

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Morrow Is Wet—And What Else?—Four Outstanding Evils in the Tariff Bill—The War Business Is Good, Thank You—World Unemployment—Germany's Position—The Fight on Injunctions

### DWIGHT MORROW'S BLANK CHECK

AMBASSADOR MORROW's success in the Jersey Senatorial primary proves what most people already knew; namely, that New Jersey is strongly opposed to the 18th Amendment. It also proves that the Republican voters who took the trouble to vote preferred Mr. Morrow to the rival wet candidate whose chief title to fame was that as United States Senator he was a close friend of Warren Gamaliel Harding's. Mr. Morrow took advantage of the popular interest in prohibition to run on his own wet plank plus his personal reputation. He did not condescend to discuss issues. "Neither did his principal rival, the home brew dry, Mr. Fort. He is nominated on a blank check on every question except prohibition. This is to make our political democracy ridiculous and impotent. It is one of the worst evils of the prohibition situation that it permits political wets and dries alike to dodge every other issue including such immensely vital issues as unemployment, the effect of the tariff, foreign policy, etc.

THE TARIFF HOLDUP CONSUMED

WITH elaborate explanations and apologies President Hoover signed the Tariff Bill which cost Congress more than a year of agony to produce. Mr. Hoover's principal excuse was that he and the Tariff Commission can promptly begin to improve the bill. If he does much along this line he will have to have more courage as well as more economic sense than he has so far shown. Of course the Republican Party is to blame for this absurd and untimely tariff. But the Republicans could never have passed the bill without the aid of some of the Democrats who now piously denounce "Grundism." It is a matter of historical record that at a critical period in the life of the tariff Grundy pulled it through by bargaining with five Democratic Senators who lost thereby any right to denounce the bill. It was Senator Copeland, Democrat from New York, who got more particular raises in rates than any other Senator. This is supposed to get him the gratitude of the benefited parties. Then he voted against the bill which he knew would pass anyhow to prove that he was a good Democrat and to get the gratitude of the consumer. That is how politicians play both ends against the middle.

The new tariff has these definite evils:

1. It can only help the favored farmers and other producers if it raises the price of living in the midst of an industrial depression. This will cost most farmers and all city workers far more than it will help a few farmers.

2. Even those farmers who are benefited, for a short time, may discover that the new rates will so discourage purchases by consumers or will so artificially encourage overproduction that their last state will be worse than their first.

3. Supposing that this new tariff were really for the benefit of the farmers it was absurd to put in increases on things like cement, agricultural machinery and furniture, which will probably wipe out any benefit some of them may get otherwise. In other words, this tariff is another chapter in the old standard work: "Fooling the Farmer."

4. Worst of all at a time when our prosperity depended on a foreign healthy trade we have passed a tariff which will cripple some of our principal customers and which angers all of them and which is disastrous to our own trade.

For such a tariff there is no logic at all. It was made by log rollers. Beet sugar growers, watch makers, textile manufacturers and the rest made deals to get what they wanted badly for themselves at the public's expense. Herbert Hoover, engineer extraordinary and marvelous master of world economics, according to his friends, cuts a sorry figure as apologist for this sort of log rollers' tariff.

### NO MUNITIONS TRADE SLUMP

ACCORDING to recently published figures all makers of arms and ammunition did exceedingly good business in the first year of the Kellogg Pact outlawing war. American exports to countries not under the American flag were the highest of all nations. Plenty of folks in all industrial countries profit out of preparing for the next war. If any business at all ought to be taken out of the dominion of private profit it ought to be armament making.

### THE WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

UNEMPLOYMENT is a world-wide tragedy. It is greatest in Germany where the International Labor office puts it at about 20 per cent. Unemployment in the United States is estimated by the same authority at 16 per cent, 5 per cent higher than in Great Britain where it is a major issue. Conditions are very bad in Italy, Poland, Australia and Japan. France has a record of practically no unemployment at all. This is probably due to several causes some of which are not likely to last. They include the rehabilitation of the devastated regions, a job which is now pretty well done; and the nature of French industries which still operates in rather small units which can adjust themselves to changed conditions somewhat faster than big industries employing mass production. French unemployment has also been secured by a process which means very low real wages for the workers. Russia reports less than one per cent unemployed. But this applies only to registered workers and takes no account at all of the plight of millions of the old bourgeoisie who have no regular jobs at all. It must not be forgotten that of all these nations the United States does the least to relieve the plight of the unemployed. Hence the importance of pushing our Socialist program of unemployment in the next campaign.

### UNEMPLOYMENT AND GERMAN REPARATIONS

THE TERRIFIC unemployment in Germany is of itself a reason for a little doubt as to whether the Germans can or will pay reparations indefinitely under the Young plan or any other plan. The first three hundred million dollars of bonds have been successfully sold to private owners in five countries. They are well guaranteed so long as Germany keeps going. The extreme criticisms of Mr. Mac Fadden, chairman of the House Committee on Banking, have been met and some of his statements have been shown up as inaccurate. Nevertheless S. Hiles Bouton, correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, in a gloomy despatch about German conditions, writes "I know no German who honestly believes that reparations can be made for any considerable number of years." It is neither just nor reasonable to think that any ingenious device will enable any nation to pay great sums to the government and citizens of other nations if from a fifth to a quarter of her workers are to be unemployed without any immediate sign of better conditions on the horizon. Payments by such a nation are bound to be at the cost of cheap labor which will depress standards everywhere and sooner or later something is likely to blow up even in patient Germany.

### CONGRATULATIONS AND A WARNING

THIS is a doubly wonderful day for the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks for their victory by unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in support of their injunction against the Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company. This railroad tried to substitute by influence and coercion a company union for the genuine union in their dealings with railway clerks. This was clearly contrary to the intention of Congress in the Transportation Act. It was contrary to the wishes of the clerks themselves. The Supreme Court upheld an injunction of the lower court against the railroad. We are just cynical enough to think that maybe the good fight of organized labor against Judge Parker may have had a little to do in helping some members of the Supreme Court to see on which side law, reason and justice lay.

