last week. The officers and members of the federation have just and great reason to be proud of their accomplishments. The reports of activities during the past year filled the delegates with enthusiasm. The educational division of the federation was thoroughly gone over and reorganized, although in the course of the past few years it has distributed over 18,000 copies of its own books and supplied several hundred clubs and lodges with plays and other educational needs. It is now made up of 117 fraternal and cultural organizations, such as singing choruses and dramatic clubs.

The expeditionary way in which the convention business was transacted and the businesslike manner in which all of the delegates united in speaking made a big impression upon National Secretary Senior who was present as fraternal delegate. He said that many of the English speaking locals and branches would be put to shame by the energy and vigor with which the delegates to the Yugo-Slav convention went to work.

One significant fact of the convention was that over one-third of the delegates were young men and women who are beginning to come into positions of leadership and influence in the federation.

One far reaching resolution was passed which called upon the federation officers to form English speaking youth peoples branches of the federation which would also be affiliated with the Y. F. S. L. Clarence Senior spoke for the national party and Emanuel Switkes, Acting National Director of the Y. F. S. L. for the Yipsels.

Order, according to their idea (the idea of the ruling class), is a position which enables them to devour the lives of other men—while disorder occurs when those devoured desire that their destroyers shall cease to devour them.—Tolstoy.

## Many Give To N.Y. Party Fund Drive

Dr. Sabloff Collects \$150 in Canvass—Gillis Is Chairman of Campaign

WITH the formation of a special Sustaining Fund Committee, the drive to build up the Sustaining Fund of the New York City Socialist organization so that the budget of the executive office can be balanced without curtailing present activities got under way this week when approximately \$250 in new contributions and pledges were obtained. Most of those who responded were reached personally, while a few responses came as a result of the public announcement that a drive was being inaugurated to build up a large sustaining fund.

Meyer Gillis, for many years one of the most active Socialists in the city, has accepted the chairmanship of the committee in charge of the drive. He is compiling a list of active Socialists in all counties who will be asked to become members of the committee.

One of the members of the committee will be Dr. Louis Sabloff, a member of the Office and Budget Committee, whose personal solicitation for pledges and contributions netted in a few days almost \$150. Taking a list of prospects, Dr. Sabloff called on both party members and others who are in sympathy with Socialism, and returned with a half dozen pledges. One of them was made by M. Kronstadt, who pledged \$5 a month, and made an outright contribution of \$25, making a total pledged and contributed of \$85 by him.

500 Pledges Sought

Other contributions and pledges received by Dr. Sabloff were from Harry Mishnau, in the amount of \$12, I. Feller, in the amount of \$10, Mrs. Helen Mishnau, in the amount of \$24, and Miss Liza Mishnau, in the amount of \$12. In addition, contributions and pledges have come in from Edward F. Cassidy, Dr. William E. Bohn, Director of the Rand School, Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Cavell, Branes Reswell, Henry Fruchter, director of the Naturalization Aid League, Philip Gellebter, of the Workmen's Circle, Joseph Jabloner, Olga Long, and Salvatore Curcuruto.

The object of the drive is to secure the pledges of 500 party members and sympathizers who will give \$1 a month each, and 200 who will pledge sums from \$2 to \$5 a month each, making a total of \$1,000 a month on the Sustaining Fund. While a mail campaign will be conducted, under the direction of Sustaining Fund Committee, personal solicitation will be relied on mainly. With a committee of fifty actively engaged in the work, visiting party members and sympathizers, it is believed that before the summer is over the pledge fund will be complete and will reach the sum set as the goal.

Delegates to the Central Committee agreed to take an active part in the drive, and each delegate attending the meeting held June 4 took a supply of pledge cards to be circulated among branch members.

Pledges and contributions may be mailed to either Meyer Gillis, 175 East Broadway, or Mark Lewis, executive secretary, 7 East 15th street.

Lewis announced the following names and amounts now being received on the Sustaining Fund, exclusive of the amounts which were paid outright at the beginning of the year when the fund was first organized for the present year. The sums noted will be paid monthly unless otherwise indicated.

Anna Berman	\$10.00
Morris Berman	25.00
Abraham Back	annually 3.00
Dr. William E. Bohn	1.00
S. John Block	3.00
Isidore Buchbinder	1.00
Mr. and Mrs. M. Cavell	1.00
I. M. Chasoff	1.00
Edward F. Cassidy	annually 10.00
Salvatore Curcuruto	1.00
Samuel A. DeWitt	5.00
Anna T. Davis	1.00
Sam Delson	1.00
I. Feller	annually 10.00
Ernest Fenster	1.00
Henry Fruchter	2.00
P. Gellebter	1.00
L. P. Goldberg	2.00
Charles Grossman	2.00
John and Cassa Guillet	1.00
Albert Halpern	annually 25.00
J. Hillman	1.00
Morris Hilkut	25.00
Jessie Wallace Huggan	1.00
Morris Hochen	1.00
Mr. and Mrs. S. Hoffman	1.00
Joseph Jabloner	annually 2.50
Dr. J. M. James	3.00
Nehemiah Janko	1.00
Dr. Louis Katin	3.00
M. Kronstadt	annually 85.00
Olga Long	2.00
Harry Michnau	1.00
Mrs. Helen Mishnau	24.00
Miss Liza Mishnau	12.00
Joseph Mueller	1.00
Jacob Panken	2.50
W. W. Passare	1.00
Louise Pohle	annually 4.00
Branes Reswell	1.00
Dr. Louis Sabloff	25.00
Dr. A. M. Schwartz	2.00
Alexander Schwartz	annually 6.00
Joseph Seid	1.00
Dr. Louis Sever	25.00
Helen P. Stokes	5.00
M. Turitz	annually 10.00
Joseph A. Wall	1.00
Samuel Whitehorn	annually 10.00
A. and M. Zamelkin	annually 24.00
Gerson Zybert	annually 10.00

FINANCING WITHOUT MONEY

GUERNSEY Market House, built without paying interest. A scientific substitute for bonds. Cities can get out of debt. 10 cents copy; 15 for \$1.50. Zook, Little, Pa.

## Amusements

DULL OPENING

THEATRICAL critics who had come to Washington to witness the opening of the much touted Fish-Wall production put on for a trial performance here last week under the auspices of the Special Congressional Committee for the investigation of Communist activities in the United States were frankly disappointed over the mildness of the show. The gags were old, the wheezes reminiscent of the Lusk Committee flop and the actors were not yet familiar enough with their lines to put them over in any shape. It is expected, however, that by the time the show hits New York, the play-carpenters will have brightened the thing up and that there is a possibility that it will run all summer.

Although the principal role in the opening here was taken by the Rev. Edmund Walsh, S. J., it is expected that there will be a change in the cast and that Joe Cook or Eddie Cantor may be called in for the part. The Reverend did his Russian act in no more than what Alec Woolcott would call "adequate" manner. He told the pop-eyed Representative Eslick of Tennessee, who fed him some lines on free love in Russia, that in 1923 the Soviets had decreed that no man could marry more than 30 wives in 10 years. This brought down the house and one of the spectators shouted "What's the fare to Russia?" Representative Driver of Alabama wanted to know how long this has been going on when the Reverend told him that ex-wives were privileged to live in the same room with their former husbands for 60 days if they had no home.

The widely-heralded Red Flag scene was something of a flop. The Reverend said that he had learned from "The New Leader" that the Communists at the University of Chicago had kept the red flag flying over the campus of John D.'s education factory for two hours. Furthermore that two Communists named Clarence Darrow and McAllister Coleman had made sneering references to some members of the university Socialist Club hung up the red flag. To this Father Walsh responded that they were Communists traveling under the name of Socialist. This wheeze didn't get much of a hand except from the press gallery.

There was a time when such broad farce as this went over big. "Charlie's Aunt" is an example of how horse-play used to knock them cold in the good old days. But our latter-day audiences are more sophisticated and such custard-pie business no longer has its appeal, outside of Alabama and Tennessee, of course.

On the whole the Reverend's performance lacked the vigor of his predecessors in the Mitchell Palmer circuit. His tap-dancing was not so hot and his rendering of the report of the "Vigilant Intelligent Committee," a Chicago song and dance concern, was distinctly inferior to the work of the late lamented Freddy Marvin. He may be a wow on Keith's Junior Circuit but he will never, never do for the b-t-t. We hope for better thing at the next showing.

The Playgoer.

## Dinner June 21 Jail Socialist Will Begin Bronx Drive

Strongest Campaign in Many Years Will Be Waged This Summer and Fall

A GREAT Socialist revival appears to be under way in the Bronx. The membership is full of hope of great happenings in the strongest Socialist County in the city, with the result that there is more activity in that County than there has been for many years.

The campaign will open at the great Bronx Socialist Revival Banquet which will be held on Saturday evening, June 21st, at 6:30 in beautiful Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, between Westchester avenue and 163rd street. Reservations should be made immediately by sending check or money to Dr. Louis A. Hendin, campaign manager, Socialist Party, 1167 Boston Road, Bronx. He is ably assisted by such hard party workers as Irving M. Knobloch, Patrick J. Murphy, Louis Weil, Murray Gross, Dr. Abraham Molin, Boris Kostinsky and David Kaplan. Leading the women in the great revival is Miss Mollie Wasserman of the 6th A.D. and Miss Dora Wolinsky of the 5th A.D. Among the speakers are Norman Thomas, Morris Hilkut, B. Charney Vladeck, and Louis Waldman.

After the banquet is over, Dr. Hendin promises some more fine undertakings such as a tremendous outdoor affair to which the citizens of the county will be invited, plans for which are being prepared by the above pre-campaign committee. The local press after making a careful canvass of the situation is beginning to predict possible victory by the Socialists at the polls at the coming election.

## Large Mooney Rallies Are Being Arranged

(Continued from Page One)

application for the use of the Square. As soon as it is granted arrangements will be made to make the demonstration the largest held in the nation during that week.

The Brooklyn Committee for the Release of Mooney and Billings is headed by B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, and the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish, of the Church of the Holy Trinity. Among those who have agreed to serve on the committee are Robert H. Elder, former Assistant District Attorney of Kings County, Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, James P. Warbasse, John Halkett, president of the Building Trades Council of Greater New York, Rev. Dr. John H. Lathrop, Robert J. Nolan, Secretary of the Sheet Metal Workers Union, Alfred J. Boulton, Dr. Henry Neumann, of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, Agnes D. Warbasse, Harry W. Laidler, Joseph F. Viola, Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins, Darwin J. Meserole, Dr. Mary Lines, Louis Waldman, Rev. David Cory, Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Rev. H. Proctor, Mary E. Dreier, Louis P. Goldberg, Frances S. Boulton, Seymour Bernard, A. I. Shipiloff, Bernard J. Riley, Rev. Dr. Alexander Lyons, Dr. W. B. Robinson, Dr. Louis Sadoff, Albert Halpern, and Sol Sholes. Marjorie Dorman is secretary and treasurer of the committee.

Brooklyn Conference June 17—Preparations for the Brooklyn

demonstration will be made at a conference to be held on June 17, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby avenue, Brooklyn. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, announces that the plans for the demonstration have the approval of Sam Mooney, whom he consulted. Mooney asked that the demonstration be put forth clearly as a class issue.

Newark Mooney Rally To Be Held July 19th

A mass meeting to appeal for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren C. Billings from their California prison is planned for Saturday afternoon, July 19th, at Washington Park, Newark, by the Essex County Local of the Socialist Party of New Jersey. Prominent speakers are to be invited. One of them will be the Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator from N. J., Harry Jager.

The newly formed campaign committee of the Essex County Local, Socialist Party of New Jersey, met Wednesday night, June 4th, at county headquarters, 105 Springfield Ave., Newark, to draft plans for future activities to be submitted to the Local for action. Invitations are to be sent to the various candidates for U. S. Senator and other public offices after the June primaries to appear at the meeting and express their views on this public question.

When the people are intelligent they will rule.—Victor Hugo.

## Politicians Eye Labor's Cabinet Post

Speculation Is Rife Concerning Successor to Secretary of Labor Davis

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—(FP)—While James J. Davis, millionaire, clings to his official salary and title as Secretary of Labor, and appears more than willing to draw the money until safely elected and seated in the Senate, administration advisers are trying to pick his successor. The confident tone with which they dismiss all of the best-equipped men who have been suggested for this post has aroused grave fears as to the future of the Labor Department under the Hoover regime.

Suggestions that Grace Abbott, Ethelbert Stewart or Mary Anderson, competent and humane and social-visioned bureau chiefs, are cabinet material, are laughed at. Proposals that Thomas P. Flaherty of the Post Office Clerks or John Frey of the metal trades department of the A. F. of L. would develop the Department of Labor into the important agency of protection of workers' rights that its real founders intended, get no response at the political end of the White House. But as soon as the name of Robt. Carl White, typical Republican politician from Indiana, is mentioned, or when Albert Johnson of Hoquiam, Wn., chairman of the House committee on immigration, is boomed for the position, the men who pick the cabinet grow interested. And this situation annoys the spokesmen of organized labor in Washington, because the selection of either of those two men would be a setback for trade unionism in its relations with the federal government.

Mr. White's Record

Robt. White, who came in as an ally of Moose Davis, is hardboiled. He has a record of harshness in enforcing the immigration law, resulting in the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, which will bring protests from the friends of immigrants if and when he is promoted. But he is equally hard toward federal employees in his own department, in the matter of salary increases. Drawing \$10,000 himself, he has gained a reputation for "stone-wall" resistance to increase in pay for veteran and highly competent people drawing less than \$2,500 a year. He is frankly disliked, inside the Department and out. And his idea of the purpose of the Labor Department seems to be that it is a deportation bureau, rather than an agency for defending the wage earners—especially those lacking the intelligence or power to organize for their own protection—against unfair treatment by employers.

Albert Johnson shares White's enthusiasm for catching and deporting aliens who are here in violation of law. What is more, he would like to see the laws made far more drastic than they now are. Doing lip service to conservative labor, he has been a fiery inciter of sentiment against the I. W. W. and Socialists in his home state. He is the lumber company's man, just as White is Jim Watson's man. His prejudice against the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau and the effective work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is as strong as White's. He fears that these bureaus furnish ammunition of discontent to the radicals, since they expose industrial misery.

Doak Is Mentioned

Talk of the possible selection of W. N. Doak of the Railroad Trainmen, long opposed by other rail labor groups, has been revived. This brings up the main objection to giving the Labor secretaryship to a representative of the rail transportation group, which from the start of the movement to create the Labor Department stood aside. The Newlands Act was passed at their instance, so that rail labor disputes would be handled through a federal machinery distinct from the Department. The Railway Labor Act has developed this separate machinery, while amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act has given to rail labor a better service in the gathering of statistics as to wages, hours and conditions, and a better service as to accident-protection, than the Department affords to any class of labor.

However, these considerations based on the needs of the workers are likely to have little weight in the choice of Davis' successor—if and when made. Politics will rule the selection. After that, the Senate returning from the campaign recess will find it difficult to reject a cabinet officer serving under recess appointment.

ALL MAKES OF TYPEWRITERS

Bought, Sold, Exchanged, Repaired and Rebuilt

Pearl Typewriter Exchange and Repair Co.

201 W. 36th Street 1141 Broadway Pennsylvania 4726 Longacre 3101

PARK PLACE

2-5 WEST 110TH STREET

Elegant Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Meetings

ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.

Telephone: Monument 4255 Cathedral 5071

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney

220 East 42nd St., New York, Suite 1907

Evenings and Sundays, 1336 Glover St., Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway.

Palham Bay extension, to Zereah Ave. Station.

## Many Groups Attend Labor Sports Parley; Exec. Board Picked

The Labor Sports Conference which took place in the Rand School Studio on June 7 made a good start towards coordinating and promoting labor sports activities in New York City and vicinity. Louis Stanley, Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Sport Activities of the Socialist Party, which had called the conference, explained that the general purpose of the meeting was to bring together organizations and individuals engaging in labor sports so that they might arrive at a common basis of action. The specific object was to make the arrangements for the athletic events at the Ulmer Park Picnic on July 26. The discussion showed that those present had a clear understanding of the difference between labor sports with their aim of teaching labor solidarity while giving the workers physical exercise and commercial sports with their aim of fostering the ideas of capitalist individualism while the workers generally remain as on-lookers on the side lines.

An Executive Committee was elected to carry on the objects of the conference. Ben Kantor of the Y.P.S.L., David Levick of the Socialist Party, Emil Herzog and Karl Keinhart of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance, Johnny Precht of the Pioneer Youth, Jack Blitt of the Young Circle League, David Ginsburg of the Meyer London Athletic Clubs, and Karl A. Hill and James J. Quinn of the Finnish athletic clubs.

N. Y. Back in Days Of "Boss" Tweed

(Continued from Page One)

slightest indication that they abhor corruption and consider public office a public trust.

"Cogs in a Machine"

"The investigations have already disclosed that neither Judge Vause nor Dr. Doyle were the sole beneficiaries of the practices in which they are involved. They were apparently but cogs in a machine which derived millions of dollars for the influence they exerted on others—others who had the power and the authority to do the things which the Vauses and the Doyles are charged with having been paid to get in the way of leases and other privileges.

"In the case of Judge Vause, the Sinking Fund Commission had the power, and did vote on the leases. The highest city officials, including the Mayor, are members of that Commission. The records must disclose whose recommendation it was that led the Commission to approve the leases. It would take a few hours to find out the truth. A word from the Mayor would bring the whole thing into the public view. But all the Mayor will say is 'Judge Vause is a fine fellow.' That is the extent of the Mayor's interest in this scandal.

"Has it ever occurred to any of our citizens to ask how it is that men who could be involved in so many questionable deals rise to positions of trust and honor, and are elevated to the judiciary, where for years they continue undisturbed and unhindered in malpractices? Is it any wonder that the crime wave arising from the underworld constantly gains momentum, since it is no longer criminal to prostitute the highest offices and the most honored departments of our government? And those who are accused receive a clean bill of health from the highest city officials.

The Doyle Case

"In the case of Dr. Doyle the implications are even stronger. He has been accused on many occasions, and indicted more than once. It was a matter of common knowledge for years that he, a horse doctor, was able to get favorable decisions from the Board of Standards and Appeals when the best lawyers failed. He has made over \$1,000,000 in a comparatively short time—at least he appears to have collected that much. And he has divided the spoils with others. By pure accident the truth came out publicly.

"We are not fighting Vause, but Vause, not Doyle, but the system of which Doyle is a product, and of which he may, or may not, eventually become a victim. They represent symptoms of a virulent disease which is destroying the very vitals of our government, and what is even worse, the civic conscience of our people, who have come to regard a large series of scandals with complacency. The resentment is now beginning to show itself, and it will be a calamity if Vause's resignation, or the resignation of any of the others under suspicion, should permit the same conclusion to these scandals as have occurred in the others."

ALL MAKES OF TYPEWRITERS

Bought, Sold, Exchanged, Repaired and Rebuilt

Pearl Typewriter Exchange and Repair Co.

201 W. 36th Street 1141 Broadway Pennsylvania 4726 Longacre 3101

PARK PLACE

2-5 WEST 110TH STREET

Elegant Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Meetings

ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.

Telephone: Monument 4255 Cathedral 5071

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney

220 East 42nd St., New York, Suite 1907

Evenings and Sundays, 1336 Glover St., Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway.

Palham Bay extension, to Zereah Ave. Station.

## L. A. Socialists Look Forward To Great Gains

Mrs. Crane-Gartz Declines Nomination of Party for Governor of the State

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—The Los Angeles Socialists made a record for a year's work since they got Bill Busick on the job as organizer. In one year they grew from three to thirteen branches, with a 100% increase in membership. The activity increased many times and the influence and power of the Los Angeles Socialist Party has grown by giant strides.

The achievement of the first year's success, since the rebirth of the Party in Los Angeles, seems wonderful, but this year's work shows promise of far outdoing the success of the preceding twelve months. In the last three months, the first three of the second year, Busick has been on the job, the following branches have been organized: Pomona; Fifth Councilmanic District, Mexican; Belvedere; and a Young Socialist's League has been started in Alhambra. The Los Angeles Socialists launched a local newspaper, The New Era, which already has a mailing circulation of over 3,000, and a free house to house distribution of from fifteen to twenty thousand.

Many Labor Union men are coming into the Party, and old timers are coming back, but the most encouraging feature of the increasing membership is the number of young people who are joining and taking an active part in the building of a powerful Socialist movement.

The spirit of the local Socialists is spreading over the state. The State Office has been moved to Los Angeles



## Berry Says Woll Should Quit A.F. of L.

Pressmen's Head Says Vice-President Has Misrepresented Labor's Position on the Tariff Bill

WASHINGTON, (F.P.)—George L. Berry, president of the International Union of Printing Pressmen and Helpers, and one of the conservative leaders in conventions of the American Federation of Labor for more than a dozen years past, has written a letter to Matthew Woll, whom he refers to as "the" vice-president of the Federation, suggesting that Woll should resign his Federation post. Berry scores Woll for having dragged the name of the Federation into the Grundy tariff fight, and for having given to the country the impression—which Berry says is utterly false—that organized labor is for the Grundy bill.

This bombshell in the higher politics of the American labor movement was exploded in the Senate, June 5, by Senator McKellar of Tennessee, to whom Berry had sent a copy of his letter to Woll and his further letter to President Hoover. Writing to President Hoover on June 3, Berry declared he joined with millions of other workers in protesting against the tariff bill and in hoping that, if Congress sent it to the President's desk, the President would veto it. A copy of his letter to Woll was attached by Berry to his note to Hoover, so that the latter could see just how Berry had called on Woll to resign.