But—and this is the second part of our double header—we shall be awful fools if we let a few occasional victories like this blind us to the necessity of getting rid of the injunction as a weapon in labor disputes. In most such disputes there is no law in Congress to be interpreted and upheld. The employers get all the best of it at least 99 times out of 100. The injunction ought to be outlawed in labor disputes. It is not or should not be needed to prevent illegal acts and judges ought not to be allowed by injunction to make legal acts illegal in labor disputes. The Constitution, as is often the case, seems to stand in the way of straight forward action like outlawing the injunction. The much revised Shipstead bill, which was generally approved by labor, went a good way in the right direction, but the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee has voted to report adversely on it. Nothing can be done in this session of Congress. It's up to labor to show Congress that the fight has just begun.

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## India Cold to Round Table Overtures

Nationalists and Liberals  
Want Guarantees First  
—Benn Says Force  
Not Labor Policy

By George Slocombe  
(Mr. Slocombe is the London Her-  
ald correspondent in India. In print-  
ing Mr. Slocombe's despatches, the  
Herald indicates that they have been  
subjected to censorship.)

BOMBAY, June 4.—The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, has communicated during the past few days with one or two leading moderate politicians with a view to preparing the ground for the round table conference (to be held in London about October 20).

One of the men consulted—a man with an Indian and European reputation for caution and honesty—has informed Lord Irwin frankly that it is useless to discuss the conference in the present grave situation.

He added that not only the All-India Congress, but the Liberals also, would not be represented at the conference unless the government was prepared to give the pledge demanded—that the conference would frame (and not merely discuss) a scheme for full self-government, with safeguards for the transition period.

It is now possible to assess the various parties' attitudes towards the conference.

That of the Congress is that co-operation is impossible unless a settlement is reached by Gandhi on the basis of the terms given me in the much-discussed prison interview.

### Gandhi's Offer

These terms are obviously not final, and Indian moderates are astonished that the government has not perceived certain opportunities of a compromise guardedly offered by the Mahatma.

It is also believed that an offer of full dominion status, with safeguards to be jointly agreed upon at the round table conference, and an invitation to the conference if the civil disobedience movement is called off and an amnesty is granted to prisoners sentenced for non-violent offenses, would be accepted by Gandhi and most of his Congress colleagues, save, perhaps, the extreme partisans of independence.

The attitude of the Liberals and Moderates is now rapidly approaching that of the Congress party as public opinion steadily rejects leadership by all except those already jailed or daily inviting imprisonment in the national cause.

But, in conversations during the past few days with those Liberal leaders on whom the Viceroy relies for help in effecting any eventual settlement, I am assured that their participation in the round table conference depends on the measure of self-government offered by Britain.

"If we are merely offered provincial autonomy, with questions of law and order reserved for provincial governors, and the central government to remain as it is, I, for one, won't go to London."

These are the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whose long and cordial relations with the present and preceding Viceroy, and firm attachment to the British connection with India have aroused many speculations as to his power of mediating between Congress and the government.

### Minorities Problems

The attitude of the Moslem leaders is somewhat equivocal, ranging from an extreme pro-government attitude among Moslems enjoying official positions or official protection to an extreme anti-government attitude on the part of Mahomed Ali and his brother, Shaukat Ali.

For various reasons—jealousy of Gandhi, as well as suspicion of Hindu motives—the Ali brothers denounce civil disobedience, but clamour for full self-government.

Between these two extremes the vast majority of Moslems watch the situation anxiously, and await a lead.

A number of them are already exasperated with the government through the incidents at Peshawar and Bombay.

Others, under the influence of the Congress Moslem party, already own to allegiance to Congress.

Gandhi, as he told me in prison, is willing to satisfy the claims of the Moslems and other minorities by granting them entirely.

This problem of the protection of minorities, on which both home and Indian governments appear to lay considerable emphasis, would, I am convinced, be settled in a week, either in India or in London, providing that all parties were satisfied as to the form of self-government.

Dominant Question  
It is this question, and this alone,  
(Continued on Page Two)

## Senate Repeals War Espionage Law; Action Now Up to Congress

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—A despatch to the Milwaukee Leader, from Washington, states that the Senate has passed a bill to repeal the drastic World War espionage act. This action, accomplished quietly and without debate some time ago, apparently attracted no attention.

The war-time bill provided prison sentence of 20 years for subversive activities and empowered any postmaster to bar from the mails newspapers which he regarded as seditious.

The repealer was introduced by Senator Walsh, Democrat, Montana. Having been passed by the Senate, it awaits House action.

### Thomas and Hillquit

Speak in Bronx Tonight  
At Socialist Dinner  
The Bronx Socialist campaign will open at the revival banquet which will be held this Saturday evening, at 6:30 in the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Avenue, corner Westchester avenue. The principal speakers will be Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman and B. Charney Vlaček.

As an indication of the enthusiasm in the Bronx for a vigorous campaign, the general party meeting was an encouraging sign. The hall was packed. Nominations were made for the various offices.

Many reservations were made for the banquet. In the program will be a series of well-known in the musical world. It is still possible to get reservations by telephoning Dr. Louis Hendin, Kilpatrick 7457 or Algonquin 4620 or coming personally to 1167 Boston road or Room 601, 7 East 15th street.

### Thomas Attacks Wage Grab of Tammanyites

Declaring that proposed salary increase for high New York City officials are not intended to attract able men but to reward faithful politicians now in office, and that the methods employed for adopting these increases make budget hearings a solemn farce, Norman Thomas, co-chairman of the Socialist Party's Committee on Public Affairs, in a letter addressed to the Board of Aldermen, requested the board not to concur in the salary increases, amounting to \$519,000. "The Board of Estimate has presented you with an amazing opportunity to justify your worth to the city by refusing to concur in salary increases aggregating \$519,000," Thomas wrote.