Letter to Woll

Under date of June 3 Berry wrote:

"My Dear Matthew:

"I have just finished reading your letter of May 10, addressed to the Hon. Henry D. Hatfield, as it appears on Page 10010 of the Congressional Record for May 28. . . .

"The introductory comments of Senator Hatfield were not surprising except in that he has evidently concluded, and I think the general public has formed the same opinion, that your letter of May 10 was written for the purpose of supporting and assisting in the passage of the tariff revision bill—commonly referred to as the Grundy Bill.

"By careful perusal of your letter it appears at least to me that the impression is very definitely intended to be made that you are speaking for, and that the American workers are in perfect harmony with, the Grundy Bill. If this is not the intention, there would have been no value in the transmission of your communication.

"It is observed that in the heading of your letter the words are used—'American Wage Earners' Protective Conference,' and that at the conclusion it is signed 'Matthew Woll, President.'—I must say that it is a new institution, and I have made some inquiries among labor men, members of the trade union movement, and they indicate that they never heard of it. Therefore it follows that there cannot be any general understanding of this so-called conference's purpose; and it is certainly not representative of either the ideals or purposes of the American labor movement."

Suggests He Quit

Berry then reminds Woll that the A. F. of L. has "very consistently" refused to join in "the political log-rolling scheme of tariff making," and that individuals can take their side or none. But, he adds, "I think it very unwise for you to advocate the present Grundy tariff bill in view of the official position you hold in the Federation. You are, and it is generally known, the vice-president of the A. F. of L. The use of your name in connection with support of what I, at least, conceive to be the most atrocious and indefensible tariff revision ever considered by Congress, will leave upon many the impression that the A. F. of L. is supporting the Grundy Bill, and of course, as you know, that isn't true. . . .

"In my judgment, if you felt it your duty as a citizen to support the Grundy Bill you should have resigned from the vice-presidency of the A. F. of L., so that the Federation would have been saved the humiliation of having anyone for even a second conclude that the American labor movement was in support of this bill."

Further, Berry tells Woll, his endorsement of the Grundy measure will alienate the sympathy of the farmers with organized labor, since the farmers will think that labor is playing the manufacturers' game against them. Moreover, he described Woll's appeal for the Grundy tariff as one which Woll "had no right" to make, in view of his official position in the Federation. And he considers that Woll's "criticism, bordering upon insult" has offended the 1,000 economists who petitioned Hoover to veto the bill.

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

"Green Pastures" will be the topic of the Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azura Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening, June 15. At 9 o'clock a one-act play, "Susan Glaspell's 'Close the Book,'" will be given by the Fellowship players of the Bronx Free Fellowship.

## Pioneer Youth to Work Among Marion Children

Pioneer Youth started its second caravan into Dixie this week when Agnes Sailer, one of the organization's leaders under appointment of the board of directors, left for Marion Wednesday to conduct summer club and play activities among the strikers' children. This summer's program follows the shipment of toys which Pioneer Youth children repaired and painted in their shops and clubs last winter for the children in Marion. Requests for club work have been received by the New York office which announces that after careful study of several centers in the south Marion has been selected because of the contact already established there.

Agnes Sailer who will conduct the activities is a teacher in the City and Country School in New York City. Following her graduation from Vassar in 1926 she has studied the effects of industrial community life upon children, working for one summer among reformatory girls in Pennsylvania and another summer conducting games and craftwork with mining town children in West Virginia. Before leaving Miss Sailer said that she will make no effort to transplant New York city club activities to Marion but will endeavor to work out a program of activities which will take account of local conditions and needs. She will be assisted by several local volunteer workers. Pioneer Youth will furnish equipment, materials, and headquarters, but Miss Sailer has offered her services without compensation.

## Pitt. Hackmen Place Union On Firm Basis

Taxi Company Makes Feeble Attempt to Organize Company Union With "Scabs"

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—Meeting in two turbulent but purposeful gatherings Pittsburgh taxi drivers 600 strong have organized a taxicab union and elected officers. With the advice and direction of their general legal counsel, Henry Ellenhagen, and the encouragement of Pastor Cox who adjured every man to stand by the union through both discouragement and company soft-soaping because "their labor union is the only hope of the laboring man for a square deal anywhere in America," the new union came into being. The union elected Peter Day, hard-headed strike leader as president, and Fred Shaffer, formerly active in the Amalgamated Association of Street Railwaymen and once threatened with deportation because of the success of organizing activities during the war, as business agent.

Dues receipts for the new union are issued in the form of large white buttons with the union name and the month stamped upon them, effectively marking off union men from the hundred or more scabs retained by the company. Discrimination against scabs by the cab riding public has led the company to assent to the formation of a union or scab protective association which will also have a button. This movement has practically collapsed from lack of leadership and the threat of the union to enjoy any effort to copy their union pin.

When some of the more hardy among the men who deserted the union to go back to work before the settlement, presented themselves at the meeting they were given an Athenian trial with the entire meeting hearing charges and evidences and voting to either exonerate or expel applicants from the meeting. The new union voted to affiliate with the A. F. of L., despite bitterness against the Teamsters International which initiated and accepted the taxi men as members and later refused to lend any material aid to the new union fighting for its life in a gallant four months strike. The new union has, however, for the present firmly voted down the proposal to pay any executive officers salaries, expressing themselves as opposed to pie-counter unionism that is so characteristic of many of the old-line unions. Ten of the more active men in the recent strike were appointed trustees of the new union and grievance committees were appointed for each garage.

Slight Raise in McKeesport

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

McKEESPORT, Pa. — McKeesport, registered as a third class city, but really a feudal village of the Steel Trust dominated by the National Tube Company subsidiary did not have a strike of its cab drivers when its mighty neighbor Pittsburgh was torn by 1,200 taxi men's brave struggle. Tube city taxi drivers were promised whatever the Pittsburgh men gained by fighting if they would stay at work and be good. By some strange failure of memory when Pittsburgh men won a 37½ per cent commission the "good" tube city men could not get their employers to recollect a four months old promise and were only able to get a 35 per cent commission after a six day strike.

We have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.—Dean Swift.

## Issues and Problems in the Needle Trades Unions

Joint Board Chairman Says "Langer Affair" Is Symptom of Political Machinations Which Are Undermining Morale of the Garment Workers Union

(The following article is submitted in response to the invitation placing The New Leader at the disposal of the unions in the needle trades for the discussion of their problems and issues. The New Leader assumes no responsibility for statements made in this and other articles that may be submitted. It simply serves as a forum for discussion. Writers are urged to be as brief as possible and also to avoid rancor and invectives.)

By Wm. Bloom, Chairman, Joint Board, N. Y. Cloakmakers' Union

MY election several months ago to the chairmanship of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union gave some individuals the opportunity to create the impression that I had attained that position by virtue of the fact that I had agreed to vote for Louis Langer for secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board. Accusations of this effect have been made by uninformed individuals. The labor editor of The Forward has gone so far as to charge me, in a most unfair manner, on the floor of the recent city convention of the Socialist Party, with responsibility for the "Langer deal" in order that I might become the chairman.

Now that the committee appointed by President Schlesinger, and headed by Jacob Panken, has published its findings on the investigation of the accusations against Langer with reference to his fitness to hold the office of secretary-treasurer, I feel impelled to make a public statement on the "Langer affair." I am prompted to do so, not so much because I am personally involved, but because of the factors surrounding the "Langer deal." They are of such serious character that I feel it my duty, as chairman of the Joint Board, to reveal the political machinations enshrouding this political deal in which the leaders of the club of Local 2 became involved as a leading factor, and to give the reasons which prompted me to vote for Langer for secretary-treasurer.

"Deal at Convention"

The "Langer deal" was made several months before the present administration of Local 2 was elected. It was made where the most important deals are made—at the last convention of the International. In the political bargaining on the vice-presidencies from New York, leaders from practically all big New York locals, including Local 10, agreed that the office of secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board should be divided and that Langer should be restored to his former office as recording secretary. For various political reasons Local 10 later withdrew its support.

Since the election of vice-presidents was to be by popular vote, depending upon the support of other big New York locals, and in which Local 35, Langer's local, was to play a leading part, the leaders of the club, representing a majority of delegates of Local 2 at the convention, were forced into a "deal" with that local. The club's candidate for vice-president was promised support, in return for which the leaders of the club pledged themselves to vote for Langer as recording secretary for the Joint Board, if their ticket should be carried in the subsequent election for a new administration in Local 2.

In addition, Local 35 promised to support Local 2 in the appointments of department managers of the Joint Board, and one of the main leaders of the club, its campaign manager and organizer, was to become a manager. It was mainly about this particular person that the "Langer deal" with the club finally centered. Since he played such an important role in this historic episode, it is very important to reveal part of his record and some of the reasons which forced the club leaders to band all their efforts on his behalf. It will enlighten those comrades who felt so perturbed by the fact that Langer had been elected secretary-treasurer with the support of the new administration of Local 2 consisting mainly of members of the Socialist Verband.

A Personal Record

The person in question is an old member of the Socialist Verband and of the Forward Association. He held various offices in the union from 1910 to 1924, and then resigned his office, leaving a rather cloudy past. He then became an insurance agent, selling policies to cloak manufacturers. About three years ago, after his insurance business had become unprofitable, he made attempts to come back to the union as a paid officer. Incidentally several vacancies for business agents occurred two years ago. His name was proposed by the manager of that time of Local 2 at the recommendation of the former president of the International. When he was sent to the general manager to be assigned to a district, none of the department managers wished to accept him because of his former dealing with manufacturers. A separate department had to be established for him.

practically all of the clerical work in his department. He was on time in the office, and diligently attended to his work. The previous Secretary-Treasurer, on the other hand, was regarded as the embodiment of incompetence. He had to have an assistant secretary to take down the minutes of the Joint Board meetings, and was not even able to read them so that he would hold attention of the delegates. He had practically nothing to do with the clerical work of his department, and was not considered indispensable.

In addition, the former officer found himself politically in a disadvantageous position. Since he came from one of the smallest locals, and was placed in office largely through the efforts of Local 10, he could not and did not dare assert himself but was always forced to play a mysterious, behind the scene political role, and act the henchman. (No implication is here made that Langer would have played lily-white politics.)

The most important factor for consideration, however, was the element of honesty. While various rumors were widespread about Langer, I had no personal knowledge as to their veracity. From 1922-1925 I was away from New York, and for three years prior to 1922 I was not active in the Union. None of the rumors which I did hear upon return had charged him with embezzling of funds for personal use. It is believed by many in the Union that Langer was a victim of personal malice on the part of the Ex-President of the International, who based his accusations against Langer on hearsay and gossip. Langer was never put under charges while he held the office of recording secretary or after it was abolished. During the past few years Langer had held the office of recording secretary of his local, and was a delegate to the recent convention of the International. No one had questioned his right to hold a paid office in the Union. Never having been suspended or expelled from office on charges, there was a general feeling that no one really had the right to oppose him for any office merely on general accusations, and that organizations cannot disqualify individuals from holding offices because of rumors. It was for these reasons that the majority of the big locals voted for Langer, including the Italian Local 89 which had voted in 1924 to abolish his office.

All of this, however, does not imply that Langer was the most fit or most desirable person for the office of Secretary-Treasurer. It does imply that under the circumstances there was no real reason for opposing him, if there were to be only one person for that office.

The Handling of Finances

On the other hand, although I had heard no charges of graft against Langer—and the findings of the investigating committee clearly state that they "found no appropriation of funds by Langer to his personal use"—I had heard various rumors about dishonesties of the former officer. I had already heard such rumors when he was proposed for the office of Secretary-Treasurer in 1928. In reply to a statement by me concerning these rumors, Vice-President Dubinsky had then said that if he knew them to be true he would not propose him for that office, because his local contributes a large portion of the money towards the upkeep of the Joint Board. As time went on, the rumors became more widespread. Expressions such as "the financial department of the Joint Board is steeped in graft" were current. I have no personal knowledge of these charges, but it is commonly admitted that under his administration in the Joint Board, money was spent in a most outrageous manner. The disbursement of funds during the last cloak strike (and particularly in the recent dress strike) is generally regarded as nothing short of criminal. No real and authentic report and investigation of the money spent during the strike has so far been made, and the current saying in the Union is that no one will ever know how the money was really spent.

It was therefore consideration of these two elements—ability and honesty—that prompted me to vote for Langer as the lesser of the two evils.

As the situation stood the opposition to Langer wished to retain the former officer, while the supporters of Langer who knew and made no secret about the rumors concerning the former officer were willing to retain him provided his office could be divided and room made for Langer.

On the day when the new Joint Board was to be installed, and the Secretary-Treasurer was to be elected, I went to my local about six o'clock in the evening. The manager informed me with elation that I was slated to become the chairman of the Joint Board, an honorary office. Frankly, the news did not thrill me, for I realized that I was being used as a football in a nasty political game. I knew that the local politicians, including my own local (since I was not a member of the Club) were not particularly eager to have me as chairman. They regarded me with apprehension—as one who may dare defy the powers that be.

I accepted the nomination as chairman on no stipulations, but on the advice of friends, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. (The former chairman who ran for reelection for the third time for that office was supposed, if elected, to serve only a few months. Being a dress cutter, he was supposed to resign his office as soon as the Dress Makers' Joint Board was to be reestablished.)

When election of Secretary-Treasurer came up for consideration, Local 35 submitted a communication requesting a division of that office. Objection was raised on the ground that the constitution of the Joint Board provided for one officer only, and Langer was elected.

Langer Disqualified

The results are now publicly known. Langer was disqualified by an investigating committee on the grounds that he "ordered the payment of funds by vouchers for larger amounts than were really due" and that "money was ordered paid by Langer to people who performed no service at all for the Union."

If these findings prove that I made a mistake by voting for Langer, then I have no hesitation in making a public admission to this effect. But I bear no conscious guilt in so far as the Langer deal is concerned. I was unwillingly dragged into a disagreeable situation by the force of circumstances, the consequences of which the politicians who concocted this "deal" were too shortsighted to foresee.

The upshot of the whole "Langer affair" was that the whole political deal collapsed like a house of cards. Not only did Local 35 fail to place Langer in the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board, but Local 2 leaders failed to secure the office of a department manager for the person for whom the deal was made. After Langer was suspended from office by Pres. Schlesinger the Langer bloc was shattered, and Local 35 could no longer back Local 2. The General Manager, with the support of other local managers, outmaneuvered Local 2 in assigning managers to the different departments. But the whole episode, like all things evil, carries an element of good. The former Secretary-Treasurer was eliminated—a thing which is generally admitted to be worth the price paid.

The lesson, however, to be drawn from this incident is that the political morale of the Union is pretty low, and that its leadership has lost a great deal of its trade union consciousness. The "Langer affair" is symptomatic of a disease known as petty politics which has been undermining the morale of the Union. But the tragic part of it all is that there seems to be no force to awaken the Union and extricate it from this morbid lethargy.

Others who spoke were: Prof. Jenkins, a chemist of Kansas City, Mo., who also urged the men to wield themselves into a strong organization, and Mr. S. Bowie. The Association has opened headquarters at 2327 7th avenue, with Bertram C. Taylor, a union carpenter, in charge as Business Manager.

coming these rumors, Vice-President Dubinsky had then said that if he knew them to be true he would not propose him for that office, because his local contributes a large portion of the money towards the upkeep of the Joint Board. As time went on, the rumors became more widespread. Expressions such as "the financial department of the Joint Board is steeped in graft" were current. I have no personal knowledge of these charges, but it is commonly admitted that under his administration in the Joint Board, money was spent in a most outrageous manner. The disbursement of funds during the last cloak strike (and particularly in the recent dress strike) is generally regarded as nothing short of criminal. No real and authentic report and investigation of the money spent during the strike has so far been made, and the current saying in the Union is that no one will ever know how the money was really spent.

It was therefore consideration of these two elements—ability and honesty—that prompted me to vote for Langer as the lesser of the two evils.

As the situation stood the opposition to Langer wished to retain the former officer, while the supporters of Langer who knew and made no secret about the rumors concerning the former officer were willing to retain him provided his office could be divided and room made for Langer.

On the day when the new Joint Board was to be installed, and the Secretary-Treasurer was to be elected, I went to my local about six o'clock in the evening. The manager informed me with elation that I was slated to become the chairman of the Joint Board, an honorary office. Frankly, the news did not thrill me, for I realized that I was being used as a football in a nasty political game. I knew that the local politicians, including my own local (since I was not a member of the Club) were not particularly eager to have me as chairman. They regarded me with apprehension—as one who may dare defy the powers that be.

I accepted the nomination as chairman on no stipulations, but on the advice of friends, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. (The former chairman who ran for reelection for the third time for that office was supposed, if elected, to serve only a few months. Being a dress cutter, he was supposed to resign his office as soon as the Dress Makers' Joint Board was to be reestablished.)

When election of Secretary-Treasurer came up for consideration, Local 35 submitted a communication requesting a division of that office. Objection was raised on the ground that the constitution of the Joint Board provided for one officer only, and Langer was elected.

Langer Disqualified

The results are now publicly known. Langer was disqualified by an investigating committee on the grounds that he "ordered the payment of funds by vouchers for larger amounts than were really due" and that "money was ordered paid by Langer to people who performed no service at all for the Union."

If these findings prove that I made a mistake by voting for Langer, then I have no hesitation in making a public admission to this effect. But I bear no conscious guilt in so far as the Langer deal is concerned. I was unwillingly dragged into a disagreeable situation by the force of circumstances, the consequences of which the politicians who concocted this "deal" were too shortsighted to foresee.

The upshot of the whole "Langer affair" was that the whole political deal collapsed like a house of cards. Not only did Local 35 fail to place Langer in the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board, but Local 2 leaders failed to secure the office of a department manager for the person for whom the deal was made. After Langer was suspended from office by Pres. Schlesinger the Langer bloc was shattered, and Local 35 could no longer back Local 2. The General Manager, with the support of other local managers, outmaneuvered Local 2 in assigning managers to the different departments. But the whole episode, like all things evil, carries an element of good. The former Secretary-Treasurer was eliminated—a thing which is generally admitted to be worth the price paid.

The lesson, however, to be drawn from this incident is that the political morale of the Union is pretty low, and that its leadership has lost a great deal of its trade union consciousness. The "Langer affair" is symptomatic of a disease known as petty politics which has been undermining the morale of the Union. But the tragic part of it all is that there seems to be no force to awaken the Union and extricate it from this morbid lethargy.

Others who spoke were: Prof. Jenkins, a chemist of Kansas City, Mo., who also urged the men to wield themselves into a strong organization, and Mr. S. Bowie. The Association has opened headquarters at 2327 7th avenue, with Bertram C. Taylor, a union carpenter, in charge as Business Manager.

## Nervous and irritable? It's a warning . . .

that elimination is delayed—that you're absorbing intestinal poisons. Ex-Lax acts safely and gently to rid the body of unhealthful wastes. Ex-Lax has been the family laxative for nearly a quarter of a century and its popularity is constantly increasing as the years go by. Ex-Lax is prescribed by numerous physicians and is recommended by millions of users, because it is the most pleasant and the most dependable laxative known to science. It is eagerly taken by children as well as grown-ups.

Keep "regular" with EX-LAX The Chocolated Laxative

Conference on "THE FOLLY OF WORK" "RACKETEERING—HIGH AND LOW" LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY CAMP TAMMINT, FOREST PARK, PA. (Near Stroudsburg) Thursday, June 26th, to Sunday, June 29th, 1930

AMONG THE SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED WILL BE:

Gangs and Gangsters  
Private Rights in Public Business  
The High Cost of Bailiwick  
Shoeguns and Politics in Chicago  
The Rackets of New York  
Anti-Social Insurance  
The Labor Racketeer  
Pyramiding Land Values  
Submerged by Mergers  
New Renting  
The Folly of Work

Three days of stimulating thought and discussion; a chance to make new friends; swimming, boating, tennis, walking, dancing. Saturday night an "all star" cast will give a farcical revue of life and manners since the dawn of history. Among the actors will be Potiphar's wife, Simba, Robin Hood, etc.

Write for Program and rates to the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY 112 East 19th Street, New York City Telephone, ALgonquin 8865

UNITY HOUSE BUSHKILL, PENNSYLVANIA in the POCONO Mountains All Camp Activity—With Hotel Accommodations Open All Month of June Owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Operated for service rather than profit.

The Strunsky Atlantic Hotel BELMAR, N. J. The finest hotel in Belmar. On the boardwalk. Single rooms, also en suite, with or without bath; running water in every room. All modern improvements, finest cuisine.

New York Office: 47 WASHINGTON SQUARE SPRING 9275 or BELMAR 638 - 1147 - 1741 SEND FOR BOOKLET

Says One Parent of Pioneer Youth Camp

"Two of my sons, eleven and thirteen years of age, spent four glorious weeks in Pioneer Youth Camp. They have never experienced a happier month. Both begged to stay longer and I was sorry I could not arrange it. Your unregimented scheme of activities is the only way to make possible the development of the youngsters' own notions of what they like to work at."—Dr. Henry R. Lavinie, president Teachers' Union.