### Mass. Socialists Hold Convention June 29th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BOSTON.—The state nominating convention will be held Sunday, June 29, at the American House, 56 Hanover street, Boston, beginning at 11:30 A.M. All party members in good standing are entitled to attend with a voice and vote.

"The convention will be addressed by Jacob Panken of New York; in the evening there will be a banquet in honor of Comrade Panken, also at the American House. Reservations are \$1.50 a plate, and must be made before June 29 by writing to the State Office, 21 Essex street, Boston.

### 75,000 Workers Represented At B'klyn Mooney Parley

Plans Made for Great Academy of Music Rally—Union Square Rally Called  
Lyn. agreed to sponsor a mass meeting in the Academy of Music on July 15, when the city drive will open.

The conference called by the Socialists, prominent liberals and labor leaders of Kings County, found seventy-two organizations represented when it was called to order by B. C. Vlaček, chairman of the Tom Mooney Release Committee. Among the organizations represented were the Iron Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the Longshoremen's Union, Barbers Union, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Union, the Moulders Union, and other labor bodies. The Workmen's Circle branches and many branches of the Socialist Party were represented.

Faced with the prospects of incurring expenditures of about \$1,200 to finance the meeting in the Academy of Music, an appeal from Chairman Vlaček brought immediate pledges and contributions of over \$250.

Assured of the whole-hearted support of organizations whose delegations cannot only fill the Academy but result in an overflow meeting, Marjorie Dorman, Harry

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## Va. Socialists Open Fight to Build Party

State Convention Names Candidates—State May Be Socialist Vanguard in South

By Louis Stanley  
(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
RICHMOND, Va.—The splendid group of comrades who make up the Socialist Party of Virginia held their annual convention here on June 15, the third such gathering since the revival of the Party in the Old Dominion during the Presidential campaign of 1928.

The enthusiasm of the convention and the high calibre of the delegates promise the growth of a fighting Socialist movement, first in Virginia and then throughout the South.

The convention nominated candidates for United States Senator and Congressman in the Third Congressional District in which Richmond is situated. For the first office the nominee was Joe C. Morgan. He is a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen hailing from the vicinity of Alexandria. No one hundred per cent center can tell him to go back from where he comes. His mother's ancestors arrived in Massachusetts in 1630 and his father's in Virginia the same year. He is a Southerner of Southerners. Morgan accepted the nomination with particular pleasure in order to contest the seat of the incumbent, Carter C. Glass, open shopper, who is seeking reelection.

For Congressman John J. Kafka of Chesterfield County was nominated. His is one of those rare spirits which have made it possible for the Socialist movement to survive through all adversities. He received the nomination as a sort of birthday present for the day following he was to be only seventy-one years old. He came to this country from what is now Czechoslovakia, shortly after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

In New York City he worked next to Samuel Gompers in a cigar making establishment. Later he moved to Oneida County, N. Y., where he ran for Sheriff. Beginning as a Populist, he joined first the Socialist Labor Party and then the Socialist Party, when it was formed. Thirty years ago he came to Virginia and became a dirt farmer, eking out a bare existence from the soil. Withal he remained active in the Socialist movement of Virginia. Last year when he ran for Governor, the first race he made since he had tried to become Sheriff of Oneida County in the nineties, he would rise early each day to do his work on the farm, in the afternoon he carried away in the "flivver" of David George, his energetic young campaign manager, to keep speaking dates until late at night, he brought back in the wee hours of the morning and then repeat the process. Mrs. Kafka undertook to do the extra work for the sake of the cause. If there was time to spare Mrs. Kafka would run down to Petersburg or other nearby places and distribute literature from house to house. Now despite his advanced years, he is to run for Congress, supposedly an easier assignment than the gubernatorial campaign of last year. What is (Continued on Page Two)

## Hoover Signs Tariff Bill With False Explanation; His Prestige Drops Again

President's Apology Misrepresents Flexible Rates Provisions to the Nation

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—If Herbert Hoover is to be a one-term President—as the politicians more and more are telling each other will be the case, his downfall will be due quite as much to his utter weakness as to the fact that his promises of "stabilizing prosperity" proved a grim jest.

For months past, comment among men who know him from daily contact with the White House was to the effect that he would sign the Grundy tariff bill through fear. Newspaper men found him afraid of the big manufacturers, afraid of Wall Street, afraid of the party machines in the regular Republican stronghold. And so, as they interpreted him, he quavered from his pledge to make a careful study of the numerous rates in the bill, to a declaration that he would sign it—as soon as it had passed the House. So headlong was his flight into the fancied shelter of the high-tariff camp that he issued a statement which misrepresented the flexible rates clause to his fellow countrymen. This part of the bill in fact leaves virtually unchanged—except for a minor reduction of the President's authority—the flexible rate clause in the Fordney-McCumber Act. For Hoover to assure the country that he signs the bill partly because it contains a part of existing law is to mislead the public. Some critics have been tolerant enough to say that Hoover did this in sheer ignorance. But the fact remains.

### Sowing Seeds of Hate

Because world conditions of business depression and dislocation of markets do effect the prices of goods in America, this tariff monstrosity will not be the sole

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## Socialists of Conn. To Meet On June 22nd

Convention Will Follow Sessions of National Executive Committee

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
NEW HAVEN, Conn.—The state convention of Connecticut Socialists on Sunday, June 22, will bring Socialists from all parts of the state to Maennerchor Park, Allington Hill, West Haven, where the convention will be held. It is expected that every local will be represented, including fraternal delegates from the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Workmen's Circle.

The convention will nominate candidates for the fall election and with the Socialist Party in the forefront in the popular agitation for old age pensions much support can be brought to the Socialist campaign.

A campaign committee will also be selected. The annual report of state officers will be heard while the progress of the Commonwealth and its future activities will also be discussed.

As indications point to the apparent readiness for an extension of Socialist locals in many cities and towns now without a representative Socialist organization it is expected that this important matter will receive much consideration. The prospects of increasing the number of branches of the Young Peoples Socialist League is another matter to come before the gathering. Several important resolutions are now being prepared for the consideration of the delegates which will further add to the importance of the convention.

Maennerchor Park is considered one of the finest groves in lower Connecticut. Ample facilities are on hand for the convenience and comfort of not only those who will be delegates at the convention, but the shady woodland and spacious surroundings make it an ideal place for the families of the delegates to spend a pleasant time.

The convention being held about the same time that the National Executive Committee meets in New Haven mass meetings have been arranged in Bridgeport, New Haven, Hartford, Wallingford and New London at which members of the committee spoke on Thursday and Friday. A committee of the party also arranged for the entertainment of the committee members.

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cause for worse times and sharper misery from unemployment next fall and winter. But the Grundy Act will add definitely to the cost of sugar, clothing, and scores of other items in the household budget of every family, regardless of the wages the breadwinner brings home. It adds a threatening handicap to the struggle to meet the demand of a machine civilization. And while it will in a few instances enrich the owners of factories, it will presently create the ill-will abroad which will bear fruit in the shutting of American products from foreign markets as a measure of reprisal. One of the first consequences of these trade wars is to set back the rate of social progress, to harden the terms which employers will concede to workers, and to hasten the process of replacing men by machinery. The Grundy-Hoover Act may throw half a million wage workers on the scrap heap before the voters develop sufficient—and concerted—intelligence to repeal it.

There is a political myth to the effect that no President can be defeated for renomination after his first term. Taft was renominated only after the boldest of strong-arm work by leaders of the party machine on the floor of 1912 convention at Chicago. When election day came around the great mass of voters chose between Woodrow Wilson, who had been nominated by the Bryan element in the Democratic party, and Roosevelt, who had stolen the progressive Republican leadership from LaFollette at the last moment. Sen. Jim Watson, apologizing for the Grundy-Hoover bill just before it finally passed the Senate, denied the Democratic claim that the Payne-Aldrich tariff act was the thing that destroyed Taft. But the rest of the G. O. P. statement sat silent. They knew.

### Morrow to the Fore

Now, there's a difference between the party standing of Taft in 1910 and of Hoover in 1930. Taft had the support of the party

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## Ford Lays Off 7,000 Workers; New Drop Due

Auto Output in Entire Industry 31 Per Cent. Below Last Year

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
DETROIT.—(FP)—Hard on the heels of published reports showing decreased employment at the Ford Rouge plant with increased output came reports from Ford workers that 7,000 men have already been laid off, preliminary to the big layoff on July 4. Federated Press was informed by workers that the glass factory has been shut down for several weeks. They have produced enough glass to last for months, it was reported.

The published reports came through the Dow-Jones Co. Their figures for April, 1930, show that average daily production was 9,565—a record figure. At the same time in 1929 production was only 7,600. Employment at this time last year reached 120,000. This year it is only 108,890. Even this latter figure indicates a decrease for this year. At the beginning of the spring 110,000 workers were employed at Ford Rouge.

The severe unemployment prevailing in auto centers is implied in a report issued by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, which says that auto production in the first five months of this year was 31 per cent less than last year. Nor is there much hope for an immediate pickup, for dealers have on hand 465,000 cars, as compared with 420,000 at this time last year.

Grim forebodings of a bad summer here are contained in the Iron Trade Review, "Automotive requirements are slackening perceptibly. The Ford Motor Co., which has scheduled 150,000 units for June, or 10,000 fewer than May, is reducing inventory and may be closed for two weeks in July. Chevrolet is scaling down 110,000 units in May to 100,000 in June. Save for Buick and Chrysler, starting on new models, automotive manufacturers are also curtailing."

LOUIS DE BROUCKERE SIXTY  
(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BRUSSELS.—The Belgian Labor Party celebrated the 60th birthday of their leader, Louis de Brouckere, on May 31st. A large number of comrades from all over Belgium gathered in the gaily decorated hall of the Maison du Peuple in Brussels and gave de Brouckere a wonderful reception. Vander-velde made a great speech.

## 3½ Millions Now Jobless, Green Says

Demands Passage of Wagner Bills—Thomson Tells House Measures Are "Irreducible Minimum"

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Appearing before the House Judiciary committee June 10 to urge immediate passage of the three Wagner bills that seek to reduce the present suffering from unemployment, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor declared that he estimated the jobless army during May to have numbered 3,600,000 wage earners.

"Unemployment still remains at as high a level as last January," he warned the administration leaders who have obstructed this legislation. "It is 207, only 2% less than the peak. Progress in employment is highly unsatisfactory."

Pessimism within the labor movement as to the ability or even the anxiety of the Hoover regime to meet this crisis was reflected in Green's tone as he analyzed the steady depletion of the workers' reserves. He pointed out that in 1928 and 1929 there was a return to work and wages of at least 27 percent, in May, as compared with January. This year the job famine has remained as black as in mid-winter.

### Thomas Sends Plea

Declaring that the Wagner unemployment relief bills to be "the irreducible minimum of what a great nation ought to do after an inexcusably long delay," Norman Thomas, co-chairman of the Socialist Party's Committee on Public Affairs, in a letter to the Judiciary Committee, urged the passage of the bills and recommended the adoption of a Federal unemployment insurance plan as the measure most needed to meet present-day unemployment.

Mr. Thomas declared that his endorsement expressed generally not only the views of the Socialist Party but also of the League for Industrial Democracy, a non-political organization. Unemployment insurance, he declared, would not be a measure of elementary justice, and give workers some of the protection which horses are now given, but would also be a powerful factor in regularizing employment and diminishing seasonal unemployment.