10 Weeks Season Rate: \$210 Special rates to trade union children. For illustrated folder address:

Pioneer Youth Camp 45 ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK CITY Stayceant 7865

DO YOU WANT a camp vacation of a day, a week, a month, or the whole summer where a cheerful, cooperative spirit exists on a non-profit basis? Hiking, swimming, tennis, and other sports and week-end discussions. \$15.00 to \$17.50 weekly, \$25.00 per day. Send for illustrated booklet B The Homestead, Crafts, N. Y., or The Community Church, 15 Park Ave., N. Y.

THE GROUP Invites You to Attend Its Season's ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE on TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 17th, at 8:30 P. M. at Ball Room, 150 WEST 85th STREET DORSHA DANCERS will contribute to program Admission, \$1.00 Dancing until 1 A. M.

Swami Yogananda (Founder of Yoga) FREE LECTURE Sunday, June 15th, 3 P. M. With "The Uniqueness of India" Picture of India "QUICKENING EVOLUTION BY SPIRIT-ADVANCED INTUITIONAL METHODS" PYTHIAN TEMPLE 135 W. 70th Street ALL WELCOME

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP Azura Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Rd. (Near East 172nd St., Bronx) Sunday, June 15, 1930 8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Rosser Land on "Green Pastures" 9 P. M.—Fellowship Players present a one-act play, "Close the Book." Discussion. Music. Admission Free.

INGERSOLL FORUM Sundays, 8 P. M.—Pythian Temple 135 W. 70th St.—Admission, 50c June 15th—GEORGE REDDOROUGH "Christianity—the Enemy of Life" Book catalog and tracts free. Write Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism, 357 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc. ESTABLISHED 1872 Main Office: 227 EAST 84th STREET NEW YORK CITY N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership 53,700. Assets \$800,000. Insurance in force \$60,000,000. No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders! A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses. A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal. Workmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class. No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches. For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

Hidden in the Connecticut Hills is UNCAS LODGE 165 ACRES OF RUSTIC BEAUTY TWIN LAKES ALL SPORTS Delicious Food from Our Own Farm House and Bungalow for 2, 3, or more TWO SPECIAL VACATION OFFERS June 27 to July 6—10 full days—\$35.00 July 6th July-End—3 full days—\$15.00 Free transportation from New London Reservations limited to 65 WRITE UNCAS LODGE UNCASVILLE, CONN. D. BERMAN, 227 Sullivan Pl., Baitry, Tel. Decatur 06543

SUMMER BOARDERS on farm in hills of Delaware County; delightful scenery, commodious house with all improvements, home cooking, reasonable rates. Write Mrs. Arthur R. Cameron, Scotch Mountain, Delhi, N. Y.

SHINGLE COTTAGE, Walker Valley, Ulster Co., N. Y. "Shingle Cottage" is again open for the season! Old friends and new are again extended a cordial welcome to enjoy our homelike accommodations. Rates \$15-\$18. Make reservations early.

THE GROUP Invites You to Attend Its Season's ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE on TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 17th, at 8:30 P. M. at Ball Room, 150 WEST 85th STREET DORSHA DANCERS will contribute to program Admission, \$1.00 Dancing until 1 A. M.

Purchasing THE NEW LEADER regularly from your newsdealer encourages him to display your paper prominently and that in turn means more sales.

THE WORKMEN'S Circle The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence 75,000 MEMBERS \$5,000,000 ASSETS 709 Branches All Over the United States and Canada Insurance from \$100 to \$5,000 Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5, \$10, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many branches pay additional benefits from \$25 to \$50 per week. Consumption benefit, \$400 and \$800 or nine months in our own sanatorium. The most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE 173 East Broadway, N. Y. City Telephone Orchard 5005

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc. ESTABLISHED 1872 Main Office: 227 EAST 84th STREET NEW YORK CITY N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership 53,700. Assets \$800,000. Insurance in force \$60,000,000. No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders! A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses. A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal. Workmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class. No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches. For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM "WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T?" By John M. Work 50c Clothbound 160 Pages Socialist Party of America 2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., Chicago, Ill.



# SOCIALISM AND PROGRESSIVE UNIONISM

## The Socialist Party Record of the Last Ten Years; An Answer To "Labor Age" on the Party Position

By James Oneal

A editorial in "Labor Age" for June entitled "The Socialist Party in Ferment" warrants some consideration. It refers to the discussion and action upon the trade union question by the April convention of the Socialist Party in the city of New York. Certain assumptions are made and certain conclusions are drawn which, in the writer's judgment, are not warranted by the facts. Even the title of the editorial is misleading.

As one who realizes the perils that face American trade unions, who has written much regarding their policies and problems, who has also recognized the need of an intelligent and progressive educational society of union men and women, I am compelled to dissent with the assumptions and conclusions of the editorial.

First the "ferment" in the Socialist Party. This is misleading because it gives the impression of something unusual occurring. The trade union question has been before every national convention of the party since 1900. It has been before many state and local conventions throughout its history and the April convention was not exceptional in this respect.

And it is proper and necessary that this should be the case. There are always new members coming into the party. This makes discussion and education necessary not only on the trade union question but other important issues, especially war, imperialism, international problems, and special problems that emerge from capitalism from year to year. Is the party in "ferment"? It always is and always will be until it realizes its mission.

We may now summarize the criticism contained in the editorial. It declares that among those drawn to the C. P. L. A. were "many who were dissatisfied with the tactics the Socialist Party had been pursuing during the last ten years" and that the "younger Socialists took a leading part in the organization of the C. P. L. A."

The alleged situation brought the "ferment" within the party and the April convention. The "younger" members are "militants" whose trade union resolution was defeated by only ten votes. Then follows a summary of the resolution which appeared in The New Leader of May 3 together with the majority resolution. The following paragraphs conclude the editorial:

These resolutions (the minority document) are interesting because they show what the Socialist Party failed to do to maintain its integrity as the leader of labor idealism. From the members themselves we find that the Socialist Party, for the sake of a neutral harmony with the official labor movement which has brought it nowhere except a process of "aging in peace," has been willing to sit idly on the sidelines, practically abdicating its his-

toric function of revolutionary leadership. But the ferment is heartening. It is hopeful when the young of a movement are sufficiently interested and aroused to hear the "older heads" and to challenge them to action. In this stand of the "militant minority" of New York City, and similar signs are not lacking in other centers, evidence is brought forth showing that the Socialist Party is returning to that position which gained for it a million votes in 1912 (which would equal close to three million votes today) and the enthusiasm and hope of the young idealists in the trade union movement.

Today caution wins by ten votes. Tomorrow belongs to youth.

The reader will note the frequent reference to the "younger" member in the above. The assumption is that the date of one's birth is an important factor. Another is that there was a division in the convention between the "younger" members and the "older heads" on this question. The first assumption is absurd and the second is not a fact. A roll call was taken on the two resolutions. Having listened to the responses made to it I am confident that no such marked division between ages was evident. However, as this matter was more fully considered in an editorial last week there is no need of discussing it further. I will only add what Lincoln said of another issue, that it is "bad as the basis of contro-

versy and good for nothing at all." It is assumed that the minority resolution shows what the party had "failed to do to maintain its integrity" during the past ten years and that alleged inaction has brought it nothing but "aging in peace." And all for the "sake of a neutral harmony with the official labor movement." The result is that the party had abdicated "its historic function of revolutionary leadership." The last two sentences are especially significant as they carry the germ of an important mistake that has wrecked every group that has ventured to shape its course by it.

First, our ten-year history. This includes the post-war terror, the fight with Communists, and our efforts to bring the trade unions into independent politics. Of the war and post-war terror it is unnecessary to speak. We fought with our backs to the wall for years against illegal raids, arrests, expulsions of members from legislative bodies and at the same time endeavored to help others who were victims of the terror.

In the first half of this decade our energies were also consumed by fighting the Communists who, through falsehoods and intrigue, endeavored to destroy us. By 1925 they had become a malignant disease in the needle trade unions

which the party helped to build. All the resources of the party were employed to help the trade unions to avoid destruction. That help was a solemn duty which the party owed to the whole organized working class of the nation. Whether the disease affected a Socialist, a progressive, or a conservative union made no difference to the party.

And what the party did in this struggle in the United States the Labor and Socialist parties also did abroad. At the most acute stage in this struggle Socialists even suspended critical discussion of conservative trade union policies. This also was its solemn duty. The supreme issue at stake in this struggle was not whether this or that policy, method, or form of organization was adapted to the best interests of the working class but whether any kind of labor organization could survive intrigues by a Communist movement supplied with large funds.

Here it is well to point out that some who had been lured by Communism and who later learned their mistake and came to the Socialist Party and even to the C. P. L. A., either at "idly on the sidelines" or were active in one of the many Communist sects. It required some years of experience before they understood the disaster which they were fostering while Socialists were doing the duty they owed to the organized working class.

When the Communist disease had been definitely rooted out of the trade unions Socialists again turned to the critical discussion of issues, policies, and trends in the organized labor movement. That discussion still continues in the party and in The New Leader, and it will continue in the years to come unless some other insane group appears on the scene and acquires such influence that it will impose on us the necessity of again suspending critical discussion in order to concentrate on the supreme job.

It would be important, if true, that the Socialist Party is "aging in peace" but it so happens that the phrase applies not to us but to every group that has not followed the Socialist Party attitude towards trade unions, an attitude so ably stated in the majority resolution.

I do not believe that the Indians are inviting that. Whatever else the Indians are demanding of England, they are not demanding the resignation of the Labor Government. Our impetuous critics might well consider that.

There has been more than one suggestion offered that it is just because there is a Labor Government now in office, and known by virtue of its position to be sympathetic to the Indian situation, that the present campaign in India was entered upon. There may be something to be said for this from a strategic standpoint. And it is probably an open question whether or not the present campaign would have been started with a different government in office. If such a campaign nevertheless would have been ordered, the manner of meeting it would certainly have been different also. For there are different methods and conceptions of maintaining law and order. If anything is patent in the present government's handling of the situation in India, it is that it is trying its best to back out of it. Even that, I venture to say, throws some light on the attitude of the Labor Government.

In this connection I should like to quote some passages from an article by Reginald A. Reynolds, said to be Gandhi's secretary, and now editor of "Young India," which was edited by Gandhi up to the time of his arrest. The article appeared in the New Leader (London) April 18, 1930, under the heading, "Fate and Mahatma Gandhi." While not sure that I read its passages correctly, the meaning that comes to me from their context is that Gandhi was forced into the campaign against his better judgment. However, here are the passages:

Fate is forcing his (Gandhi's) hand. His own desire turns increasingly towards intensive work among the peasants—khaddar, temperance, anti-opium, anti-untouchability, etc. I feel sure that he is tired of all the wrangling and wangling of the political world, and the necessity of working with people so much less sincere than himself. At Sabarmati, and his other Ashram at Wardha, he did no public speaking, but worked quietly among the people who loved and understood him, and I am certain that he was far happier than ever he was in the maelstrom of politics.

But now I see him, a pathetic and fragile figure, drawn by circumstances over which he has no control into a position from which there is no turning back. Other people's stupidity has produced the crisis, and the country looks to him to see it through. No one does this struggle more than he does; but he feels it has been forced upon him, and he knows he is the only man that can hope for success, however dim the hope. No one will ever know the agony this decision has cost him. (Underscoring mine).

The impression which I gather from the foregoing is that Gandhi was not in the beginning for the inauguration of this campaign, but was forced by developments inaugurated by others finally to take a part which he felt that he could not shirk. "Other people's stupidity" appears significant in this connection, and can very well lead to the conclusion that with another government the present campaign would not have been launched.

However, my purpose in this article is to contest that demand made upon the Labor Government for "freedom forthwith or resign." It would be a disastrous blunder for the Government in the present circumstances to accede to that. The Indians themselves do not go to such lengths, and have good reason for not doing so. They are wise enough to understand that their best "bet" lies with the Labor Government in office. Perhaps they know their business better than we do.

And what the party did in this struggle in the United States the Labor and Socialist parties also did abroad. At the most acute stage in this struggle Socialists even suspended critical discussion of conservative trade union policies. This also was its solemn duty. The supreme issue at stake in this struggle was not whether this or that policy, method, or form of organization was adapted to the best interests of the working class but whether any kind of labor organization could survive intrigues by a Communist movement supplied with large funds.

Here it is well to point out that some who had been lured by Communism and who later learned their mistake and came to the Socialist Party and even to the C. P. L. A., either at "idly on the sidelines" or were active in one of the many Communist sects. It required some years of experience before they understood the disaster which they were fostering while Socialists were doing the duty they owed to the organized working class.

When the Communist disease had been definitely rooted out of the trade unions Socialists again turned to the critical discussion of issues, policies, and trends in the organized labor movement. That discussion still continues in the party and in The New Leader, and it will continue in the years to come unless some other insane group appears on the scene and acquires such influence that it will impose on us the necessity of again suspending critical discussion in order to concentrate on the supreme job.

It would be important, if true, that the Socialist Party is "aging in peace" but it so happens that the phrase applies not to us but to every group that has not followed the Socialist Party attitude towards trade unions, an attitude so ably stated in the majority resolution.

I do not believe that the Indians are inviting that. Whatever else the Indians are demanding of England, they are not demanding the resignation of the Labor Government. Our impetuous critics might well consider that.

There has been more than one suggestion offered that it is just because there is a Labor Government now in office, and known by virtue of its position to be sympathetic to the Indian situation, that the present campaign in India was entered upon. There may be something to be said for this from a strategic standpoint. And it is probably an open question whether or not the present campaign would have been started with a different government in office. If such a campaign nevertheless would have been ordered, the manner of meeting it would certainly have been different also. For there are different methods and conceptions of maintaining law and order. If anything is patent in the present government's handling of the situation in India, it is that it is trying its best to back out of it. Even that, I venture to say, throws some light on the attitude of the Labor Government.

In this connection I should like to quote some passages from an article by Reginald A. Reynolds, said to be Gandhi's secretary, and now editor of "Young India," which was edited by Gandhi up to the time of his arrest. The article appeared in the New Leader (London) April 18, 1930, under the heading, "Fate and Mahatma Gandhi." While not sure that I read its passages correctly, the meaning that comes to me from their context is that Gandhi was forced into the campaign against his better judgment. However, here are the passages:

Fate is forcing his (Gandhi's) hand. His own desire turns increasingly towards intensive work among the peasants—khaddar, temperance, anti-opium, anti-untouchability, etc. I feel sure that he is tired of all the wrangling and wangling of the political world, and the necessity of working with people so much less sincere than himself. At Sabarmati, and his other Ashram at Wardha, he did no public speaking, but worked quietly among the people who loved and understood him, and I am certain that he was far happier than ever he was in the maelstrom of politics.

But now I see him, a pathetic and fragile figure, drawn by circumstances over which he has no control into a position from which there is no turning back. Other people's stupidity has produced the crisis, and the country looks to him to see it through. No one does this struggle more than he does; but he feels it has been forced upon him, and he knows he is the only man that can hope for success, however dim the hope. No one will ever know the agony this decision has cost him. (Underscoring mine).

The impression which I gather from the foregoing is that Gandhi was not in the beginning for the inauguration of this campaign, but was forced by developments inaugurated by others finally to take a part which he felt that he could not shirk. "Other people's stupidity" appears significant in this connection, and can very well lead to the conclusion that with another government the present campaign would not have been launched.

However, my purpose in this article is to contest that demand made upon the Labor Government for "freedom forthwith or resign." It would be a disastrous blunder for the Government in the present circumstances to accede to that. The Indians themselves do not go to such lengths, and have good reason for not doing so. They are wise enough to understand that their best "bet" lies with the Labor Government in office. Perhaps they know their business better than we do.

And what the party did in this struggle in the United States the Labor and Socialist parties also did abroad. At the most acute stage in this struggle Socialists even suspended critical discussion of conservative trade union policies. This also was its solemn duty. The supreme issue at stake in this struggle was not whether this or that policy, method, or form of organization was adapted to the best interests of the working class but whether any kind of labor organization could survive intrigues by a Communist movement supplied with large funds.

Here it is well to point out that some who had been lured by Communism and who later learned their mistake and came to the Socialist Party and even to the C. P. L. A., either at "idly on the sidelines" or were active in one of the many Communist sects. It required some years of experience before they understood the disaster which they were fostering while Socialists were doing the duty they owed to the organized working class.

When the Communist disease had been definitely rooted out of the trade unions Socialists again turned to the critical discussion of issues, policies, and trends in the organized labor movement. That discussion still continues in the party and in The New Leader, and it will continue in the years to come unless some other insane group appears on the scene and acquires such influence that it will impose on us the necessity of again suspending critical discussion in order to concentrate on the supreme job.

It would be important, if true, that the Socialist Party is "aging in peace" but it so happens that the phrase applies not to us but to every group that has not followed the Socialist Party attitude towards trade unions, an attitude so ably stated in the majority resolution.

I do not believe that the Indians are inviting that. Whatever else the Indians are demanding of England, they are not demanding the resignation of the Labor Government. Our impetuous critics might well consider that.

There has been more than one suggestion offered that it is just because there is a Labor Government now in office, and known by virtue of its position to be sympathetic to the Indian situation, that the present campaign in India was entered upon. There may be something to be said for this from a strategic standpoint. And it is probably an open question whether or not the present campaign would have been started with a different government in office. If such a campaign nevertheless would have been ordered, the manner of meeting it would certainly have been different also. For there are different methods and conceptions of maintaining law and order. If anything is patent in the present government's handling of the situation in India, it is that it is trying its best to back out of it. Even that, I venture to say, throws some light on the attitude of the Labor Government.

In this connection I should like to quote some passages from an article by Reginald A. Reynolds, said to be Gandhi's secretary, and now editor of "Young India," which was edited by Gandhi up to the time of his arrest. The article appeared in the New Leader (London) April 18, 1930, under the heading, "Fate and Mahatma Gandhi." While not sure that I read its passages correctly, the meaning that comes to me from their context is that Gandhi was forced into the campaign against his better judgment. However, here are the passages:

Fate is forcing his (Gandhi's) hand. His own desire turns increasingly towards intensive work among the peasants—khaddar, temperance, anti-opium, anti-untouchability, etc. I feel sure that he is tired of all the wrangling and wangling of the political world, and the necessity of working with people so much less sincere than himself. At Sabarmati, and his other Ashram at Wardha, he did no public speaking, but worked quietly among the people who loved and understood him, and I am certain that he was far happier than ever he was in the maelstrom of politics.

But now I see him, a pathetic and fragile figure, drawn by circumstances over which he has no control into a position from which there is no turning back. Other people's stupidity has produced the crisis, and the country looks to him to see it through. No one does this struggle more than he does; but he feels it has been forced upon him, and he knows he is the only man that can hope for success, however dim the hope. No one will ever know the agony this decision has cost him. (Underscoring mine).

The impression which I gather from the foregoing is that Gandhi was not in the beginning for the inauguration of this campaign, but was forced by developments inaugurated by others finally to take a part which he felt that he could not shirk. "Other people's stupidity" appears significant in this connection, and can very well lead to the conclusion that with another government the present campaign would not have been launched.

However, my purpose in this article is to contest that demand made upon the Labor Government for "freedom forthwith or resign." It would be a disastrous blunder for the Government in the present circumstances to accede to that. The Indians themselves do not go to such lengths, and have good reason for not doing so. They are wise enough to understand that their best "bet" lies with the Labor Government in office. Perhaps they know their business better than we do.

And what the party did in this struggle in the United States the Labor and Socialist parties also did abroad. At the most acute stage in this struggle Socialists even suspended critical discussion of conservative trade union policies. This also was its solemn duty. The supreme issue at stake in this struggle was not whether this or that policy, method, or form of organization was adapted to the best interests of the working class but whether any kind of labor organization could survive intrigues by a Communist movement supplied with large funds.

Here it is well to point out that some who had been lured by Communism and who later learned their mistake and came to the Socialist Party and even to the C. P. L. A., either at "idly on the sidelines" or were active in one of the many Communist sects. It required some years of experience before they understood the disaster which they were fostering while Socialists were doing the duty they owed to the organized working class.

When the Communist disease had been definitely rooted out of the trade unions Socialists again turned to the critical discussion of issues, policies, and trends in the organized labor movement. That discussion still continues in the party and in The New Leader, and it will continue in the years to come unless some other insane group appears on the scene and acquires such influence that it will impose on us the necessity of again suspending critical discussion in order to concentrate on the supreme job.

It would be important, if true, that the Socialist Party is "aging in peace" but it so happens that the phrase applies not to us but to every group that has not followed the Socialist Party attitude towards trade unions, an attitude so ably stated in the majority resolution.

I do not believe that the Indians are inviting that. Whatever else the Indians are demanding of England, they are not demanding the resignation of the Labor Government. Our impetuous critics might well consider that.

There has been more than one suggestion offered that it is just because there is a Labor Government now in office, and known by virtue of its position to be sympathetic to the Indian situation, that the present campaign in India was entered upon. There may be something to be said for this from a strategic standpoint. And it is probably an open question whether or not the present campaign would have been started with a different government in office. If such a campaign nevertheless would have been ordered, the manner of meeting it would certainly have been different also. For there are different methods and conceptions of maintaining law and order. If anything is patent in the present government's handling of the situation in India, it is that it is trying its best to back out of it. Even that, I venture to say, throws some light on the attitude of the Labor Government.