"Surely these three bills represent an absolutely irreducible minimum of what a great nation ought to do after an inexcusably long delay to bring some relief to the calamity of unemployment which, in its individual and social effects, is far more disastrous than fire, storm or earthquake," Thomas wrote. "Surely a Congress which has been so exceedingly generous to veterans of two months standing in the Spanish War owes this small beginning of justice to veterans of labor's continuing war against poverty, a war in which these producers of wealth so often find themselves without work."

"I do not need to repeat the arguments for the Wagner bills which have been already presented to your committee. I should like to urge that they do not go far enough. Especially is this true of their failure to take up unemployment insurance. It is as much a matter of elementary justice and sound common sense for society, and, especially, for industry to take care of workers when they are not immediately needed as it is for a farmer to take care of his horses when he has no work for them. No employer can turn off his mules as he can turn off men. About all the 'rugged individualism' praised by certain political and economic leaders, which is left in the America of high tariffs and farm relief acts, is the rugged individualism of the unemployed who have to shift for themselves if they are to live."

"Not only is unemployment insurance a matter of elementary justice; it is also of itself a powerful aid in regularizing employment and diminishing seasonal unemployment. Under the good of high premiums many employers, individually or collectively, will find a way to do what all but a very few employers have been unwilling or unable to do: that is, to reduce by proper planning seasonal unemployment."

"I am not, of course, advocating the Wagner bills as a cure for unemployment. Such a cure is impossible without social planning of economic processes and production for use rather than for profit. Sound measure to relieve unemployment, however, are not only immediately beneficial in time of calamity but may be made steps toward our goal. It is in this sense that I urge them."

Official Report Periodic Millions of American wage earners

are hunting for jobs, and are obtaining their personal credit with ease, clothing, landlords and doctors while they hope against hope of soon finding houses. That, in substance, is the final impression from the May report of the U. S. Employment Service.

This report attempts to be cheerful, but breaks down after brief pretense, as its summary shows: "It is gratifying to note that the shipbuilding industry, particularly the yards along the eastern coast, showed an upward trend in employment. The granite quarries in New England engaged full forces, and the outlook in this industry can be described as satisfactory. The continued road expansion offered employment for many additional laborers, and the demand for seasonal harvest workers absorbed large numbers of men. Heavy construction, such as bridge and hydroelectric projects, employed additional workers. The month of May, however, with few exceptions, did not register any material employment gain."

### Virginia Socialists In State Convention

(Continued from Page One) most remarkable about this man is his youthfulness. He is constantly thinking of what steps to take to build up the Socialist Party in Virginia, and he discusses these things as a practical idealist.

#### Convention Decisions

The convention adopted a number of resolutions which express the view-point of Virginia Socialists. One began by referring to the increasing discontent of the workers and declared that it was an "urgent policy for the Socialist Party to present a basic challenge to the capitalist state." Another called upon the Labor Government of Great Britain "to assume a Socialist position in India, cease its violence and treat with the people of India as comrades. Whether the Indian people wish independence or Dominion Status, it is not the part of Socialists to dictate." Still another demanded "the release of the political prisoners convicted and unconvicted" and mentioned especially Mooney and Billings, the Centralia victims, the Gastonia victims and "the Communists now facing possible death sentences in Georgia." Other resolutions called for disarmament, the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, support of the League of Nations and the World Court, the popular election of Federal judges, the removal of the power of the Supreme Court to nullify laws passed by Congress, the government ownership, control and distribution of intoxicating liquors, the immediate liberation of the Philippines, and the abandonment of the imperialist policy of the United States in Latin America. Finally, Carter Glass was branded as an anti-unionist for publishing two open-shop newspapers in Lynchburg and for voting to approve the elevation of Judge Parker to the United States Supreme Court bench, while Andrew Jackson Montague, Democratic nominee for Congress, was dubbed a "do-nothing."

The Virginia Socialists intend to wage a vigorous campaign this fall. There used to be a fairly good movement in Virginia before the World War. Benson received about a thousand votes in 1916, though the high water-mark was reached in 1913, when the candidate for Governor received some twenty-five hundred votes. At Highland Springs, a town about ten miles from Richmond, the Socialists actually won every office in 1916 except that for Mayor; at Brookneal, halfway between Lynchburg and Danville, they made a clean sweep a year later. The War and the 1919 Split shattered the growing Party into smithereens.

**Revival Begins In 1928**  
The rebirth came in August 1928 when David George undertook to re-organize the Socialist Party of Virginia. George is but in his twenties but his devotion to the movement and his tirelessness have won him the respect of Socialists of every age from Kafka down. Like Morgan and most of those in the Party he is a Southerner of generations back. George's ancestors arrived in Virginia in 1717. He was born in Danville, the heart of the "black belt" of Virginia, and received his education in Chesterfield County, not far from Richmond. He became a Socialist by study and when the Thomas-Morgan campaign began, he threw himself into the fight. Understanding thoroughly the problems and psychology of the Southerner, fully informed about the history of Virginia—not a historic marker or Civil War battle-work but has its tale for him, deeply immersed in the Socialist philosophy, he is the ideal organ-

## \$200 Monthly Now Pledged To New York Party Office

MOUNTING gradually towards the goal of a monthly sustaining fund of \$1,000 to wipe out the difference between what the city organization of the Socialist Party must spend to maintain party activities in the city and what it can receive from usual sources, the drive for a fund enters its second week with a total of \$400 pledged and contributed by members and friends of the organization. Added to the fund which was established at the beginning of the year, and which until the drive began yielded about \$125 a month, an income of approximately \$200 a month from the pledge fund during the balance of the present year is assured.

Among the contributors are some who were on the pledge fund last year but neglected to renew their pledges this year. Personal letters, in some instances followed by an individual solicitation, have brought favorable responses from these party members and sympathizers.

The bulk of the fund to be raised will come, it is believed by those in charge of the drive, when the special committee organized for the purpose, and headed by Meyer Gillis, of the Jewish Daily Forward, undertakes in an organized fashion to visit those from whom pledges are expected. Lists of prospective contributors are now being compiled from various lists of sympathizers at the party office in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, and as soon as they are ready numbers of the special committee will receive assignments to solicit contributions.

Among those who are being asked to serve on the special committee are the following:

B. C. Vladeck, James Oneal, Edward P. Clarke, B. J. Riley, Henry

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

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

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izer for Virginia. His comrades there all recognize this. Unfortunately for the Socialist movement financial difficulties have kept him away from active activity in recent months but he hopes to be back in harness in the fall and conduct the Senatorial and Congressional campaigns. Through his efforts the few members who reorganized Virginia two years ago have increased to about one hundred. There are now two locals, one at Richmond and the other at Norfolk and vicinity. In 1928 Thomas received about 250 votes, last year Kafka obtained twice that amount. Growth in the immediate future is certain.

#### All "Jimmie Higgines"

What is most encouraging about the Virginia movement is the militancy and loyalty of the members. They are all "Jimmie Higgines," they are all men and women with the tone of pioneer stamp, who are constantly making material sacrifices so that those who follow them will have an easier path to follow. Each has an interesting history of his own. Some of the most active appear in the following list of officers elected for the coming year:

**State Executive Committee**—David Lidman, of Richmond, State Chairman; Joe C. Morgan of Fairfax County, National Committeeman; C. A. Ricks, Acting State Secretary and Chairman of the Socialist Party of Richmond; Mr. A. R. Ricks of Richmond; and Winston F. Dawson of Henrico County, State Central Committee. The foregoing and G. Cary White of Petersburg; John J. Kafka of Chesterfield County; Mrs. Annie Wasserstein of Richmond; David George of Richmond; the Rev. William Smith Bird of Bath County; J. Lofton Johnson of Chesterfield County; and H. Kootner of Richmond.

The Virginia Socialists deserve full support throughout the country. They are the Socialist vanguard in the South. Already they have helped to set up a local at Winston-Salem, N. C., and have attempted to conduct a Southern organizing campaign through a Southern District Committee. The possibilities are immense. In Danville, the largest cotton mill in the world is located. The workers there are growing restless. The philosophy, he is the ideal organ-

## India Cold to Round Table Overtures

### Nationalists and Liberals Want Guarantees First—Benn Says Force Not Labor Policy

(Continued from Page One) which dominates all political controversies in India:

"Are we offered dominion status, or only its derivative shadow; and, if we are offered dominion status, when is it to be realized in full—in five, in ten, or merely in 50 years, as scoffingly promised by Lord Birkenhead?"

On the British answer to this challenge depends the fate of the round table conference, and the whole future of relations with India, which now threaten to be irremediably ruined by a policy which would never have started if the country had been satisfied, not only of the honesty of our offer, but of its exact nature.

**Peshawar Riot Inquiry**  
BOMBAY, June 5.—Both the government and the All-India Congress inquiries into the recent Peshawar riots have now concluded.

Remarkable evidence was given during the last stages of the official inquiry.

After military witnesses had testified to the threatening behavior of the crowds, several civilians, persisted in their belief that the trouble started when the first armored cars, which entered the city by the Kabul gate, ran over several people.

At the unofficial Congress inquiry, presided over at Rawalpindi by Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-speaker of the Legislative Assembly, a number of witnesses insisted that the crowd was unarmed and not carrying lathis.

They admitted that stones, and, in several cases, shoes were thrown at the police, but all declared that this occurred after armored cars had crushed several persons without provocation.

The list of casualties prepared by Congress showed 79 dead and 43 mising.

Some corpses, it was alleged, had been disposed of by the military.

Fazir Mohammed, captain of the Congress volunteers in Peshawar, declared that 80 or 90 bodies were picked up in side streets, but that it was impossible to pick up the dead and wounded lying in the bazaar because any person attempting to do so was fired at.

**Force Not Government Policy, Benn Declares**  
LONDON, June 3.—"Force cannot possibly provide a remedy in India," declared Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the secretary for India, yesterday.

"If law is observed it is in the Indians' own interest. Force is in no sense applied to protect British domination."

"Emergency powers have been taken to deal with the present difficulty. They will pass with the emergency."

The real sanction of government is public opinion, and it must depend on that great force in India as it does elsewhere.

"It is no part of British policy to carry on the government of India on the principle of 'divide and rule'."

"The government must see that Indian issues are decided in Indian interests."

"There is a school of thought, represented fortunately by but a few in Great Britain, which believes that force is a remedy, and would treat India as a field for British exploitation."

**India's Aspirations**  
"If either of those principles was exploited, then indeed the days of British connection with India would be numbered."

Mr. Benn said that the vast majority of the people in India had taken no active part in the civil disobedience campaign.

At the same time there was among all classes and races of Indians a very deep, sincere and ardent desire for equality of status.

"The British people are not unresponsive to great ideals. The Indian peoples have an ancient history and selfless and noble instincts."

"Is it too much to hope that the bitterness of the present disagreement may give place to a rebirth of mutual understanding and respect?"

#### Lecture Calendar

**Monday, June 23, 9 p. m.** Jacob Axelrad, subject to be announced. Workmen's Circle Center, 3520 Church avenue. Auspices, 18th A. D. Branch, 2, Socialist Party.

**Wednesday, June 25, 9 p. m.** Leonard C. Kaye, "The British Labor Party." Home of Mr. and Mrs. Sol Sholes, 120 68th street. Auspices, Bay Ridge Branch, Socialist Party.

**Tuesday, June 24, 9 p. m.** August Claessens, "Incentive and Ambition," office of Dr. A. Molin, 1405 Walton avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 2nd A. D.