In this connection I should like to quote some passages from an article by Reginald A. Reynolds, said to be Gandhi's secretary, and now editor of "Young India," which was edited by Gandhi up to the time of his arrest. The article appeared in the New Leader (London) April 18, 1930, under the heading, "Fate and Mahatma Gandhi." While not sure that I read its passages correctly, the meaning that comes to me from their context is that Gandhi was forced into the campaign against his better judgment. However, here are the passages:

Fate is forcing his (Gandhi's) hand. His own desire turns increasingly towards intensive work among the peasants—khaddar, temperance, anti-opium, anti-untouchability, etc. I feel sure that he is tired of all the wrangling and wangling of the political world, and the necessity of working with people so much less sincere than himself. At Sabarmati, and his other Ashram at Wardha, he did no public speaking, but worked quietly among the people who loved and understood him, and I am certain that he was far happier than ever he was in the maelstrom of politics.

But now I see him, a pathetic and fragile figure, drawn by circumstances over which he has no control into a position from which there is no turning back. Other people's stupidity has produced the crisis, and the country looks to him to see it through. No one does this struggle more than he does; but he feels it has been forced upon him, and he knows he is the only man that can hope for success, however dim the hope. No one will ever know the agony this decision has cost him. (Underscoring mine).

The impression which I gather from the foregoing is that Gandhi was not in the beginning for the inauguration of this campaign, but was forced by developments inaugurated by others finally to take a part which he felt that he could not shirk. "Other people's stupidity" appears significant in this connection, and can very well lead to the conclusion that with another government the present campaign would not have been launched.

However, my purpose in this article is to contest that demand made upon the Labor Government for "freedom forthwith or resign." It would be a disastrous blunder for the Government in the present circumstances to accede to that. The Indians themselves do not go to such lengths, and have good reason for not doing so. They are wise enough to understand that their best "bet" lies with the Labor Government in office. Perhaps they know their business better than we do.

work than the trade union Socialist, most of whose time is required for the economic organization. Moreover, a Socialist may have vast knowledge of the history of capitalism and of Socialist philosophy and yet not prove as good an advisor in some economic struggle as a member of the union having much less education but having a lifetime of experience in his union and the industry.

Some other implications of the Labor Age editorial might be considered but the more objectionable ones are sufficient. It may be added, however, that the views expressed in the editorial or any such views that may appear in the party do not mean that the party "is returning to that position which gained for it a million votes in 1912." On the contrary, it would mean that the party was abandoning the position that helped it to grow and expand to take up a course that would be certain to lead to futility.

No one is more convinced than the writer of this article of the need of educational work among the members of trade unions if the perils that face the trade unions are to be averted. So ardent has he been in this work that he has sometimes been misunderstood. But if perils face the labor organizations because of inertia and complacency on the part of many members and officials, another peril faces those who sincerely want to help build a more powerful labor movement in this country.

This peril is generally the fruit of impatience which in turn becomes reckless in mood and action. "Today caution wins by ten votes," the editorial declares. Yes, not only caution, but principle, experience, and forty years of American labor history. It was lack of caution and a knowledge of principle and experience that brought a number of groups to a sterile "aging in peace."

There is no short cut to a greater, more powerful, and more progressive labor movement. It requires caution, patience, understanding, education and sympathy. We cannot denounce unions into doing what we believe they should do. We cannot force them. We cannot and should not by threats or intrigue.

We came to our own views not by any coercive methods but because they appealed to us. We were won to Socialism not DRIVEN to it. The greater and more progressive unionism will be realized in the same way or it will never be realized at all.

## BRITISH LABOR AND INDIA Should The MacDonald Cabinet Resign?

By Edmund Seidel

BY THE time this article appears we shall have had an advance report from the Simon Commission on the historical factors and background which enter into the Indian situation. Doubtless we shall thereby have before us some of the complicated elements which will face any government, however well-intentioned, in attempting an adjustment of the situation. It would seem to me that it behooves every Socialist to familiarize himself with those factors with a view to appreciating the situation on both sides of the question, rather than to pass offhand judgment on the British Labor Government from perhaps the mistaken notion that "loyalty to Socialism" demands it.

The present stir in Socialist circles, occasioned by the action of the British Labor Government in policing India, and the disappointment therewith expressed on many sides in the Socialist movement, is not surprising. It is a perfectly natural and logical consequence of an existing position and attitude, which, however, faced with reality, suffers a shock. Rather than rail at the reality, it would be better to turn and examine the position, to determine whether or not there may be an inherent weakness or defect in it. At least that would appear to me to be the logical way of dealing with a situation wherein practice conflicts with theory, assuming that the "practitioners" have conscientiously worked with their theory.

As it is, however, one hears quite a few criticisms of "performance" not conforming to promise." One hears this both inside and outside the ranks. Of course, one hears also defenses, or attempted defenses, of the British Labor Government, some of which sound suspiciously like "alibis," formulated in a rationalizing process. Such a defense, to me at least, is the one cited by Norman Thomas, though not accepted by him, that Socialism does not stand for nationalism. Another such defense is the plea that the Labor Government is not a majority government. I do not think that the Labor Government could or would act differently under the circumstances, though it had a governing majority. Such an excuse therefore does not appeal to me.

The dissatisfactions expressed and the demands offered on the part of the protestors, usually culminate in the suggestion: "Grant India full freedom at once or resign if you can't do it." With that I take issue.

What assurance have the objectors that India as a whole demands that? What definitive and constructive form of freedom, indeed, do the exponents of "freedom" visualize? Just "freedom," and for the rest, turn India loose upon itself, to make of herself an independent and self-sufficient nation? Or is there to be freedom with certain understandings and agreements? And if the latter, will not negotiations be necessary? And if negotiations are to be entered into, will not knowledge, information, and experience be necessary? Where is such knowledge and information to come from if not from a committee of inquiry? Or are we to take the ridiculous position that one doesn't need to know anything, except just to go ahead and pass a resolution?

Clearly a parliamentary body cannot act on these matters out of its inner consciousness, and go ahead on a hit or miss method. Certainly one would not expect any government to proceed in this manner, and least of all a Labor

Government. And yet the British Labor Government may be some what more acquainted with these matters than those of us who are not called upon to bear responsibility, and therefore can indulge ourselves in easy talk. The question, however, does not shape itself so simply in my mind, for the reasons just referred to.

Concerning this matter of "performance" not conforming to promise," what is the official declaration of the British Labor Party on India? It was as follows, as contained in the pamphlet, "Labour and the Nation":

It is the policy of the Labor Party to take such steps which would ensure closer political and economic relations between Great Britain, India and the self-governing Dominions overseas, and the other constituent communities of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It believes in the right of the Indian people to self-government and in the self-determination and the policy of a Labor Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In passing I would call attention to the significance of the passage bearing on "closer political and economic relationships." MacDonald himself, in his Empire Day speech, stated that Dominion status and Empire were not incompatible. There is much suggestion in that. But that aside, I should like to ask if there is anything in the foregoing declaration upon which the Labor Government has turned its back? Has MacDonald or the Labor Government said outright NO to any of the Indian demands? Surely no one can say that it has. Why, then, the zeal for censure?

These facts, I should think, should give one cause to pause for careful thought, rather than to burst out with protestations against the British government. That government has not broken any of its pledges on India, or on other questions, for the matter of that. In point of fact, it has not acted as yet on that question. In so far as it stands on any position on this matter, it stands committed to its previous declaration, until the record shows otherwise, all its present actions in India notwithstanding.

Instead of the comparatively easy course of salving one's supposedly Socialist conscience by impatient or vehement outbursts, it would be better to try to place one's self in the position of the Labor Government, to appreciate and understand the situation facing it. Had we a Socialist administration in office in this country, with an Indian problem facing it—I mean a problem of a similar magnitude, with all that is thereby implied, both for India and for England—could such an administration do otherwise than the labor administration is doing under the circumstances? Could such a government resolve upon an enactment of freedom for India forthwith, and in case of failure to get it to resign? I do not think so, nor do I think that India would want resignation.

In the first place, as already indicated, one cannot, in governmental affairs, no more than in other business affairs, pass enactments of a general nature, embodying "general principles." Of course, a government can decide to turn a possession loose and have nothing more to do with it. But India is not asking for that, and the Labor Party is not pledged to it. But a general declaration for freedom is no more satisfying than a general declaration for dominion status—as the India situation attests. Such an enactment would be like a toy balloon

—up in the air. The definite and constructive details have to be worked out and agreed upon, and there, as stated, negotiations are necessary. The kind of administration, the rights of groups and of minorities—and there are enough of these in India—must be set forth; the administrative operation agreed upon; finances, tariffs, international relations, and perhaps not the least in the case of India, agreement on inter-dominion immigration. All of which require the fullest possible knowledge, information, and experience.

What knowledge, what real knowledge, of these affairs have the glib critics of the British Labor Government? MacDonald is a rather well informed man on Indian affairs, but not so well informed that he would not welcome any contributions which would aid him in the Indian situation, I feel sure. But even he is bound to give consideration to a Simon Commission report and recommendations. If he had not that Commission, he would have to find one of his own. And so would every other government. When the German Socialists had the government in their hands, after the overthrow of the Kaiser, one of their first acts was the appointment of a Commission on Socialization, to look into the affairs of the nation.

Incidentally, it may be noted that Vernon Hartshorn, the Labor member of the Simon Commission, is now in the Labor Cabinet family. Presumably he will have some information for his fellow members.

While the Labor Government is bound to give due consideration to the Simon Commission report, if only for the purpose of familiarizing itself with it, it doesn't follow that it is bound by its recommendations. That's a matter that will be thrashed out at the round table Conference, where the different groups of India will have their say. And then the government can speak. What's wrong with this procedure?

Oh, yes, to the man in the street all this may be a lot of rigamarole, but I submit that the man in the street has not the responsibilities of statesmanship, and therefore can easily render his quick and ready-made decisions. But so eminent a critic of the Labor Government as H. N. Brailsford himself has said that the real test of the Labor Government will come with this Round Table Conference. I venture to say that Brailsford will not pooh-pooh the need of investigation or of a commission.

As for the rest, and with reference to the suggestion that the Labor Government should demand "freedom" for India forthwith, failing which it should resign, the demand is not only ill-considered, in my opinion, but would likely lead to worse things for India—something certainly not desired by India. Such a demand would not be granted by Parliament; there is hardly a doubt on that. What then? The Labor Government would perform have to quit. With what consequence? With the consequence that the Tories would come back to power. Is there any dispute about such an eventuality? How then would the Indians fare? Their best chances would be thrown away. For, do any of the critics imagine that the Indians would stand to gain more from the Conservatives than from Labor? If he did, I should like to see the process of reasoning which leads to such a conclusion. The Indians would find a conservative Government less lenient or amenable than a Labor Government, even in the present situation. Which is my reason for saying

that I do not believe that the Indians are inviting that. Whatever else the Indians are demanding of England, they are not demanding the resignation of the Labor Government. Our impetuous critics might well consider that.

There has been more than one suggestion offered that it is just because there is a Labor Government now in office, and known by virtue of its position to be sympathetic to the Indian situation, that the present campaign in India was entered upon. There may be something to be said for this from a strategic standpoint. And it is probably an open question whether or not the present campaign would have been started with a different government in office. If such a campaign nevertheless would have been ordered, the manner of meeting it would certainly have been different also. For there are different methods and conceptions of maintaining law and order. If anything is patent in the present government's handling of the situation in India, it is that it is trying its best to back out of it. Even that, I venture to say, throws some light on the attitude of the Labor Government.

In this connection I should like to quote some passages from an article by Reginald A. Reynolds, said to be Gandhi's secretary, and now editor of "Young India," which was edited by Gandhi up to the time of his arrest. The article appeared in the New Leader (London) April 18, 1930, under the heading, "Fate and Mahatma Gandhi." While not sure that I read its passages correctly, the meaning that comes to me from their context is that Gandhi was forced into the campaign against his better judgment. However, here are the passages:

Fate is forcing his (Gandhi's) hand. His own desire turns increasingly towards intensive work among the peasants—khaddar, temperance, anti-opium, anti-untouchability, etc. I feel sure that he is tired of all the wrangling and wangling of the political world, and the necessity of working with people so much less sincere than himself. At Sabarmati, and his other Ashram at Wardha, he did no public speaking, but worked quietly among the people who loved and understood him, and I am certain that he was far happier than ever he was in the maelstrom of politics.

But now I see him, a pathetic and fragile figure, drawn by circumstances over which he has no control into a position from which there is no turning back. Other people's stupidity has produced the crisis, and the country looks to him to see it through. No one does this struggle more than he does; but he feels it has been forced upon him, and he knows he is the only man that can hope for success, however dim the hope. No one will ever know the agony this decision has cost him. (Underscoring mine).

The impression which I gather from the foregoing is that Gandhi was not in the beginning for the inauguration of this campaign, but was forced by developments inaugurated by others finally to take a part which he felt that he could not shirk. "Other people's stupidity" appears significant in this connection, and can very well lead to the conclusion that with another government the present campaign would not have been launched.

However, my purpose in this article is to contest that demand made upon the Labor Government for "freedom forthwith or resign." It would be a disastrous blunder for the Government in the present circumstances to accede to that. The Indians themselves do not go to such lengths, and have good reason for not doing so. They are wise enough to understand that their best "bet" lies with the Labor Government in office. Perhaps they know their business better than we do.

### 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 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 grows from one chapter to another, a stormy petrel, the superb agitator, the adorable man, the affectionate comrade and



## THE END OF COMPROMISE

I TRUST that the readers of this column understand by now that what I write in this column is "a poor thing but my own."

On the subjects of cats, for example, I imagine that I do not express the majority Socialist view. There may be millions of disciples of Marx who care not one whit for Manxes.

Nor are my views on Prohibition necessarily those of a number of S. P. leaders who still believe that grogless workers will find a moral equivalent of Scotch in Socialism.

So what I am about to rear up and remark is not to be taken as "canonical writing" in any sense of the word. If I make a bull it is not at any rate a Papal Bull. It is the opinion of one rank and file Socialist, who has no office in the party and it is nothing more.

In my opinion then, (and I do not expect to see the British Empire go reeling to its doom because of what I say here), the Labor Party of Great Britain is making a sorry mess of both the Indian and the unemployment situation and as a result Socialism throughout the world suffers.

If ours were merely a Nationalist reform government we would certainly have no right to criticize the conduct of the internal affairs of another nation. There is however a Second International of which we are members and those who call themselves Socialists whether they happen to live in Vienna, Austria, or Vienna, Illinois, are presumably subscribers to a common philosophy and adherents of a common way of life.

It would hardly seem necessary to repeat this were it not for the fact that so many American Socialists have taken towards the British Labor Party an attitude which in its general spirit closely resembles that of the Communist Party and the Chicago Tribune alike. The Chicago Tribune runs on its mast-head, "My Country, Right or Wrong." The Communist Party hews to the Moscow "party line" and lets the Lovestones fall where they may. Both outfits are intolerant, subservient and fatuous. I hate to see good Socialists so dazzled by momentary power that they become lickspittles of Success.

To be sure we have had our noses well rubbed into the fact that the British Labor Party is a going concern whereas we can point to nothing comparable to the astonishing gains made by the followers of MacDonald. No British Laborite has yet landed on these shores who has failed to point this out to us. We somehow get their drift.

The result has been that some have discouraged by our own lack of success many of us have assumed a defeatist attitude and by way of compensation have come to glorify the British Laborites and assume that Ramsay can do no wrong.

I have seen the same thing happen in the case of a radical writer of my acquaintance who has never been able to achieve any sort of financial independence. In private conversation he is hell bent for hanging every capitalist to the nearest lamp-post and in his dreams he is a Revolutionary Commissar bayoneting old gentlemen in the front window of the Union League.

Once however he comes into contact with one of these hated monsters in his office, observes with his own eyes the grandeur of financial success, goes riding in the monster's limousine or dines at the monster's club and the tune suddenly changes. "After all, whatever you may think of the methods employed, the man certainly has made good. He has succeeded, he is in power, he has got what he wanted, what else really matters?"

And so arises the perplexing question of just how far a Socialist can go in compromising with the fundamentals of his philosophy and still retain his Socialist integrity. How far can a man go in forcing imperialism down the throats of natives struggling for freedom and still talk Socialism as an ultimate goal? Especially a man who like MacDonald, was so caustic in his criticism of the Capitalist management of Indian affairs, so generously spirited in his promises to end imperialism in India once he came into power?

Ah, but you say, now that he is in power that's a very different matter. In order to hold office he is forced, as is every sensible man to make concessions, to trim his Socialist sails, to retreat from his revolutionary position even as Lenin did. And ah, the answer would seem to be, if that is the price of place, better give up the place and all that goes with it than so to compromise himself and his party that there appears to be no shred of difference between the Laborites and the Conservatives. Somehow it must hurt just as much to have a bayonet thrust into your back by a soldier who is drawing his pay from a Labor treasury as one who is getting his jack from Stanley Baldwin's boys.

If it is true that in order to hold office, we must surrender our most cherished Socialist beliefs, let's close up shop right here and now and let the capitalists run the show to their heart's content.

If we have to take the role of imperialists, petty reformers, middle-class ameliorists in order to get anywhere, let's stay right at home.

I read a crawling, truckling, cowardly speech like that of Wedgwood Benn, bolting every issue, running for comfort to such lying and hackneyed alibis as that this is no real uprising of the people in India and that they have not really chucked Gandhi in the house because they are mad at him but because they want to protect him, and I am sick at heart. Every tyrant with blood on his hands has announced that he was doing his dirty work for the good of his victims. "It hurts popper more than it hurts you."

Of course all this may be unnecessary grief. Of course it may be that by the time the Simon report gets down to brass tacks and quits giving us elementary lessons on the complexities of Indian life, some grand plan for the independence of India may emerge. It may be that the British Labor Party has had one up its sleeve all this time.

If this is so, it is sort of tough on the Indians who have been killed since the first of the year. It would have been a bit more sporting don't you know, to have let them in on the thing. After all it is hardly cricket to shoot a man's head off if all the time you had in mind giving him his freedom.

No, boys and girls, it can't be done. You can't swallow imperialism and Socialism in the same breath. Eventually you have to make your choice and to keep silent because you might embarrass someone at some crucial moment is to play the part of traitor to all you hold most dear.

Either we are Socialists working with all our hearts and souls for an economic revolution which will bring about the cooperative commonwealth and the end of exploitation at home and abroad or we are what our enemies call us, the left wing of some capitalist reform party and for my part, I know that in the long run the great majority of the American Socialists deeply abominate the present Indian policy of the Labor Party.

McAlister Coleman.

## Our Weekly Foreign Letter

# The Two Faces of Fascism

## Fraud and Mock Heroics a Counterpart of Violence in Mussolini Regime

By G. E. Modigliani  
(Special Correspondent of The New Leader on Italy)

PARIS, MAY, 1936

EVERY one who does not conceal their sympathy for Italian Fascism must not dare to deny that its policy is characterized by a high percentage of criminal violence. And perhaps it might be added that those who sympathize with Italian Fascism are attracted by the very exaltation of violence contained in the deeds and propaganda of Fascism. Violence still pleases too many persons. Therefore the opponents of Fascism will do well to inoculate those infected with Fascist violence with the most appropriate antidote. They will do well to point out and verify on all possible occasions that Fascism is not only violence, but also fraud, and even comedy.

I know very well that there is no lack of fraud and comedy in the political life of many other countries. But in non-Fascist countries the voter is defrauded of his sovereignty, or the worker is defrauded of his trade union rights, only when the voters or the workers lack sufficient ability and energy. If they have the will and knowledge to use the constitutions and the laws, these latter will aid them in defending themselves against fraud, as well as against violence. Under the Fascist regime, however, the law puts a premium on violence, and many times the law is enacted for the very purpose of giving an appearance of legitimacy to what has been imposed by violence. Few persons know, for example, that a Fascist law puts Fascist killed or wounded in conflicts with anti-Fascists (even provoked by themselves) on an equal footing with those killed or wounded in war. A Fascist wounded in an attack upon a House of the People, or killed during a raid upon a Socialist newspaper, enjoys a pension, or leaves a pension to his relatives, just as if he had fought in a war.

Typical examples are the Fascist Parliament, which is not a Parliament, and the Fascist labor union organization, which is neither an organization, nor a union, nor labor.

The Fascist election law practically suppresses elections. In fact, the Fascist law doesn't allow any contest between opposing candidates in the Parliamentary elections. There is no occasion to talk

about local elections of any kind, because the local administrations in Italy have ceased to have elective councils and all are governed by functionaries named by the government. The free Italian commune, that glorious institution existing for centuries, has been killed by Fascism. In Italy every trace of self-government has disappeared.

It is true that no other party than the Fascist party can exist legally in Italy. But not even such religious, philosophic, cultural or similar associations which are tolerated, are allowed to name candidates. In reality it cannot even be said that the Fascist themselves are free to name their own candidates, because the Fascist party is organized like an army, with its levy of raw recruits and its general staff, but without the rank and file having any right or way to assert itself, either at hearings or in selection delegates. There are functionaries named from above; that's all. These functionaries, on the eve of the Parliamentary elections, propose the candidates; but, in fact, their proposals are neither really definite nor carry any obligations. The general staff of the party (the Grand Council) examines them, modifies them and compiles the only list which may legally be presented to the voters. And the latter vote—Yes or No. And, practically, the vote is not secret. And woe to him who doesn't vote, for the tools of the regime are on the watch and their violence is no joke.

But abroad this is not known. And when the results of the so-called plebiscite of April, 1928, were published, everybody believed that Italy had elected a Parliament, like it is done in other countries.

And there are also persons in other countries who believe that there is a Fascist labor union organization in Italy. On the contrary, all the workers, enrolled or not enrolled in the unions, must pay a union tax. The workers, who want to look for jobs must have cards of membership in the Fascist unions because, according to the law, such membership carries preference in obtaining employment. But in no case are the workers ever called together for discussion or decision. Once in a great while they are called together to hear what the functionaries have done "in the name of the union men." These functionaries are not elected

## Modigliani to Be New Leader Correspondent On Italian Affairs

TO its staff of foreign correspondents, The New Leader is glad this week to add the name of Giuseppe E. Modigliani who will write for The New Leader on political and economic affairs in Italy. As a Socialist and labor organ, The New Leader is proud to have as one of its regular contributors one of the outstanding foes of Fascism. Modigliani is known and revered in World Socialist circles not only as a leader in forces of Italian Socialism and democracy, but as a keen observer of public affairs. His contribution in the field of journalism are noted for their appreciation of the complex factors of public events.

Before the advent of Fascism, Modigliani was a leader of the Italian Socialist Party. He sat in the Italian Chamber of Deputies continuously as a representative of the Italian workers. With the coming of the Fascist reaction, Modigliani continued his work for democracy and Socialism in close alliance with the martyred Giacomo Matteotti. His unswerving opposition to Blackshirt rule forced Modigliani to flee Italy and take up residence in Paris. From France, Modigliani has kept up his work against Fascism with renewed vigor. He is in close touch with the Socialists in Italy who are still carrying on the work for the cause in the face of death. His contributions to The New Leader will be a running history of the course of Fascism. We hope to have him with us on the day when he chronicles the downfall of Fascism.

As a special foreign correspondent of The New Leader, Modigliani joins Emil Vandervelde, our correspondent in France and Belgium, and Benedict Kautsky, our correspondent in Austria.

by the interested persons, but, on the contrary, are selected by officials of the Fascist party, or by the local political authorities, except when they are officially appointed by the government—which is the case when the posts carry executive functions.

Of course all this doesn't hold good for the bosses, because the employers' unions in Italy function regularly like genuine syndicates and are among the best in Europe, from the point of view of the bosses' interests. Thus the existence of these bodies serves to mask the fraud being perpetrated by the Fascist regime, to the injury of the Italian workers, by making people believe that there is a labor union organization, while there exists only a union police composed of functionaries named above who form the union policy, not according to their own ideas, we must remember, but in close conformity with the employers' instructions, always approved by the government.

But abroad there are only very few persons who know these things. Therefore many are inclined to believe that the Italians like Fascism and that they really are enthusiastic about it; especially as Parliament is all for "Sig. Mussolini" and the workers are enrolled en masse in the Fascist unions—and never strike.

Thus the Fascist laws give an appearance of legitimacy to the results and impositions of violence. And thus it happens that "Sig. Mussolini" even is believed when he gives a journalist like Theodore Wolff of the Berliner Tageblatt to understand that Fascism is an "authoritative democracy."

This stupidity gives a picture of the constitutional fraudulence of the regime.

Since I hope to be understood easily, but also exactly, I shall say that on other occasions, Fascism doesn't hesitate to reverse its own game. In place of using fraud to give an appearance of legality to violence, it uses violence—very ostentatiously displayed—to deceive people and to conceal its real intentions and its real policy.

This was true in the case of the speech-making trip of "Signor Mussolini" in the second half of May, in Tuscany and at Milan. He had himself preceded throughout the entire trip by whole trainloads of partisans and Fascist militia, transported free, to play the part of the "enthusiastic public" every time "Signor Mussolini" opened his mouth. In reality he hasn't much confidence in even his own partisans, and still less in the pop-

ulation of the various cities. Thus the fact has been verified that "Signor Mussolini" never appeared in public without being protected by huge numbers of police. But once arrived before his loud-speaker his courage returned, and he turned loose the most audacious threats of war, without caring, naturally, if such apologies for violence were in the sharp contrast to what his ministers had said or done in London and Geneva, and caring still less for the extremely dangerous international repercussions of his warlike explosions.

Of course all this brutal stage play was nothing but a game. A cynical and dangerous game, but a game that may deceive foreigners, not Italians.

Italy is going to ruin. In Abruzzi, in Calabria, and particularly in Puglia, already there have been violent peasant revolts, drowned in blood. Striking is punished like a crime; but strikes have broken out in Lombardy, in Piedmont and elsewhere. In Piacenza a strike of the button makers lasted a week before it was brutally repressed. On several occasions (recently at Martina Franca in Puglia) the Fascist militia has refused to march against the strikers and the revolters. Secret organizations of intellectuals and of students have been discovered. The secret press is beginning to function. The dissatisfaction in the ranks of the middle classes is growing, together with economic ruin. All this is giving rise to dissension among the Fascist themselves.

Therefore, it was urgent to distract the attention of the world from this condition of incipient collapse and to try, besides, to persuade the more impressionable strata of the Italian population that "a great time is at hand" and that, consequently, the Italians ought to forget their misery because, "the fatherland is in danger." And "Signor Mussolini" didn't hesitate to try it. In his speeches at Leghorn, Florence and Milan political violence became the instrument of this double fraud calculated to hide the economic ruin of the Fascist regime, and to ward off the dreaded revolts.

Anybody else would have worried, I repeat, about the danger inherent in such an audacious invocation of the war spirit in a world far from being pacified; but such worries never bother the conscience of adventurers like those now ruling Italy against Italy.

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

### 25,000 Follow P. J. Troelstra To His Grave

### Vandervelde Delivers Funeral Oration in Impressive Ceremonies at The Hague

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
AMSTERDAM—The solemnities of the Dutch Social Democratic Party for Peter Jelles Troelstra at the Hague May 16th, were a huge mass demonstration. An enormous procession accompanied the coffin to the cemetery in Scheveningen. More than 25,000 workers had come to the Hague by special train and omnibus. Vandervelde for the Socialist International, Huysmans, Somers and Molter for the Belgian Labor Party, and the Dutch Association of Antwerp, were present. Otto Wels represented the German Social-Democratic Party.

When the procession reached the cemetery the Socialist organizations filed before the coffin with their banners, which were dipped in salute before the founder of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party. The memorial service took place in the Concertgebouw Hall. J. W. Albarda, chairman of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Group, spoke on behalf of the Group, and Vandervelde on behalf of the International.

"The death of Troelstra was made known to us during a meeting of our Executive Committee in Berlin. We met, so to speak, in the shadow of the event. But we hoped against hope, and when death knocked at the door three times—Poesner, Wheatley, Troelstra—the entire assembly was seized with inexpressible emotion."

"In the International of today the pre-war veterans are becoming rare. Those who set with Troelstra in the Executive of 1914 could be counted on the fingers of one hand. In every country the Socialism of the Second International has had the singular good fortune to find men who incarnated in the highest degree the thoughts and deepest aspirations of the working class. What Jaures and Guesde, for example, were for France, Bebel and Liebknecht for Germany, Keir Hardie for Great Britain, Victor Adler for Austria, Branting for the Scan-

dinavian countries, and Anseele for Belgium, Troelstra was for the Netherlands.

"Dear and great friend: During the last 15 years I have seen our best friends leave one after the other: Jaures assassinated on the eve of the war, Haase, Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht killed by the nationalist reaction; Guesde, Keir Hardie, Vaillant, Plechanoff, Victor Adler and many others, who could not survive that fatal ordeal. Some died before knowing what was to follow. Others disappeared during the revolutionary upheaval. You will at least have the consolation of being sure that your work will survive you, that the International was reconstituted, that new and constantly growing forces were joined to those which you caused to arise. And at the moment when you go away, with the certitude that the dawn is coming, the workers of the whole world salute in you, one of the greatest, one of the best, of the men to whom victorious Socialism will owe its triumph."

Otto Wels paid tribute to the man as a messenger of brotherly love and unity in word and deed, who brought the Socialist world together again and earned the special thanks of the German Social-Democratic Party. Van de Walle spoke on behalf of the Netherlands Trade Union Federation, while Vliegen had opened the proceedings with a great speech

### European Socialist Students International Seeks Contact With American Collegians

A SOCIALIST student and youth movement is flourishing in many European nations, according to a letter received by Norman Thomas, at the offices of the League for Industrial Democracy, from Jean Jacquot, a member of the National (France) Federation of Socialist Students, and a student at the Paris University. The Socialist student movement is anxious to establish contacts with American Socialist students, Jacquot writes. He suggests the possibility of affiliation of L. I. D. chapters to the Socialist Students International. The presence in Paris of David Mikol, formerly connected with the Rand School and educational work in the furriers' union, has stimulated interest among the students in America. Jacquot writes:

"I want to tell you what I have done in Paris University with the help of a few Socialist friends. We have organized a club of 'English and North American studies', to study English and American working class movement. Our friend David Mikol spoke on the history of the American working class, American prosperity and Fordism. I want to speak to you especially of our French Federation of

Socialist Students and Socialist Students' International. We are growing in France both in universities and normal schools. Our movement is connected with the Socialist youth movement and the Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.). Our last conference took place a few days ago in Strasbourg, and dealt with the social conditions of students and intellectual workers and the fight against military training in the schools.

Active In Fascist Countries  
"Several thousand students are members of our International, whose German, Austrian, and Belgian branches are very strong and which counts also many members in Holland, Switzerland and Fascist countries such as Latvia and Spain. Socialist students of Austria, Germany and France were in the forefront in the fight against reactionary students. Our comrades of Latvia are victims of Fascism (8 of them had a narrow escape of a death condemnation). Our Spanish comrades are fighting for the independence of Spain.

"The International is in close touch with the University Labor Federation of Great Britain. Several magazines are published among the different branches of the International: L'Etudiant Socialiste (France, Belgium, Switzerland), Académique Rundschau (Germany, Austria), Menschen (Flanders, Kenting (Holland)).

"The French conference was followed by an international conference of western countries which was a success. In that conference

I gave an account of what I knew of the American movement and said I was glad to see that Socialist students of the L. I. D. worked in close collaboration with the American working class. A motion was passed which I reproduce as exactly as I can:

"Delegates of Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Holland and Switzerland who meet in Strasbourg for the International Conference of Socialist Students, send their fraternal greetings to the students of the League for Industrial Democracy; congratulate them for their action by the side of the American workers; hope that the Socialist Students' International and the L. I. D. will come into close contact."

"I am urged by the delegates to the International for France and countries of western Europe to ask you: 1. If university and college chapters are federated inside the L. I. D.; 2. If the affiliation of college chapters of the L. I. D. to the Socialist Students International is possible.

"I realize that before giving an answer to this you need more documents and information, but for the present you could tell us if we have any hope. Anyway I expect that both organizations will get into closer touch.

"Please convey the French Socialist students' fraternal feelings towards American Socialists. Please tell our American comrades that we exist and that we are anxious to get in contact with them."

## THE RAND BOOK STORE

7 EAST 15th STREET Phone ALgonquin 3094 NEW YORK CITY  
BOOK BARGAINS  
Every Socialist and Sympathizer should purchase his or her books at the Rand Book Store, and thereby support the Rand School of Social Science. We sell every book on any subject.  
Our Formerly Price  
Eugene V. Debs—David Karner ..... (\$1.50) .50  
American Empire—Scott Nearing ..... (\$1.50) .35  
Outline of European History—Charles Beard and Robinson ..... (\$2.12) .55  
A German Deserter's War Experiences ..... (\$1.00) .25  
Meaning of Socialism—Bruce Glasier ..... (\$2.00) .75  
Socialism Critical and Constructive—J. Ramsay MacDonald ..... (\$2.00) 1.50  
Women and Socialism—August Bebel ..... (\$1.50) .35  
Bebel's Reminiscences—August Bebel ..... (\$1.50) .75  
Marching Men—S. A. Cobbett ..... (\$2.00) 1.00  
Perfect Health—Wendell ..... (\$2.50) .50  
American Communism—James O'neal (Extra Special) ..... (\$1.50) 1.00  
Workers in American History—James O'neal (cloth) ..... (\$1.50) .35  
Workers in American History—James O'neal (paper) ..... (\$1.50) .25  
Story of Philosophy—Will Durant ..... (\$3.00) 1.00  
Memoirs of a Revolutionary—Peter Kropotkin ..... (\$3.00) 1.00  
The Trial of Scott Nearing ..... (\$2.00) .50  
Outline of World's History—H. O. Wells ..... (\$5.00) 1.00  
How to Be Free and Happy—Bertrand Russell ..... (\$1.75) .35  
Communism and Christianity—Bishop Brown (cloth) ..... (\$1.00) .45  
Communism and Christianity—Bishop Brown (paper) ..... (\$1.25) .15  
Back Numbers of The American Labor Year Book can be had at prices greatly reduced from the original. Add 5 cents for postage on each book ordered. Send for our bargain catalogue.

### ARE YOU GOING TO A CONVENTION OR CONFERENCE SOON?

Every organization or individual can save a large amount of their traveling expenses by going via the De Luxe Buses of the NEVINS BUS LINES

Below are a few examples showing the economy of riding by bus

To	PRICE PER TICKET	
	By Train	By Nevins Bus Line
Philadelphia	\$ 3.24	\$ 2.00
Baltimore	6.70	4.50
Washington	8.14	5.50
Boston	8.26	4.00
Pittsburgh	15.82	9.50
Cleveland	20.55	12.50
Detroit	24.82	15.50
Chicago	32.70	20.50
St. Louis	38.06	22.50
Kansas City	48.10	26.50
Los Angeles	109.77	68.00

For round trip tickets and for delegates to conventions an additional reduction.

**NEVINS BUS LINES**  
111 West 31st Street — o — New York City  
Telephone—CHickering 1600

## The Chatter Box

ONE of the pleasantest experiences of recent days was the tongue-whipping Mayor Jimmy Walker received from Rabbi Wise over the salary boost our high city fathers gave unto themselves, without so much as a hoopla as to what the citizens thought about the whole grabby mess. For a change, the dramatic talents of the Rabbi were employed to universal benefit. To have blanched the snickering face of Jimmy the Jigger; to have stirred the numbed nerves of conscience in that worthy so that he actually twitched with discomfort under the lashing, was an epic performance.

The greedy deed went through nevertheless. But the pay check is just a trifle stained with censure. The Reverend Doctor Wise is no sweet memory for the rest of Jimmy's days.

And for this alone I am willing to forgive a great many of the ecclesiast's sins against his own professed liberalism.

Years past, I have presumed to hurl a pebble against that giant of the cloth, ineffectively, yet with sincere intent to hurt. Nor will my failure ever deter me from another attempt should the provocation arise.

Yet always it will please just as intensely to hand forth a garland of plaudits for a good deed well done. And in the case of Walker versus Wise, all of us radicals, liberals and reds shout forth a verdict of joy for the Doctor.

There is one phase of Dr. Stephen A. Wise as a public influence that displeases greatly however. It is his continued contact and catering to the wealthy pew holders of his synagogue.

True, it is his own personal affair. But my regret is only the greater, because of his abilities, which if used for us under folks might perform such beneficence as would make his name and life blessed things, in an era of unbelievedness.

I am thinking of Dr. Leon R. Land and his Bronx Free Fellowship. Here is a young man come up from the Southland, unheralded by press notices, with a definite handicap of stutter to his tongue, but firm in his belief that only the common man matters, and determined to carry on against all obstacles.

It is surprisingly fine to contemplate what he has done to organize groups of the thinking youth of the Bronx—what a large following of workers through his Forum and services, and how contagious his efforts have proven.

Last night I spoke to a crowded congregation on Rebel Poets and Poetry. The faces before me brought back a heart-gripping memory of the early days on East Broadway, when our group of young lads and girls filled the discussion halls and went forth into the night carrying the message of hope for the wage slaves.

Thought I, here and everywhere the world is full of folks who must be gathered into the halls of reason. If only some of the Cadmans and Foodicks and Wises would take up with the work that the John Haynes Holmeses and Leon Lands carry on so valiantly in the town.

Silly of me of course to expect big time players of the legitimate pulpits to give up their lucrative and dignified places for one night stands in the cheap circuits among the poor.

So ridiculous of me to even hope for humility from the high priests of the Carpenter, or fellowship for the lowly from the spiritual counselor to a persecuted people. Things are just not done that way. The rich get the best of everything—yes even the best guides to Heaven. But on second thought, perhaps, it were best so. When we consider how devious the conduct of the rich is on earth, and how difficult it might be for them to enter the Paradisaic portals unless they had the most expert of guidance thereto, it might be permissible to allow them these excellent leaders.

After all even the masters have their rights . . . to heaven at least. For my own part, give me the Holmeses and the Lands . . . The poor have no need of direction to Heaven . . . Their hell on earth is all the purgatory the most jealous and wrathful of gods would dare visit upon mankind.

What they have need of here is the leadership and inspiration of men whose sight is beyond the gilded temples, and yet always encompassing the sorrows and suffering of the masses.

The case of Wise versus Land requires a different sort of verdict. There is no dramatic glitter in the work of Dr. Land up there in the Bronx . . . The headlines do not scream his name nor his deeds. But the hundreds of thousands who need the intellectual playing and emotional control of his endeavor will learn of him in time and bring tribute out of honest gratitude . . .

## Waitress

Dishes white and clean as a priest's collar  
Are borne aloft on the shoulders of a young athlete,  
Her slim muscles leap like brown doves  
With strange winged strength.  
Her smile scatters white blossoms along a road  
Flesh-full with hunger and appetite.  
Tiled alleys, white as a sick room  
Are decorated with interminable mouths  
Exhaling in an ecstasy of fulfillment.  
Bells are exalted, breathing a fat benediction.  
Silver coins sing a jargon of little curses—  
In these confines a young athlete  
Blows a kiss to a somewhere wind  
Blue as wishes never come true.

LAURA TANNEN

## Hard and Soft Sweetening

Would my heart were hard as diamond,  
Here is what I'd up and do:  
Sparkle forth such awful lightnings  
As would shatter hearts in two.

Would my heart were soft as cotton,  
Quickly would I let them see:  
Sow about such truth and knowledge  
As would grow equality.

S. N. STRICKLER.

On June 16, the Grub Street Club ends its first half year of intellectual gallivanting and Henry Harrison, director, poet, publisher and log-roller, will lie himself into the forest wilds of Second Avenue for a vacation. It might be interesting enough for those of you who can to run over next Monday night, to the Green Witch Inn on East Eleventh street near Broadway and attend the season's closing. It is a genuine potpourri of the city's struggling geniuses that gather there. Poetry, passion, art, love, coffee, sandwiches, and music from Bobby Edwards' mandoline are fully worth the fifty cents so agreeably extorted from you.

All this is being said because Henry has made forty-two requests this year for a notice in the column. And there is just enough room to squeeze it in.

Which also reminds me that Romatka that Bohemian Bear of the Ballad holds forth every Wednesday night at the Labor Temple, also on poetry and the fine arts . . . and while he gives no coffee or tid-bits for the flesh, the feasting for the soul is just too luscious for my lyrical powers . . . See you there too.

S. A. de Wit.



## ARISTOPHANES: OLD AND NEW

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

## "LYSISTRATA," by Aristophanes

(411 B. C.) 44th St. Theatre.

THE first of the two things Aristophanes gives is boisterous good fun; and "Lysistrata" is from this point of view the best of his farces. Comedy is hardly the word; indeed, the nearest we can come to labeling these ancient plays is to call them Attic Follies. They were sung, danced, spoken, acted, commented on the day; while Shakespeare's Falstaff and Rabelais' Gargantua are in their mood, the nearest we have to their capture of the current absurdities is Gilbert and Sullivan and the modern revue.

"Lysistrata," as you may know, is a burlesque of peace-conferences and other efforts at ending war. Tired of the twenty-year conflict between Athens and Sparta, the women of these cities come together. They are going to take things in their hands. War is taking too many of their sons and lovers. Lysistrata has an idea. Every woman must swear to refuse her favors to any man until peace is pledged. She must droll up in the best Greek style; with rouge and perfume she must add seduction to her luring charm—and then deny the eager man, till peace is pledged.

Violet Kimble Cooper makes a sturdy champion of peace, an early warrior to end war; but Aristophanes knows how to draw the cream of a situation, and the gusts of laughter that sweep the theatre come when cutesy Miriam Hopkins (Klōmōka) wants her man, and when ardent Hortense Alden (Myrrhina) is rousing hers to a pitch of seductive desire that makes him ready to sign fourteen treaties to have his way with her. There was a maiden lady a few seats from me, who had come, no doubt, at culture's call, quite uncomfortable beside her male escort, in the presence of this frank treatment of natural desire. And while the bed was being prepared, and the perfumes!

But there is something healthy in this exuberant acceptance of the way things are, which is the core of the second gift of Aristophanes. The Greeks believed that art must imitate life, was, indeed, part of living; that short-sighted President of the Athenian Senate who is probably in the audience watching the first performance—knew that everyone knew he was the man intended. When Cleon the tyrant tried to censor Aristophanes, the playwright hit him harder in the next play; when the tyrant passed a law that stopped the use of real names by the players, Aristophanes had the chorus (which because of religious connections was beyond the law's reach) name the victims of his satire. As full and free criticism as has ever been allowed accompanied the turbulent fun of Aristophanes.