**Thursday, June 26, 9 p. m.** Dr. Leon R. Land, "India," 4215 Third avenue (near Tremont). Auspices, 7th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

**Thursday, June 26, 9 p. m.** August Claessens, "The Distribution of Wealth," 2459 Davidson avenue, corner Fordham road (Tomaroff School). Auspices, Socialist Party, 8th A. D.

**SAILS FOR EUROPE** Miss Elizabeth Gilman, Socialist candidate for governor of Maryland, who sails this week with a party of students for a "Socialist tour" of Europe.



ELIZABETH GILMAN

## Socialists of Colorado to Meet July 4

### General Membership Meeting Will Follow Executive Committee Session in Denver

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DENVER, Colo.—The State Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in Denver on the morning of July 4th and on the same day a general meeting of party members will be held in the afternoon. The membership in the state is larger now than it has been for years and it is the intention of the party to run a full ticket in the coming campaign.

In Denver there is now an English local with a dozen members and within a few weeks there is little doubt that the membership will be easily doubled. The Jewish local has met regularly every other week and it arranged a May Day meeting which was addressed by Carl Whitehead, a Socialist of many years standing.

The growing section of the party in the southern part of the state and in three locals within the next two months. William Stone, a graduate of Brookwood Labor College, is now located at Boulder and is serving as State Secretary. He is gradually acquainting himself with the organization problems of the state and the membership meeting on July 4th is certain to prove helpful in this work.

The State Committee of the party makes a strong appeal to Socialists of the state to attend this meeting and to cooperate with the work of organization. The apathy of other years is passing and Colorado is capable of having a growing and influential Socialist movement.

Correspondence may be addressed to the State Secretary, William Stone, Boulder, Colorado.

## Tamiment Lays Plans For Glorious Week-End

Tamiment's tenth year of busy life will find ample celebration and festivity in the program of July 11. This program will consist of the Thursday night performance of the play called "Mr. God Isn't In" by Harbor Allen. Friday night's Russian supper and costume night, wherein all camp turns Slavic, and in which the famous WABCO radio entertainers "Around the Samovar" group of artists with Mme. Valia Valentio and Eli Spevack will play, sing and dance.

On Saturday night the big reunion banquet will be held. This banquet will resemble in many respects the Labor Day festivity, and the hand will play, and the old timers will make three minute addresses on the subject "What Tamiment Has Done to Me."

The Joe Cook manna "The" mob of proletarian joy seekers will repair to the social hall, where the camp stock company will put on their "Ten Year Review," which is to be an animated album revealing through the various hits of each Tamiment year, both musical and dramatic, its kaleidoscopic and triumphant history.

Sunday night a camp fire will be held in which Doc Carp and his old time Yodelers will set the hills ringing with song, more speeches will be made, poems will be read and an effort will be made to digest hot dogs.

The camp has increased its facilities, having completed preparation for the influx of hundreds of new faces, and is ready to take care of the inevitable overflow. Only your reservation should be made, amply in advance either at Camp Tamiment, 7 East 15th street, New York City, or at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.

## 6,000 Attend Party Picnic In Reading

### Socialists Hold Great Affair on Party-Owned Park Grounds—Stump Speaks

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—No less than 6,000 people turned out to the big Socialist picnic in the Socialist Picnic Grove at Sinking Spring, now owned by Reading Socialists. This was the first of a series of picnics that have been arranged for the summer.

Mayor J. Henry Stump and Darlington Hoopes delivered addresses in the afternoon and an appeal for the local campaign fund brought in a hundred dollars. Mayor Stump then offered to accept any contributions made for the Mooney-Billings defense fund and \$32 in cash was passed to the Mayor.

An addition to the kitchen, which made the dining service more satisfactory to cooks and customers alike, and a number of new comfort stations showed that the Socialist carpenters had done their share to make the park a real attraction, and the newly painted red picnic tables gave lurid evidence of the industry of the painters.

Following Darlington Hoopes, candidate for the State Legislature, who spoke briefly on the development of the picnic park as a milestone in the growth of the party activities, Mayor Stump delivered an address in which he recounted the achievements of the city administration and contrasted Socialist aims with the failure of capitalism to provide for the needs of the people.

Stump concluded his talk with a history of the Mooney case and urged his audience to give all the support possible to the movement to secure an unconditional pardon for Mooney and Billings.

## Two Huge Mooney Rallies Are Called

(Continued from Page One)

Kritzer and Joseph Viola, who are in active charge of the arrangements, and a special action committee elected at the conference, headed by Dr. William E. Bohlen, educational director of the Rand School, are now working on a speakers' list which it is believed will include men and women of national prominence.

Members of the action committee, who will work for the success of the meeting, include, besides Dr. Bohlen and Harry Kritzer, Edward Doran, of the Moulders Union, John Silva, of the International Structural Iron Workers Union, Local 361, Meyer Robinson, of the Co-operative Bakery, A. Smith, of Workmen's Circle, Branch, Dr. Rose Shuloff, of the Workmen's Circle, Branch 4, and Morton Salzberg, of the Young People's Socialist League.

Headquarters of the Brooklyn committee have been established in the building at 26 Court street, where arrangements for the Brooklyn meeting are being made. At the same time, plans for the Union Square demonstration, held up pending the decision of the police authorities that use of the Square will be available for the meeting are going forward, with Lewis in charge of the details.

A huge platform will be erected on the 17th street side of the Square, which will be devoted to the appeal of the Socialists and others interested in the release of Mooney and Billings to all parts of the Square.

Prominent speakers are being asked to address the meeting. Their names will be made public as soon as acceptances of the invitations are received.

In the meantime, many thousands of leaflets, telling of the conditions under which Mooney and Billings were convicted, and why they are being kept in jail while the nation believes them to be innocent, will be distributed at the shops and at various subway and elevated stations, announcing the meeting.