While fault may be found at times with Gilbert Selzer's adaptation, as when he presses the modern parallel too closely—putting Kipling into Greek mouths, for instance; and with the popularized pronunciation; the stage designed by Norman Bel Geddes permits excellent effects; the direction catches the rich flavor of the work, and the incidental music and culminating dances are in full harmony with the rollicking mood. For all its age, "Lysistrata" is more intelligently comical than all a season's musical comedies—and more fun.

The Guild Grows Greer. The closest our age comes to Aristophanes is in the revue, and the best episode in several seasons' revues is the finale of Act I in the new "Garrick Gaieties." "They Always Come Back" is a bit with two songs, "I'm Grover."

## Radio Artist



A popular entertainer of the air, who sings sentimental ballads, is Roselle Freed, who will shortly be seen in one of the musicals.

## The Successor To Lily Damita



The long running musical smash, "Sons O' Guns," at the Imperial has a new leading lady. Gina Malo, fresh from Paris, has succeeded Lily Damita in the feminine lead.

and "Johnny Wamaker," showing what may be expected to happen when our traffic managing ex-Police Commissioner takes up work once more in a well-known department store. It is a hilarious frolic, quite worthy of Aristophanes—though mainly by Newman Levy. The main difference between this and the Greek, in truth, lies in the audience. If New York were ancient Athens (instead of modern Babylon) the whole town would be humming "Anything can be returned"; and probably a spontaneous parade of N. Y. U. students would snake-dance over from Washington Square to present Grover with a symbolic twig of hemlock. Walter Winchell reported the other day that Grover Whalen has threatened to sue for an injunction restraining the "Gaieties" from holding Wamakers up to ridicule. It's not the store that's being ridiculed, Grover.

Winchell, by the way, comes in for a not-too-clever skit about his gossip column; he takes this with easy complacency, reporting, indeed, that "the leading character in a Forrest Wilson play will be a 'Morning Blaboid blaboid,'" which is fair enough.

Our smile has always come from the winsome, yes, Sterling Holloway; and the intelligent slyness of Edith Meiser is fetching. Albert Carroll seems a bit stout, but deft as ever; and Philip Loeb (who also directed the whole shebang) as emphatic as we know him. The songs and the music of the "Garrick Gaieties" may be expected to be above par (in the Wall Street, not the golf links, sense); but somehow the chorus girls—names given but not addresses, the program tells—seem more like the professional chorus girl (by which I mean less charming, though more stage-beauty-full) than the usual Guild chorus kind.

The first act of the "Gaieties" ends with so turbulent a frolic that anything after must seem tame, especially the final finale; but there are half a dozen numbers in the show one would walk a mile for, and one number for which one'd go nine days without a drink. And if such revues help us to be as quick and as sharp as the Greeks in attacking current follies and evils, they will do more than give us delight.

## Molly Picon on Stage; Ruth Chatterton on Capitol Screen

Molly Picon, noted comedienne, will head the stage entertainment at the Capitol Theatre this week. This marks Miss Picon's debut in a motion picture theatre and great interest is attached to her appearance. She will sing several of the songs which have won her popularity as well as offering several characterizations which will afford her an opportunity to show the maturity of her comic art.

Also on the stage program will be "Dance Dreams," a divertissement devised and staged by Chester Hale under the personal supervision of Louis K. Sidney. This will co-feature Nina Oginska and Ivan Triesault, both of whom have long since won enduring popularity with Capitol audiences. The Chester Hale ballet will, of course, be seen in this presentation.

The Capitol Grand Orchestra with Yasha Bunchuk conducting is this week celebrating Mr. Bunchuk's first anniversary as their conductor. As a special presentation they will play "Overture of Overtures." Mr. Bunchuk has himself arranged and compiled it. The screen program will be headed by Ruth Chatterton's latest starring vehicle, "The Lady of Scandal," in which she is supported by Basil Rathbone, Ralph Forbes, and Nance O'Neil. An unusually diversified program of short subjects will also be shown on this specially augmented program.

## "Numbered Men" at the Winter Garden Stays On

There are more than 100,000 wives and sweethearts in the United States today, according to estimates of prison authorities, who promised to wait when their men were "sent up" to penitentiaries throughout the country. The figures were gathered by Mervyn LeRoy, director of "Numbered Men," at the Winter Garden.

How many of them do? Very few, prison authorities state. The long stretch of years, when youth and beauty fade, is too much, they say. Such women are generally thrown on their own resources to make a living, and it is often a hard struggle for existence while a lover is in the "big house." Families, too, play an important role, almost invariably working on such women to persuade them to obtain a divorce, which they may legally do if their husband has been convicted as a felon, and thus clear the family name of prison taint.

The lowest period of despair in a prisoner's existence comes when the letters begin to stop. These, and many more phases of prison existence, are vividly pictured in "Numbered Men," the cast including Conrad Nagel, Bernice Claire, Raymond Hackett, Tully Marshall and Ralph Ince.

## Swami Yogananda's Final Lecture at Pythian Temple

Tomorrow afternoon, Sunday, at 3 p. m., at the Pythian Temple Building, 70th street, east of Broadway, motion pictures will be shown of the Dream Marble Buildings of the Taj-Mahal of India. These unusual pictures of India were taken by a student of Swami Yogananda and will precede his lecture, "Quickening Evolution by Super Advanced Institutional Methods."

Swami Yogananda has been conducting his Yogoda lessons to large groups of students during the past week, and this will be his last public appearance for some time in New York.

## Tolstoy's "Redemption" At Little Carnegie

The motion picture version of Lyot Tolstoy's "The Living Corpse," presented under the title "Redemption," is playing at the Little Carnegie Playhouse.

"Redemption," which is John Gilbert's second all-talking vehicle, is a far cry from ordinary cinema in being the psychological study of a man who is driven to a desperate act in choosing between loyalty to his wife and the call of hereditary gypsy blood. The producers have maintained an artistic standard in not stooping to tack a sugar-coated happy ending onto a story permeated with a tragic motive.

Alexander Toluboff, Russian architect, designed the unconventional settings which succeed to a marked degree in reflecting Fedya's depressed state of mind. Adroitly using line and form in designing, first a cheap Moscow lodging house bedroom and its hallway approaches, and later the underground vodka shop, Toluboff is said to convey to the beholder the drunken mind of Fedya groping in all the misery of his sacrifice.

## Winnie Lightner, at Strand, Says Her Success "Just Luck"

Obtaining a long-term contract from Warner Bros. after appearing in just three pictures is "just Irish luck," to Winnie Lightner, comedy star in "Hold Everything," current at the New York and Brooklyn Strand Theatres.

The three pictures which won her stardom, the contract, and plenty of cash, incidentally, were "Gold Diggers of Broadway," "She Couldn't Say No" and "Hold Everything."

## In "Ada Beats the Drum"



At the John Golden Theatre, Mary Boland holds forth in one of the successful plays of the season, "Ada Beats the Drum."

## Singing Their Way To Success



Bernice Claire and Alexander Gray appear in First National's special "Song of the Flame" which is at the Warner Bros. Theatre for an indefinite run. It is a story of the Russian Revolution.

## Sunday Concerts Continue At the Beacon Theatre

A one-hour repertoire of popular music will be offered by the Vitaphone Orchestra in its concert at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th street, Sunday, June 15th.

The concert will start at one o'clock and will continue until two. Immediately preceding it and following it will be the regular screen program, which for that week will be "Ladies in Love," an all-talking picture featuring Alice Day and Johnny Walker, and a revival of "Son of the Sheik," a silent film in which Rudolph Valentino and Vilma Banky are costars.

The Vitaphone concert will be supplemented by solos by two featured artists—Douglas Stanbury, baritone, formerly at the Roxy, and Maximilian Pilzer, once first violinist at the Capitol.

## Gorky Goes On at Cameo

"Cain and Artem," silent screen version of Maxim Gorky's novel of the same name, is now in its second week at the Cameo Theatre. Produced by the Sovkino Company of Russia, "Cain and Artem," is a direct translation to the screen of Gorky's realistic novel, not dimmed by any superficial garishness that might detract from the dynamic and relentless vigor that was portrayed in the Gorky theme. Being the first picture to come out of Russia since the Soviet regime that is not a political preachment, "Cain and Artem" merely endeavors to put in action the thoughts, habits and loves of the Russian peasant.

The picture was directed by Petrov-Bytow, with Simonov, a Russian giant, filling the role of Artem. This story is built around the friendship of this giant with a scrawny Jew who protects him from the attacks of the townspeople, aligned against him because of his advances toward the wives of the community.

## "Rough Romance at the Hippodrome This Week"

"Rough Romance," a story of the wild north depicting the way of a woodland maid and two men, in which George O'Brien is featured with Helen Chandler, Antonio Moreno and Noel Francis, is being presented for the first time at the RKO Hippodrome, this week. This movie drama was directed by A. F. Erickson and was adopted from a novelette by Kenneth B. Clarke.

The vaudeville program of RKO favorites includes Harry Holmes, the pessimist; Ralph Rogers and Elsie Donnelly, funsters; Joyner and Foster, comics; Mae Falls, John Reading and Teddy Boyce, a versatile trio; Carrie and Eddy in "Dance Highlights" and Crandell's Brazilian Circus can be seen on the huge stage.

## New and Old at Beacon

The newest of the all-talking pictures and one of the last of the old silent films vie this week for audience approval at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th street.

The all-talking feature is "Ladies in Love," a Hollywood Pictures production, with Alice Day and Johnny Walker in featured roles.

A third attraction at the Beacon this week is the Vitaphone Orchestra concert today (Sunday). This aggregation of forty-five musicians plays from the orchestra pit at the Beacon, with Harold Levey directing. Douglas Stanbury, baritone, and Maximilian Pilzer, violinist, are the soloists.

## More About "Princess Charming"

Jack Donohue, star of "Sons O' Guns," is rapidly finishing his adaptation of "Princess Charming," the forthcoming Connolly and Swanstrom musical play and Arthur Schwartz and Albert Sirmay have already completed the score.

## Alton Jones Re-engaged At Columbia Theatre

Alton Jones, well known American pianist, has been reengaged to teach piano during the summer session at Columbia University which opens July 7.

The plan of instruction is unusual and one which has proven to be most successful for an intensive course of study within a short period. In the two-point course, the student receives two half-hour lessons weekly as well as the opportunity of hearing the lessons of the three other members of his group. Thus each student, though he has individual assignments of material and lessons entirely devoted to himself, is observed by the other three students whose lessons he also hears daily. In this way he profits by being able to hear six other lessons each week besides his own. On Wednesday of each week Mr. Jones will lecture to combined groups on various phases of technic, interpretation, teaching and public performance.

## Grace George in 200th

Grace George at the matinee (Wednesday, June 11th) gave her 200th performance of "The First Mrs. Fraser" at the Playhouse, thus already reaching, in her run on Broadway, a milestone passed by few stars.

A glance at statistics reveals that the Broadway record of Katharine Cornell in "The Age of Innocence," was 207 performances, in "The Green Hat," 231; Ina Claire in "The Last of Mrs. Cheyne," 252; Ethel Barrymore in "The Constant Wife," 298; Jane Cowl in "The Road to Rome," 440; Leonore Ulric in "Kiki," 600; Jeanne Eagels in "Rain," 648; Laurette Taylor in "Peg O' My Heart," 692.

## Workers Song Group Meets Next Thursday

The Workers' Song Group will meet next Thursday night, June 13, at the Red School, when the new director will start rehearsals of party singing. New and old songs will be put on the mat, and the group will try to prepare itself for participation in many forthcoming party functions.

All who have ever "joined in the singing of the Red Flag and the Internationale"—whether young or old, musically adept or not—are urged to come Thursday night.

## Now It Can Be Told

When Paul Klein, account executive of the Blaine Thompson Co., began handing out cigars, giving everybody a broad smile, and slapping everybody on the back, we immediately sensed that something unusual was in the air. And sure enough there was, for it can now be told that the genial Mr. Klein became the very proud daddy of a bouncing baby boy.

## 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

## GEO. M. COHAN

And His Company in The SONG and DANCE MAN

OPENS MONDAY, JUNE 16

## THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

THE NEW GARRICK GAITIES

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

## Hotel Universe

A New Play by PHILIP BARRY

Martin Beck Theatre 45th Street West of Broadway Evgs. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

## CAMEO

AMERICAN PREMIERE Tense! Powerful! Dynamic! Maxim GORKY'S World Famous Story "CAIN and ARTEM"

Nearest Sinking Triumph "Fine Picture . . . Pure Art . . . You must see this masterpiece . . . Tempo, Berlin.

## Teamed Again



Dolores Del Rio and Edmund Lowe are teamed again in the "Bad One," now at the Rivoli.

## Classical Season for Actor Managers, Inc.

The Actor-Managers, Inc., in association with the Messrs. Shubert announce a season of four classic plays to open early in October. The plays have been chosen for their appeal to present-day audiences in both story and treatment and for their robust entertainment values even in the year 1930. They are of four distinct types: a high comedy—"The Way of the World," by Congreve; a tragedy, the "Medea" of Euripides; a romance on heroic lines, Dryden's "All For Love," and a satirical burlesque, "The Critic," by Sheridan.

The plays will be produced under the stage direction of Agnes Morgan and the settings and costumes will be designed by Aline Bernstein. Announcement of the theatre and the casts will be made shortly. This should be good entertainment.

## Moore to Team in Talkie

Lawrence Tibbett, star of "The Rogue Song," and Grace Moore, Metropolitan Opera soprano who recently signed a long-term Metro-

**ROXY**  
7th Ave. and 50th St.  
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROYAL (ROXY)  
Tiffany Presents  
**"Mamba"**  
All talking, all Technicolor drama with JEAN HERSHOLT, ELEANOR BOARDMAN, RALPH FORBES  
IN PERSON  
Madame Ernestine  
**SCHUMAN-HEINK**  
World's greatest and most beloved contralto appearing at all 40 theatres  
Together with a brilliant stage show of inimitable Roxy features.

hold everything for **HOPE** has everything  
**STRANDS** Both N.Y. & Bklyn  
EVEN THE FUNNIEST THING ON FOUR FEET  
Joe E. Brown & Winnie Lightner

**CAPITOL**  
Broadway and 51st Street  
Major Edward Woods, Mgr. Dir.  
MIDNIGHT PICTURE, TIGHTLY 11:59  
**RUTH Chatterton**  
in "A LADY OF SCANDAL"  
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's new delight with BASIL RATHBONE, RALPH FORBES, NANCE O'NEIL  
**MOLLY PICON**  
IN PERSON  
Bunchuk Anniversary, Egypt in Travelogue, Gorgeous Capitol Ballet, Cartoon Comedy, Musical Melodrama News.

5th MONTH  
**LAWRENCE TIBBETT**  
in M-G-M's Technicolor Romance  
**THE ROGUE SONG**  
ASTOR Daily 2:30-8:30 Sat. Sun. Hol. 3-8-8:30  
B'way at 45th St.

**SONG OF THE FLAME**  
A First National & Vitaphone Picture  
Gave New York Its Greatest Thrill  
With BERNICE CLAIRE ALEXANDER GRAY NOAH BERRY  
NOW PLAYING REFRIGERATED  
Broadway and 52nd St.  
Sunday: 2-8-8:45 Daily: 2:45-8:45

## At the Little Carnegie



The intimate playhouse on 57th Street will show, beginning Saturday, John Gilbert in his second talkie. The picture is Tolstoy's "The Living Corpse," which comes to the talking screen as "Redemption."

Goldwyn-Mayer contract, will be teamed in a picturization of "The New Moon," according to word from the coast. Jack Conway, who is now completing Lon Chaney's first dialogue picture, "The Unholy Three," will direct the screen version of Oscar Hammerstein's popular operetta, using the original musical score by Sigmund Romberg. The book by Frank Mandel and Lawrence Schwab is now being adapted to the screen.

**HELL'S LOOSE**  
SIRENS  
conclude in a mad dash for freedom  
**NUMBERED MEN**  
is the INSIDE story of the hidden thoughts and strange secrets which drive FORGOTTEN MEN to Jailbreak!  
Warner Bros. Refrigerated Broadway & 5th St.  
CONTINUOUS AT POPULAR PRICES

**HIPPODROME**  
6th Ave. & 43 St.  
PREMIERE PRESENTATION OF  
The Way of a Woodland Maid  
And Two Men  
**ROUGH ROMANCE**  
GEO. O'BRIEN, HELEN CHANDLER, ANTONIO MORENO, NOEL FRANCIS  
and  
6 RKO ACTS including  
Falls, Reading & Joyce, Harry Holmes, Joyner & Foster.  
—CONTINUOUS—  
10:30 to 1 p. m., 2:30; Mat. Orch. 2:30; Eve. Orch. 8:30, except Sat. and Sun.

**LITTLE CARNEGIE PLAYHOUSE**  
57th Street East of Seventh Avenue  
Direction Leo Brecher  
Saturday to Tuesday, June 14-17  
**JOHN GILBERT**  
in Tolstoy's "REDEMPTION"  
Adapted From "The Living Corpse"  
Wednesday to Friday, June 18 to 20  
"Young Man of Manhattan"  
with Claudette Colbert, Charles Buggles

**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.



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

# UNION DIRECTORY

## National

**N. E. C. MEETING**  
The National Executive Committee will meet in New Haven on Thursday and Friday, June 13 and 14, instead of in Bridgeport as announced before. Hartford will have Comrade Hilgert for a large mass meeting. New London is arranging a mass meeting for Comrade Shanks on Friday; New Haven for Comrades Berger and Maurer on Thursday; and Bridgeport will have its meeting Friday evening. Wallingford is arranging an open air meeting for O'Neil and other cities in Connecticut are sending in requests for speakers.

**BOHEMIAN FEDERATION**  
The Bohemian Socialists of Chicago have reorganized. There are now branches in the 22nd ward, the 23rd ward, a woman's branch in Cicero, and a branch containing members in Chicago and Berwyn.

**CAMPAIGN POSTERS**  
The national office is considering plans for campaign posters to be used by all locals and states carrying on election campaigns this fall. Several designs are under consideration for submission to the N. E. C. Comrades who have ideas about designs, color, size or any other matter connected with the use of posters are urged to submit them to the national office immediately.

**Colorado**  
William C. Stone who has just graduated from Brookwood, has returned to Colorado to take up organizing work as state secretary. His office is Box 167, Boulder, Colo. Plans for summer organization work and the fall election will be formulated by a meeting of the state executive committee on July the 4th.

**Wisconsin**  
**KENOSHA**  
S. S. Walkup, long time Socialist and a prominent member of the trade union movement as machinist, has been nominated by Kenosha Socialists for the state assembly. Walkup is also a member of the state executive board of the Socialist Party.

**Michigan**  
Active Socialists and some non-members of the party have formed an "Unemployment Insurance League" with offices at 628 Penobscot Building, Detroit. They are circulating an initiative petition for the constitution of Michigan to create an unemployment insurance fund. Material about the fund can be obtained upon application at the office address.

**Ohio**  
The Ohio Socialist Party will spend most of week in southeastern and eastern Ohio in the coal and steel towns addressing open air meetings, arranged by the party. The speaker is Alvin Karpis, who on June 16, will move over into Ohio. Comrades who can arrange open air meetings are requested to write to the national office immediately.

**Connecticut**  
**HARTFORD**  
Local Hamden met last Saturday at the Sleeping Giant State Park, Mt. Carmel. Delegates elected to the state convention, June 13-14, were: Alvin Karpis, 1st District; Alternates: Mrs. Florence Karpis and Mrs. Ernest Castiglione. The local voted to cooperate with the local in New Haven in holding a Tom Mooney protest meeting in July.

**NEW HAVEN**  
An important meeting of the Local New Haven will be held Monday evening, June 16, at Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm street. All members are urged to attend. The meeting will be held in the hall of the Fraternal Hall. The meeting will be held in the hall of the Fraternal Hall. The meeting will be held in the hall of the Fraternal Hall.

**REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT**  
The taking of the government census in the state shows the kind of representative government we have here. The following item from the Sunday Register, June 8, tells the story:

Four towns by going over the 5,000 mark are entitled to send another member each to the legislature. They are New Canaan, Darien, Plainville and the town of New Britain. The total vote in the House of New Haven and Hartford which between them have 24,022 residents is against 24,596 in the combined four towns.

**PROPOSED DEBATE**  
State Secretary Merrill has made a proposition to Charles M. Ripley of the publication of the "New Leader" to a short discussion or debate "over the air" sometime during the state convention at Schenectady, N. Y., to determine to entertain Mr. Ripley's offer to give an illustrated lecture before the

the Socialist Party state convention the state secretary suggested that Mr. Ripley arrange to have broadcasting station WGY put on a 30-minute discussion between Ripley and some representative of the Socialist Party who may be attending the state convention in Schenectady on July 19 and 20. The subject suggested is "Private or Public Distribution of Electric Power?"

**CONVENTION BANQUET**  
Local Schenectady discussed the program of the state convention banquet at last Monday's meeting. Prof. Vladimir Karpeloff of Cornell University, will be asked to furnish at last one number, playing on either the cello or piano.

**NEW YORK CITY**  
**COMING EVENTS**  
Saturday, July 19 and 20, State Convention, Schenectady, N. Y.  
Ulmer Park, July 26, Annual Picnic.

**City Executive Committee**  
A meeting of the committee will be held on Wednesday, June 18, at 8:30 p. m., in the city office, 7 East 15th street.

**Ballots**  
Ballots for the election of delegates to the state convention have been sent to all branches in the five counties, and it is urged that organizers send every member in good standing to be given the opportunity to vote. The returns are to be sent to the city office before or on July 7.

**MANHATTAN**  
**18th A. D. Branch**  
Meetings are held every Tuesday evening, in room 4 of the building at 124 West 126th street, at 8:30 p. m. Street meetings are held every night but Tuesday along Lenox avenue between 133rd street and 143rd street.

**General Membership Meeting**  
A meeting of the membership of all branches will be held Friday, June 13, at 8:30 p. m., in the clubrooms at 1167 Broadway, 1167 Broadway road. The principal business will be the endorsement of candidates for public office, planning the campaign and the final preparations for the county banquet.

**Banquet**  
Our Bronx comrades are engaged in promoting the success of the campaign banquet to be held on Saturday, June 21, at 6:30 p. m., in the Hollywood Gardens, 898 Prospect avenue, Morris Hillman, 242 Baywater avenue, B. C. Viadeck and Louis Hendin will be among the speakers. An excellent program has been arranged. Reservations for the banquet should be made at the city office or Bronx County office, 117 Boston road.

**3-5th A. D.**  
A meeting will be held on Thursday evening, June 19, at 821 Westchester avenue. Voting for the election of delegates to the state convention will be one item of business.

**4th A. D.**  
A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, June 17, in the clubrooms at 1167 Broadway road. Voting for delegates to the state convention is one item. The principal event will be a symposium and general discussion on the situation in India. The branch has obtained the services of George Ross, of the "New York Times," executive secretary of Local Bronx. Ross is thoroughly familiar with India having been there on a number of trips.

**6th A. D.**  
An unusually well attended meeting was held last Friday evening at 821 Westchester avenue. Many important matters were disposed of. Morris Gismel acted as chairman, and Dr. Louis Hendin and August Claessens were present. Claessens spoke on "Hereditary vs. Environment."

**Amalgamated Cooperative**  
A meeting will be held Monday, June 24, at 8:30 p. m., in the social hall of building 3. There will be a continuation of a general discussion on the situation in India and the British labor movement. The membership will also elect delegates to the state convention.

**7th A. D.**  
The attendance at meetings is increasing. The meeting last Tuesday was fairly well attended. Many important matters were disposed of. Morris Gismel acted as chairman, and Dr. Louis Hendin and August Claessens were present. Claessens spoke on "Hereditary vs. Environment."

**Brooklyn**  
A general meeting of the members of all branches will be held Friday evening, June 13, in the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Broadway. The principal items before the meeting will be the endorsement of candidates for public office, planning the campaign and the final preparations for the county banquet.

**1-3th A. D.**  
A meeting will be held Friday evening, June 20, at 122 Pierstreet. Members will elect delegates to the

state convention. Other business will be transacted.

**Williamsburg**  
Meetings are held every Monday evening in the club house at 167 Tompkins avenue. The meeting, June 16, will be devoted to electing delegates to the state convention and action upon recommendations from the general membership meeting.

**16th A. D. Branch 1**  
The meeting to be held this Friday evening was postponed because of the rain. The meeting will be held at 68th street and Bay parkway continue every Saturday evening. August Claessens is delivering a series of lectures.

**16th A. D. Branch 2**  
At the last meeting June 9, the branch unanimously voted to buy 125 tickets for the Ulmer Park picnic. It is intended to dispose of the tickets at 50 cents apiece, thus yielding a substantial profit and enabling us to begin preparations for the state campaign. Regular meetings during July and August are suspended but cancellation of the general campaign work will be carried on through a campaign committee. Six members promised one or more evenings a week to canvass for tickets to the picnic and to do other work. A report is to be presented at the next meeting on types of work necessary to successful campaigns. Letters will be sent to the New Leader and the state convention urging that unemployment insurance be made the first item of the campaign work and that a concrete scheme of unemployment security be drawn up. At a group of well-informed Socialists are prepared to the election of a platform of our acceptance of the

**Brooklyn**  
The next meeting will take place on Monday, June 23, at 8:30 p. m., at the Savoy Mansion, 7316 20th avenue, Brooklyn.

**18th A. D. Branch 1**  
Semi-annual elections will take place at the next meeting. The proposition of the clubhouse will also be gone into in detail. At the last meeting Samuel G. Allen, one of the best speakers in the city, delivered a full house on "Ethical Culture and Its Relation to Socialism." The questions and discussions in which many of the new comrades participated, brought out all points. An automobile outing will be held Sunday, June 15, at Belmont State Park, Long Island.

**18th A. D. Branch 2**  
In spite of the warm weather meetings were held last Friday evening, June 13, in the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. George Friedman, 242 Baywater avenue, Park Rockway. Matters pertaining to the welfare of the branch and the welfare of the state convention is on the order of business.

**Staten Island**  
The next meeting will be held Wednesday evening, June 25, in the Svea Hall, Post avenue near Jewett avenue. The speaker will be Leonard Bright, who is increasing its membership. At the meeting the following nominations were made: for delegates to the state convention, Irving Schindler, 1st District; Walter Dearing, 2nd District; for members of the Executive Committee, Samuel G. Allen, 1st District; Anton Christensen, 2nd District; Adolph Muirhead.

**Street Meetings**  
**MANHATTAN**  
Friday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner 5th street and Avenue B. Speakers, Nathan Reisel, Molly Weingart, A. N. Weinberg.

**6th A. D.**  
Friday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner 18th street and St. Nicholas avenue, and 18th street and Wadsworth street. Speakers, Milton Deison, Sol Ferrin, Fred Hodgson, Robert DeLeon, Leonard C. Kaye.

**Thursday, June 13, 8:30 p. m.**  
corner 5th street and Avenue B. Speakers, Sam Seidman, Alexander Kuhnelt, Henry L. Layburn.

**What made the conference spot news in the daily papers was the question dealing with the liquor clause. This reads: "Take the liquor question out of politics by allowing for the manufacture and sale of a moderate amount of light wines and beers by the Government, eliminating private gain and making for temperance."**

**Much more important were the provisions for dealing with the existing industrial breakdown, which read: "Bring about the establishment of wages as high as the productivity of industry permits, rates made through collective bargaining between organized workers and employers to be the minimum, accepted as the first charge on industry with respect to tariff and all other protective measures."**

**"Bring about the establishment of the forty-hour workweek, and further reduction of time with increased productivity of industry."**

**"Exempt small incomes and property from taxation; levy progressive income and property taxes, to take unearned income for public use."**

**"Accept farm property as security for government loans, provide storing and warehousing facilities and in every possible way co-operate with the needs of agriculture, so as to bring the farmers sufficient return and reduce the price of goods."**

**The importance of these provisions, in addition to those included in the report, hardly needs emphasizing.**

**Joseph E. Cohen, Chairman, Platform and Res. Comm. Philadelphia, Pa.**

**WHAT IT MEANS**  
Editor, The New Leader:  
Say, what does this mean—this action of the Memphis officers in arresting Communist leaders for proposing to teach a mere political doctrine of social equality? While we do not believe in it there is nothing in our laws that forbids such a thing.

**Moreover, there is absolutely no danger of such a silly thing being done.**

**ward P. Clarke of Sunnyside is doing his best to fill his quota. There is a great demand for tickets, which cannot be sold until we get more cars. Readers who own cars or who have a friend owning a car, are earnestly requested to notify immediately by letter or telephone the nearest division manager of the auto outing.**

**Harry T. Smith, Jamaica, 1901 19th street, Hollis, L. I. telephone Hollis 3374; or Mrs. Schoenbaum, 160-37 Highland avenue, Jamaica, telephone Republic 1008. Sunnyside and Woodside: Edward P. Clarke, 4331 47th street, telephone SUtcliff 2689. Elmhurst and Corona residents please notify F. S. Goodgold, 9418 54th avenue, Elmhurst, telephone NEWton 7743. Suburb division: Gilbert R. Sackman, 144-25 North Boulevard, telephone FLushing 7630. Astoria residents: J. H. Diskant, 4703 43rd street, Long Island City, telephone Stillwell 7725.**

**Miss Florence Robbins who rendered splendid cooperation as a member of the outing committee, is now at Chatham Colony making preparations for the general campaign work. The Deas Branch of Chatham has extended a cordial invitation, and will give Queens comrades a hearty welcome. Many will accept and plans are being made to do other work. They are also arranging a fine buffet where plenty of food and drinks will be served. The names of all who contributed automobiles will be published next week.**

**This new branch is making splendid headway due to the splendid cooperation of Gilbert R. Sackman. At the last meeting five new applications were accepted to the electoral college out for the further development of the branch. An open air committee was elected: Gabriel Cizmek and Mrs. Anna Vogel, Comrade Karl volunteered to contribute a speaker's platform. Sackman and DeWitt will be the speakers. The report of Gilbert Sackman, assistant organizer; H. Vogel, financial secretary.**

**A meeting will be held Friday, June 20, at 8:30 p. m., in Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria. The speaker will be Leonard Bright and his topic is "The American Labor Movement."**

**5th A. D. Branch Rockaways**  
A meeting will be held Friday evening, June 13, in the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. George Friedman, 242 Baywater avenue, Park Rockway. Matters pertaining to the welfare of the branch and the welfare of the state convention is on the order of business.

**Staten Island**  
The next meeting will be held Wednesday evening, June 25, in the Svea Hall, Post avenue near Jewett avenue. The speaker will be Leonard Bright, who is increasing its membership. At the meeting the following nominations were made: for delegates to the state convention, Irving Schindler, 1st District; Walter Dearing, 2nd District; for members of the Executive Committee, Samuel G. Allen, 1st District; Anton Christensen, 2nd District; Adolph Muirhead.

**Street Meetings**  
**MANHATTAN**  
Friday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner 5th street and Avenue B. Speakers, Nathan Reisel, Molly Weingart, A. N. Weinberg.

**6th A. D.**  
Friday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner 18th street and St. Nicholas avenue, and 18th street and Wadsworth street. Speakers, Milton Deison, Sol Ferrin, Fred Hodgson, Robert DeLeon, Leonard C. Kaye.

**Thursday, June 13, 8:30 p. m.**  
corner 5th street and Avenue B. Speakers, Sam Seidman, Alexander Kuhnelt, Henry L. Layburn.

**What made the conference spot news in the daily papers was the question dealing with the liquor clause. This reads: "Take the liquor question out of politics by allowing for the manufacture and sale of a moderate amount of light wines and beers by the Government, eliminating private gain and making for temperance."**

**Much more important were the provisions for dealing with the existing industrial breakdown, which read: "Bring about the establishment of wages as high as the productivity of industry permits, rates made through collective bargaining between organized workers and employers to be the minimum, accepted as the first charge on industry with respect to tariff and all other protective measures."**

**"Bring about the establishment of the forty-hour workweek, and further reduction of time with increased productivity of industry."**

**"Exempt small incomes and property from taxation; levy progressive income and property taxes, to take unearned income for public use."**

**"Accept farm property as security for government loans, provide storing and warehousing facilities and in every possible way co-operate with the needs of agriculture, so as to bring the farmers sufficient return and reduce the price of goods."**

**The importance of these provisions, in addition to those included in the report, hardly needs emphasizing.**

**Joseph E. Cohen, Chairman, Platform and Res. Comm. Philadelphia, Pa.**

**WHAT IT MEANS**  
Editor, The New Leader:  
Say, what does this mean—this action of the Memphis officers in arresting Communist leaders for proposing to teach a mere political doctrine of social equality? While we do not believe in it there is nothing in our laws that forbids such a thing.

**Moreover, there is absolutely no danger of such a silly thing being done.**

**BRONX**  
Saturday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner Holland and Allerton avenues. Speakers, Harry Diamond, David Kaplan, Louis Hendin.

**Saturday, June 21, 8:30 p. m., corner Holland and Allerton avenues. Speakers, Louis Hendin and others.**

**Friday, June 13, 8:30 p. m., corner Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Theodore Shapiro and others.**

**Saturday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner 68th street and Bay parkway. Speaker, to be announced.**

**Thursday, June 13, 8:30 p. m., corner Hinsdale and Sutter avenue. Speakers, Molly Weingart, Louis Epstein.**

**Friday, June 20, 8:30 p. m., corner Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, to be announced.**

**Friday, June 20, 8:30 p. m., corner Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Theodore Shapiro, Murray Baron, George Kait and others.**

**RICHMOND**  
Saturday, June 14, 8:30 p. m., corner Harrison and Richmond avenues. Port Richmond, Speaker, Esther Friedman.

**Lecture Calendar**  
**MANHATTAN**  
Friday, June 13, 8:30 p. m., August Claessens, "The Program of the Socialist Party," 124 Goerck street, Astoria, Fathers Club of the Fred L. Lavanburg Homes.

**Brooklyn**  
Monday, June 16, 9 p. m., A. I. Shipplaff, subject to be announced. Workmen's Circle Center, 3820 Church street, Astoria, 18th A. D. Branch 2, Socialist Party.

**QUEENS**  
Friday, June 20, 9 p. m., Leonard Bright, "Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, Branch Astoria, Socialist Party.

**Opposition Winners**  
**In N. Y. Furriers Poll**  
(Continued from Page One)

by all sides in the controversy which provided for the following:

1. The committee of five of the labor movement together with a committee of five made up of representatives of each local and the Joint Council, and the International President or his representative

to act as an election and objection committee in the coming elections to pass upon the fitness of candidates, and the decision of the committee was to be final.

2. The February manifesto was to be given "the broadest possible interpretation." The hearings had shown that furriers had only been given working cards instead of membership books.

3. "Friedism"—the "outside" committee coined the expression—must be eliminated from the union. Testimony had been given to that effect in fact a fur trimming contractor in a cloak shop, that he had a shady record, and that Brown must have been his partner or a sub-contractor. This exposure of Fried did much to separate his followers by choice from those who worked with him through political necessity.

4. The coming elections were to be supervised by the committee of the labor movement.

**A. F. L. Urges Cooperation**  
While the committee was proceeding with the examination of candidates, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and Edward McGrady, a representative of the A. F. of L., who had been manager of the Joint Council after the Communists had lost control of the union, had acted as guardian and advisor of the Furriers' Union during the fight with the Communists and had actually been a signatory to the agreement with the employers, obtained chiefly through the efforts of Woll. After some negotiations, Woll and McGrady agreed to the employment of the committee of the Labor (and Socialist) movement.

"Inasmuch as the election and objection committee was unanimously agreed to by all parties to pass upon the qualifications of candidates for office in the coming elections, and to supervise the elections, we believe that the committee representing the American Federation of Labor should take no part in these elections, and we recommend that all parties cooperate with the committee on election and objection in good faith, and as is provided by the agreement referred to."

The "outside" committee proceeded with the examination of candidates and when that had been completed undertook to supervise the elections. Through its secretary, Dr. Hendin, the committee took two important steps in addition to the usual ones to secure an honest election. First, in every polling place—the locals voted separately—a committee of two representing the "outside" committee was placed to help supervise the voting. The two supervisors were members of the Young People's Socialist League. Secondly, every member who came to vote had to sign his name—and his signature was then compared with that on the office cards. With electioneering at the polls reduced to a minimum the voting came off with few hitches. Even so, it was widely believed that the hold of Fried and his friends, who had organized into a club for activity in the election, was so great that they would win. It was the surprise of the fur market the day following the election to discover that the opposition had received a large majority of the votes cast and controlled the Joint Council.

This opposition has a marked Socialist coloring. Interest now centers in the election for manager, which will take place in two weeks. After that it will be up to the new administration to show what it can do constructively.

The new officials with their supposed affiliations follow:

Cutters' Local 101, chairman, Nathan Kraemer, re-elected, endorsed by the opposition; vice-president, Max Cohen; Joint Council delegates, A. Chernofsky, administration; Max Cohen, administration; Sam Glassman, opposition; Harold Goldstein, opposition; and Mr. Kraemer.

Operators' Local 105, chairman, Morris Nurenborg, endorsed by opposition; vice-chairman, Harry Begoon, opposition; delegates, Begoon; Harry Bendit, opposition; Joseph Goldberg, opposition; I. Oposhinsky, opposition; and Nurenborg.

Nailers' Local 110, chairman, Morris Kleiger, re-elected, opposition; vice-chairman, William Young, opposition; delegates, Nathan Freiman, administration; Sam Miretsky, administration; Max Rosenblatt, administration; Victor Siegel, administration; and Young.

Finishers' Local 115, chairman, Jacob Dissan, re-elected, opposition; vice-chairman, Louis Elster, administration; delegates, Elster; I. Hoffinger, opposition; Sam Langner, opposition; S. Rubin, administration; and M. Stein, administration.

**R. E. JOHNSON.**  
Richmond, Va.

**ACTORS' UNION**  
Office 31 Seventh St., N. Y.  
Phone Orchard 1923  
REUBEN GUSKIN  
Manager

**BONNAZ EMBROIDERS UNION**  
Local 66, 1 L. G. W. U., 7 E. 15th St. Algonquin 3637-4. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Fattah, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
LOCAL No. 9. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 649 Wiloughby Ave. Phone Stagg 4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfau, Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Street, Bus. Agent; William Weingart, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Rec. Sec'y.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 44th St., Room 201. Meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 a. m. Employment Bureau open every day at 4 p. m.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. Orchard 7766  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY  
ISIDORE LIPP  
Business Agents

**CAPMAKERS**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 133 Second Ave. Phone Orchard 989-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**HEBREW TRADERS**  
175 East Broadway; Telephone Dryck 8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Sec'y, Chairman: M. Brown. Vice-Chairman: M. Feinstein. Secretary: Treas.

**LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY**  
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Union. Officers: President, High School Bldg., Attorney and Counsel, 235 Broadway, 7th Floor, New York. Secretary, 649 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn. Treasurer, 649 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn. On the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

**THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION**  
3 West 14th Street, New York City. President, Charles 2148, Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

**THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION**  
LOCAL No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone Wis. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Permuter, Manager; Sec'y: Max Stoller, Chairman of Exec. Board; David Fruhling, Asst. Manager.

**AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS**  
OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Office: Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place, Albert E. Carter, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Sec'y; Emil Thenen, Rec. Sec'y; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Headquarters, 640 Broadway, Phone Spring 4548; uptown office, 30 West 37th Street, Wisconsin 1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. Hyman Lederharts, Chairman Ex. Bd.; J. Munkle, Rec. Sec'y; Nathaniel Specter, Manager; Alex Rose, Sec'y-Treas. Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, Max Goodman, A. Mendelowitz.

**MILK DRIVERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 584, I. U. of T.  
Office: 203 W. 14th St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Brooklyn Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on 3rd and 4th Thursdays at Brooklyn Hall, 210 E. Fifth St.  
Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Sec'y: Sec'y-Treasurer.  
SEE THAT YOUR MILK MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA**  
Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 5500-1-2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlesinger, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

**When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps**  
Always Look for This Label

**STRAW, FELT OR WOOL HATS**  
ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL

**LABOR LYCEUM**  
649 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn  
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.  
STAGG 3545

**LABOR TEMPLE**  
243-245 EAST 44TH ST. NEW YORK  
Workmen's Educational Association  
Free library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Hall for meetings, entertainment and balls. Telephone REgent 10038

**CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office, 44 East 12th Street; Styvestant 5568. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Philip Orlosky, Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA**  
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone Watkins 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

**INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 0956. Morris Kaufman, General President; Harry Begoon, General Secretary-Treasurer.

**FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.**  
LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7932. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. Charles Steisky, Manager.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**  
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 549 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 0798. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening,



# NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neal  
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit,  
Abraham Cahan, Al-  
bertson Lee, Harry  
W. Laidler, Norman  
Thomas, Joseph E.  
Cohen, Jesse Wal-  
lace Hurban, Wm.  
M. Feigenbaum, John  
M. Work, McAllister  
Colesan, Joseph T.  
Shipley, Louis Stan-  
ley.



Subscription Rates:  
One Year Postpaid in the United States ..... \$2.00  
Six Months Postpaid in the United States ..... 1.00  
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries 3.00

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1930

## King Capital

THE New York World is right in crediting the defeat of Senator Simmons in the North Carolina Democratic primary to the social and economic changes in the state. It declares that "The political, social, economic and religious fundamentalism of the South is just about done for in North Carolina." The same changes are apparent in other southern states.

The South is being transformed after the model of northern capitalism. This capitalism transformed the Democratic Party in the North and it is doing the same thing for that party in the South. In the North the main function of the Democratic Party is to hold the larger cities as rotten boroughs of capitalism while the rest of the northern field is assigned to the Republicans. With the sons of old slave owners now being enriched by investments in industrial enterprises the old "political, social, economic and religious fundamentalism" that crawled out of the Civil War is out of date. It is being swept aside by a generation of Babbitts, a new ruling class for the South. If in the North political rule is given to the Democrats in the cities and the states are assigned to the Republicans, in the South we may see this situation reversed. The cities are likely to become rotten boroughs of the Republicans and the states remain in the hands of Democrats representing the new capitalism.

The great stabilizer in capitalist politics is the emergence of King Capital. Wherever it appears it wins homage. It becomes sovereign and commands the respect of the two wings of capitalist politics. In the days of the landed and slave aristocracy southern politicians considered it an insult to be charged with having investments in industrial enterprises. The capitalist was a suspect. Today he steps into the boots of his grandfathers and yanks Simmons and his kind out of Congress.

## Tammany Swine

THE Socialist is often charged with the desire to "undermine the government." What the accusers really mean is that Socialists would undermine the servile representatives of the possessing classes, take their power from them and use it for the useful workers of the nation. The retainers and grafters holding public office identify government with themselves and assume that if they are voted out this means "undermining" all governing institutions.

Leading Tammany swine have indulged in this reasoning. Now that this political holding company has a grip on the city more absolute than in the days of the simian illiterate, Tweed, more much has been oozing from the Tammany pen. Scarcely a week passes now that the spotlight does not play upon some Tammany creature dripping with loot and dirt. Do we want to undermine such vermin? We certainly do.

Here is a horse doctor who has accumulated a fortune as a result of his mysterious influence with the Board of Standards and Appeals. He goes to jail for contempt rather than say with whom he split his fees during eight rich years. A Kings County judge is caught with other loot and resigns because of inability to explain how he got it. His biggest single haul was \$250,000 which his attorney admits he obtained because he "could get in to see the right people." Here is a stock swindle involving another judge and a Tammany leader now under investigation.

Tammany is something more than a holding concern representing big capitalist interests. It also provides its cattle drivers with opportunities for rich pickings. We are plundered by both the utility sweaters and the Tammany vipers. And they would have us respect it as a thing and not undermine it! Would you?

The dominating political issues of the future are most likely to arise between wage earners, the users of the wealth of America, and the managers of vast properties. Donald Richberg, in "Tents of the Mighty."

## The New Capitalism

ON THIS page will be found a striking analysis of the heavenly dividends still enjoyed by the big capitalist organizations of the country. The figures show that despite the admitted depression, unemployment and misery of the workers, the plunder extracted from labor power is even greater than last year. The fact that the modern system of exploitation is capable of this reveals a marked difference between the capitalism of today and the capitalism of forty years ago.

In the industrial depression of 1893-94 the prostration affected not only the wage workers and farmers but industry in general. Capitalism was thoroughly sick. There were many failures, dividends were reduced, and despair was evident even among the owners of industry.

Industry itself was then going through the change from independent proprietors to the corporate form of ownership. The anarchy inherent in the old competitive game made stabilization impossible. Capitalists might repeat the old chestnut that "competition is the life of trade" but within a decade they had largely strangled that competition. The process of consolidation has continued till today the powers of production and distribution are largely mastered by corporations and mergers.

The result is a large measure of stabilization and assurance of dividends while millions of workers face want. The fat boys who rule us are happy as they sit in their towers and enjoy juicy melons. Outside the jobless look through the tower windows while they shamble to the bread lines. And the pity is that the millions who suffer have not learned the secret of the ballot box by which they can oust the fat ones from their unearned feast.

## The L. I. D. Conference

THE sixteenth annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy which begins at Camp Tamiment Thursday, June 26, will devote its sessions to the theme, "The Folly of Work." The subject is especially appropriate for the United States.

This nation is the paradise of workless incomes. In addition to the loafer class whose income is derived from mere ownership of great industrial enterprises, a class to be found in every modern nation, a swarm of other parasites feed upon the labor of millions here. The Tammany racket is one of the most lucrative. It takes illiterate vulgarians and in a few years they emerge with well cars and piles of cash. The magic by which this is accomplished takes various forms but it never includes useful service.

Then there are the gangs and gangsters, the advertising ballyhoosers, the gat brigades in politics, the racketeers in alliance with politicians, the patriotic racketeers who are always saving the republic from the bow wows, the racket of the National Civic Federation in a class by itself, the financial spiders who spin their webs around the farmers, and a host of other rackets that bring in substantial wads of cash. As Calvin Coolidge said, "the business of America is business" and business is the process of taking the earnings of others and making the victims believe that it is for their own good.

A merry time is guaranteed to those who attend the discussions of this phase of "American idealism" at Camp Tamiment next week.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Speculation as to who will succeed Davis as Secretary of Labor should avoid a problem that may cause brain fog. If Hoover appoints an official of any trade union how can the appointee accept it from one who favors yellow dog philosophy in industrial relations?

No man of any political intelligence and economic vision has been able to defend the existing economic order since the World War laid bare its utter inadequacy and its insane consequences. Only powerful fools with money and timid fools who serve them with any enthusiasm the old songs in praise of things as they are.—Donald Richberg in "Tents of the Mighty."

It is reported that not one jobless person has been found in two up state townships in New York State. The census agents must have opened a bottle in a nearby cemetery.

The World War burst upon us with its horribly cruel demand that millions and millions of happy, innocent people should either think or else die without thinking.—Donald Richberg in "Tents of the Mighty."

Old age relief is now an important issue throughout the nation but not because of any initiative of capitalist parties. We are also in need of relief from aged parties who in their dotage should be retired and forgotten.

Words should not be accepted because spoken by the great, nor rejected because uttered by the lowly.—Chinese proverb.

The kind of thinking which assumes that the erection of tariff walls around the loot filched from the labor of workers is a "protection" of the workers and not of the filchers recalls the story of the prisoner who wanted food. He was very grateful when of the food delivered by his friends to the prison guards he received the scraps the guards tossed him.

When a gangster in Chicago, or a politician in Washington, or a corporation president in New York, wants to know the "law," he is only mildly interested in what may be written in the statutes. His vivid interest is in knowing what some judge will do.—Donald Richberg in "Tents of the Mighty."

If the capitalist owners of industry are so essential to the scheme of capitalism we are puzzled why industries run just the same when they take long summer vacations abroad.

Congress is a conference of banks and big corporations to do their will.

## Fourteen Years In Jail

By Sol Perrin

TOM MOONEY and Warren K. Billings, labor leaders, have been imprisoned for fourteen years in the State of California. Fourteen years of deadly, soul destroying captivity has been their lot and yet they have committed no crime; they have broken no law. Prisons are built for criminals, prison terms are given to those who have been adjudged guilty by their fellow-men of transgressing the law, of having endangered the well-being of peaceful people. If that is true, as it is true if our constitution and laws have any meaning, then why has such dreadful punishment been meted out to these guiltless men? Why are they not out among us, free men among free men?

The National Office of the Socialist Party has called for a series of mass demonstrations to urge the release of Mooney and Billings to be held by party locals throughout the country from July 15 to July 22. In view of this, it is timely to retell briefly the main facts of the case.

On July 22, 1916, in San Francisco, a preparedness parade was in progress. During the course of the parade a bomb exploded killing ten people. Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were active in labor circles on the Pacific Coast. They had led labor in many bitter struggles. The public utility interests and other large corporations of California hated and feared Mooney and Billings. They were trouble makers, agitators, they stirred the workers to discontent, they challenged the power of wealth. The corporations wanted them out of the way. The preparedness parade crime furnished the medium. Mooney and Billings were accused, arrested, framed and convicted. Mooney was sentenced to death. Billings received a life term. Labor and progressive forces rushed to their defense. President Wilson intervened. Mooney's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Fourteen years of their lives have now been taken.

Knowing them to be innocent, Labor and others worked incessantly to prove their innocence. Slowly the veil was lifted. Witness after witness was shown to have perjured himself, confessions were obtained, the whole infamous frameup was exposed. The judge and jury who tried Mooney have joined in asking for a new trial, have stated that if the discovered facts had been known at the trial they would have acquitted Mooney. And if the case against him failed, Billings also would have been freed. To date every effort to obtain a pardon for the condemned man has been in vain. Governor after Governor, the California has refused to grant the pardons and Mooney and Billings have continued serving their sentences. What if they were innocent, they were dangerous men and anathema to the privileged interests. They were safer in jail than out and they have stayed in. California murdered justice to its lasting dishonor.

Governor Young, the present chief executive of California, has had the case under advisement for many months. He had agreed to study the case and consider a pardon, but he has as yet made no move. Labor hopes he will yet do something. It hopes and waits. It has waited a long time and it is hard to wait longer. But justice must be done, will be done, and labor will work and wait until it is done.

And what of Mooney and Billings? What has the fourteen years wait been to them? Fourteen years are 168 months, 672 weeks, 4,704 days, 112,896 hours. Years, months, weeks, days, hours, they become interminable, they lose their difference, they blend into a terrible oneness, with no beginning and no end, an eternity. The soul wandering in that vast loneliness shrivels and dies; the mind railing helplessly against man's injustice and inhumanity, weakens,—and dulls the senses; the heart beating against unbending stone walls and iron bars sickens and breaks. A life is tortured and destroyed. Consider, California, what you have done.

Fourteen years Mooney and Billings have protested their innocence. "We committed no crime, why do you keep us here? In the name of humanity and justice, let us out." How often can one repeat that, how can one make the plea stronger? Heard again and again, it loses its pungency, it becomes monotonous. The ear of the listener is dulled, the heart is hardened. After fourteen years it is easier to ignore the plea, it is even possible to forget. It may even be easier for Mooney and Billings to serve the fifteenth year than it was to serve the fifth. How the Governors and the capitalists of California would have liked others to forget just as they have. How simple a solution if everyone would only forget. Time would heal everything.

But labor and those who value liberty and justice, those to whom right is great, have never forgotten. They demand that California do justice. The wrong that has been done can never be undone, but justice may be rectified. It is never too late for that but it should be done at once. To delay further would only aggravate the wrong. Open your prison gates, California, and let Mooney and Billings walk out into the sun, free men.

## No Slump For Owners

### Dividends Now Larger Than Year Ago

IN one important respect, the existing depression is running true to the form of previous ones. Those dependent for their incomes on dividends and interest payments are not, on the average, suffering from it at all. Corporations lay off workers, go on part time, reduce their purchases of materials, and even cut wages, but they continue to pay the same or even larger amounts than before to the owners of their stock or the holders of their bonds.

The June issue of The Labor Bureau's "Facts for Workers" tells the story.

Total recorded dividend and interest payments in May will be \$570,300,000, as compared with \$490,400,000 in May, 1929, according to figures compiled by the New York Journal of Commerce. Dividend payments alone will be 24 per cent larger this May than a year ago.

How does this come about? Not, of course, because profits are larger this year than before, for they are not. Indeed, profits for the first quarter of this year are considerably smaller, on the whole, than they were for the same period of last year. But it has become recognized as a sound financial policy for corporations to lay aside a large part of their surplus profits, in good years, in the form of cash or easily liquidated securities, so that they will be able to pay the owners of industry as usual when profits fall off. Bond interest is, of course, legally a first charge on industrial earnings. But in recent years the controlling interests in well-managed corporations have made it a point to keep up dividends on stock as well, if they can possibly do so. Payments to labor come last; no funds are accumulated in good periods where to remunerate the workers when depression arrives.

This is one of the most telling arguments for unemployment in-

## Profits of a Slump Period

Dividends Paid In May	1930		*1929	
	(000 omitted)			
Industrial and Misc. Cos.	\$219,500	\$173,900		
Steam Railways	35,800	30,400		
Street Railways	8,000	7,600		
Bank and Trust Cos. (Est.)	45,000	41,500		
Total	\$308,300	\$253,400		

The monthly record of dividend payments made by industrial corporations since 1928 is as follows:

Industrial Dividends	1930		*1929		1928	
January	\$419,000,000	\$289,800,000	\$182,900,000			
February	220,100,000	179,500,000	125,900,000			
March	255,000,000	204,500,000	132,500,000			
April	243,000,000	208,000,000	150,000,000			
May	219,500,000	173,900,000	105,900,000			
Total	\$1,356,600,000	\$1,055,700,000	\$697,100,000			
June	185,800,000	118,050,000				
July	284,500,000	200,500,000				
August	165,000,000	112,100,000				
September	191,000,000	121,100,000				
October	269,000,000	175,900,000				
November	230,100,000	141,200,000				
December	230,100,000	141,200,000				
Total	\$2,601,800,000	\$1,692,900,000				

The following are the combined steam railroads and street railway dividend payments by months:

Railroad and Traction Dividends	1930		*1929		1928	
January	\$72,000,000	\$59,000,000	\$54,800,000			
February	49,900,000	34,900,000	42,700,000			
March	53,400,000	46,300,000	40,500,000			
April	50,700,000	44,700,000	39,800,000			
May	43,800,000	38,000,000	34,600,000			
Total	\$274,800,000	\$242,900,000	\$212,400,000			
June	40,100,000	33,700,000				
July	63,100,000	56,500,000				
August	44,500,000	41,700,000				
September	38,200,000	30,150,000				
October	56,500,000	47,900,000				
November	52,500,000	47,500,000				
December	53,100,000	43,200,000				
Total	\$590,900,000	\$513,430,000				

\*Figures revised.

With proper foresight, funds might be built up from contributions by employers and employees in order to furnish at least some compensation to those who furnish the labor in produc-

tion, which is certainly not less important than the capital.

A summary of May dividends, compared with the same period a year ago, is given in the accompanying tables.

## "Enlightened Selfishness"

By Celia Baldwin

GLENN FRANK has written under the heading, "Enlightened Selfishness."

"I think the much abused principle of enlightened self-interest will lead the captains of machine industry to do the things that will make our machine civilization a livable civilization equal in human benefits and benefits to any that has preceded it."

Is that the most we can hope for? Then let us take the advice Job's wife offered him, "Curse God and die." Where in the past is any "civilization" in which the beauties and benefits have not been for the few and the ugliness and badness for the many? Where has there not been master and slave?—a small class who claimed the earth as their own and dictated the terms on which the others might get a living.

But Mr. Frank tells us "It is becoming profitable to raise wages, shorten hours, and reduce prices;" and so the "workmen will have a chance to be men as well as machines."

So long as the "captains of industry"—to use Roosevelt's obnoxious military phrase—have the power to "raise wages, shorten hours, and reduce prices;" and "enlightened self-interest" is no guarantee that they may not find it profitable to do so. Don Platt, nearly fifty years ago, said of the railroads: "It is not simply abuse of power of which we complain; it is their power to abuse." Mr. Frank seems perfectly willing to leave the captains of industry their power to abuse and trust to their not finding it "profitable" to use it.

Glenn Frank is too young to remember, I am not, that exactly the same defense of chattel slavery was used that he is now using for wage slavery. The wording was different but the meaning was the same. "A man will not abuse his own property" was the way they put it then; now "it's becoming profitable to raise wages" etc. "Enlightened self-interest" in both cases. That argument was so convincing to those who believe that master-and-slave is the proper and inevitable state of society, that it greatly delayed the spread of abolition sentiment; so much so that one abolitionist exclaimed, "Good masters are a curse."

Notwithstanding the "good masters" chattel slavery was abolished. It could have been done without bloodshed and all the horrors of civil war had not the slave holders been so blinded by self-interest that they could not "discern the signs of the times."

"Now, every man owns himself," was the proud boast of the after-war abolitionists. But there were some among them, notably Wendell Phillips, who saw that to own one's self while other men owned the things whereby you must live and to which you could have access only on their terms, in such manner as seemed to them "profitable," was a mere mockery

## A Great Awakening

### Religion And Economics At Work

By James O'Neal

THOSE who are skeptical of the material environment on religious organizations will find it difficult to reconcile their doubts with the evidence to be found in a notable study by Wesley M. Guehr. The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. \$4.

Here climate, geography, soil and changing economic conditions are shown to register their influences on the various sects and churches during a period that includes the revolution and the overthrow of the established Anglican Church. That church had become an institution of the aristocratic planters and was served by an indolent, corrupt and licentious clergy. Kept by taxation and serving the old aristocratic order, it was inevitable that it should go down with the old order. The rise of the dissenting sects, Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, and their doctrinal differences are traced with skill, but the author is too good a historian to ignore the material backgrounds that account for much of the changing religious scene.

Here we again come across the familiar frontier primitive sects, generally illiterate, representing a crude democracy, and indulging in the mass hysteria of revivals. Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist sects contributed to this illiterate phase of church history. One may follow the frontier line across the continent and find this primitive phase appearing over and over again.

The rich lowlands of Virginia with large plantations and slaves and the region of the Virginia aristocracy were naturally the stronghold of the Established Church. The uphill region of poor farmers extending to the Indian frontier was the main stronghold of the dissenting sects. As the revolution undermined the state-kept clergy who fought for God and King, the unprivileged sects made inroads upon the private preserves of the kept clerics. The process of undermining was not complete till after the revolution when Jefferson and Madison led in the complete separation of Church and State.

Meantime it is curious and amusing to observe how a sect that had its origin in poor illiterates gradually prospered, made converts among the well-to-do, toned down its democratic attitudes, and as it settled in the Old Dominion became respectable. This happened

and perpetuated slavery under another name.

Today, instead of "Slave holders" are "captains of industry" who, notwithstanding their "enlightened selfishness" are just as blind to the "signs of the times" as were their prototypes seventy years ago, in 1857.

to the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, the latter being the last to succumb. As the first two sects moved into the ancient seats of power conservatism became apparent and as the slave system expanded into the interior it also carried with it a respectability that made its impress on the religious groups. We may add that this evolution has been repeated across the continent. If one today seeks modern contemporaries of these primitive religious groups he will find them in the rural sections of the South and West but even there the radio, railroads, automobile and expanding industry are slowly modernizing them.

In Virginia the unprivileged sects were naturally radical in politics and generally supported programs for more liberal suffrage and representation. Of course, they also provided the shock troops that leveled to the earth the last remnants of the stately Anglican Church that made the mistake of lining up on the wrong side in the revolution. In presenting the complex economic, political, and religious forces that changed the old Virginia the author has accomplished a difficult task and his interpretation is that of a scholar thoroughly familiar with his material.

Wesley, Whitefield, Davies, Pilmoor and other notable figures in the Great Awakening appear in the narrative and their personal contributions to this phase of American religious history find a proper place in the study. Incidentally, we may remark that the rise of the illiterate sects and the role they played in this period of Virginia history in the extension of democracy, repeats the history of Connecticut which M. Louise Green unfolded in her study of the development of religious liberty in that colony and state. Those who are interested in the social and economic history of this country will be the richer by possessing this valuable study by Mr. Guehr.

## Union Health Center To Dine Joseph Breslau

The Union Health Center will tender a farewell luncheon to Mr. Joseph Breslau, Manager of Local 35, I. L. G. W. U., on Friday, June 13th, who is leaving for the Pacific Coast for an indefinite period. Mr. Breslau has been Chairman of the Board of directors of the Union Health Center for many years. His devotion to and interest in its work has earned him the respect of the entire board. His interest in the institution will be missed more than he will know. Among those who were invited to attend the luncheon were the members of the entire Board of Directors, representatives of the Central Trade and Labor Council, Benjamin Schlesinger, President I. L. G. W. U.; David Dubinsky, Secretary I. L. G. W. U.; Dr. Max Price, chief of the Dental Department, and others.

## The Exploiters' Paradise

"NO unions allowed" is the sign that southern chambers of commerce still hang out to warn the organizer. Recent literature received from chambers throughout the south reflect the determination of the employing class to keep out agitators and to cultivate only "cheap and contented labor" for its mines, mills and factories.

The employers have not yet chosen to advertise any labor except the kind that will "stay hatched." They will boast that their workers are "free, unchangeable and contented" as in Spartanburg, S. C. The Chamber there says its labor is "cheap, faithful and efficient." In Atlanta it is described as "adaptable, Anglo-Saxon labor, free from the unreasonable attitude which elsewhere has so seriously hampered production and raised costs." Furthermore "these white Anglo-Saxon people have a high respect for property rights."

The labor the southern chambers provide is labeled 100% patriotic, ready to fight in the next imperialist war against Britain or in a capitalist crusade against the Soviet Union. The Duke Power Co., dominant utility corporation of the Carolina Piedmont region, says that "naturally, there are no un-American ideals" among the workers. Columbia, S. C., has labor which it guarantees "100% American and free from radicalism." Tulsa, Okla., labor is "loyal to American ideals."

Of course, it must be non-union labor. As at Tulsa, "it is on an open shop basis." In New Orleans "open shop conditions prevail." Baltimore has "always maintained its position as an open shop city." In Dallas, Tex., the militant "Open Shop Assn." is supported by the leading people in the city in its efforts to "maintain the present open shop situation." This association recently announced that it would fight all labor drives to the last ditch.

It goes without saying that this sort of labor is not supposed to strike, protest, agitate, demonstrate, call mass meetings, in fact, do anything but sweat on the job and go to Sunday School. The Southern chambers make all sorts of claims as to the strike-proof character of their labor supply. Nashville boasts that it is "freer from labor disturbances than any other city in the south," and Columbia, S. C. reports that "labor disputes are practically unknown." Augusta, Ga., says its workers are "contented" and "there have been no strikes within the last 15 years."

At the same time the Birmingham Babbitts hold up theirs as "one of the few cities of the country which has not been disturbed by periodic labor disturbances, strikes and labor agitation." (Negroes, however, who resent the insults of the white bosses at the Steel Trust in Birmingham are taken out and quietly murdered.) New Orleans, in spite of the long street railway strike of last year, says it "has an enviable record with very few labor disputes." Charlotte, N. C. blandly reports that it is "not disturbed by continued labor difficulties, strikes and agitation." And finally Baltimore claims it "enjoys greater freedom from labor unrest than any other large manufacturing city in the United States."

The long hours of work are held out as a blessing to the prospective manufacturer. The Augusta, Ga. chamber, for example declares that the state labor laws are "extremely liberal—permitting a 60-hour week with no restriction as to number of hours per day."

This is the exploiters' Paradise offered by the southern booters. The working class of the U. S. has as