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## Atlanta Labor Body Demands Free Speech For Jailed Communists

ATLANTA.—(FP)—Ball can be arranged for the six Communist organizers facing the death sentence on a charge of inciting to insurrection, Attorney O. C. Hancock has announced. According to latest indications the total would be \$33,000—\$10,000 each for M. H. Powers and Joe Carr, \$4,000 for Anna Burlack, Mary Dalton and Gilmer Brady, and \$1,000 for Henry Storey, local Negro printer.

When the Atlanta Federation of Trades passed a resolution demanding freedom of speech and fair play for the six Communist defendants, President A. Steve Nance, who was a member of the grand jury that indicted them, spoke for the resolution. He demanded that it be recorded in the minutes that he was the only member of the grand jury who voted against indictment. Secretary Carl Karston of the Atlanta Federation and President Mary Barker of the American Federation of Teachers also spoke for freedom of speech.

Only two votes were cast against the resolution, by a member of the carpenters union and by Secretary Louis P. Marquardt of the Georgia Federation of Labor, who holds a political job under the solicitor general. The overwhelming vote for the resolution is regarded as a direct slap at Marquardt.

Nobody can say the abolition of poverty is an idle dream while we produce annually wealth of \$745 per capita or \$3,725 for a family of five, said Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy. But every family does not get that amount, while according to the figures of Dr. Willford I. King the richest one hundredth of one percent in the United States—4,467 persons—get an average income of \$392,000. This group cannot spend it all and so they invest a large part of their income in industries already—according to the Hoover engineers' investigation—over-equipped.

Meanwhile, said Dr. Laidler, taking unemployment into consideration, the average wage earner in 1927 got only \$1,205 or \$23.17 a week, which leaves him powerless to buy very much no matter how much he needs. Thus we have underconsumption in the midst of wealth. In so-called good times dozens of our industries work only 3-4 or 4-5 of capacity and in bad times 1/5 or less.

## Wis. Socialists Lay Plans for Spirited Drive

### Socialist Speakers in Great Demand Throughout the State—Tickets Drawn Up

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The Socialist Party campaign in Wisconsin promises to be one of the most aggressive that has been made in years.

The committee appointed by the state board of the party to draft a number of leaflets especially for the state campaign has begun its work. It has been suggested that one be entitled Wolves in Sheep's Clothing, with reference to the platform antics of the regular Republicans.

Reports from strongholds through the state continue to reach the party headquarters, all showing the greatest interest in the coming state struggle. In Racine and Kenosha meetings are being arranged in the interests of the party candidates. Similar reports come from other Wisconsin cities.

**Speakers in Demand**  
In Sheboygan and Manitowish there is marked activity and a determination to put up a big campaign. Madison Socialists are active and Superior is calling for speakers and literature.

S. S. Walkup, Kenosha, Socialist candidate for the assembly, is putting in some time in Oshkosh. He is working among Oshkosh labor men in the interests of the Socialist party.

Next month he will be in La Crosse where he goes as a delegate to the convention of the State Federation of Labor.

The Socialists of Racine and Kenosha expect to place nearly 100,000 pieces of Socialist literature in the hands of the voters before election, according to a report to the state office, Milwaukee, by W. R. Snow, district organizer.

In a manifold letter sent out to the party members it is stated that a complete county ticket will be placed in the field in Racine and Kenosha counties, in addition to the legislative candidates already nominated.

As soon as weather conditions permit, open air meetings will be held, with good party speakers.

The members are urged to recruit the branches with representatives of the working class. Leaflets, Why Socialists Pay Dues, have been sent out.

## Poverty and Production Great in U. S.

### \$745 Per Capita Wealth Turned Out Each Year, Laidler Tells Peoples Lobby

WORLD problems of peace, disarmament, imperialism, underconsumption and labor standards were discussed at the annual conference of the People's Lobby June 6 and 7 in New York City. Pres. John Dewey presided at the open meeting; later Sec. Benjamin Marsh served as chairman.

Nobody can say the abolition of poverty is an idle dream while we produce annually wealth of \$745 per capita or \$3,725 for a family of five, said Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy. But every family does not get that amount, while according to the figures of Dr. Willford I. King the richest one hundredth of one percent in the United States—4,467 persons—get an average income of \$392,000. This group cannot spend it all and so they invest a large part of their income in industries already—according to the Hoover engineers' investigation—over-equipped.

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## Farmers And Starvation

It is the same way with the farmers. It was estimated a few years ago, said Dr. Laidler, that 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 children in the United States were suffering from malnutrition. Millions are starving in China and elsewhere. But because of low wages wheat and other farm products are going begging and the farmer decides that the only way to make money is to cut production still further.

Dr. Salvador Mendoza, former professor of economics at Mexico City University, compared the present starvation and poverty in the midst of plenty to the plight of Midas when everything he touched turned to gold. The only remedy, he said, was a more even distribution of economic benefits.

Leifur Magnusson of the International Labor office pointed out the necessity for international agreements regulating labor standards, and deplored the absence of the United States from the Labor office. Uncertainty as to American competition is holding up legal establishment of the eight hour day in Europe, he said.

Unless we are willing to say that our efficiency shall rest on skill and resources, and not be bought through the sweat and blood of the toiling masses, we jeopardize the peace of the world, he said, and delay achievement of even moderate social justice.

## False Disarmament Scored

Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, Devere Allen, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Prof. Eagleton of New York University declared that even real disarmament would be useless without a going international organization for settlement of disputes, since modern industry could manufacture plenty of arms in a few months. They scored the latest "disarmament" which will cost us a billion a year for new building.

Nicaragua has become the rallying cry for every person in Latin America who wishes to show that the United States is the great octopus of the world, said Dr. Samuel Guy Inman. Miss Amy Woods declared we had sent our forces into other people's countries more than 100 times in the last century without declaring war.

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## Thomas at Bronx Free Fellowship Sunday

"Fellowship and Progress" will be discussed by Norman Thomas, Rev. Lon R. Call, minister of the West Side Unitarian Church, and Rev. Leon Rosser Land, leader of the Bronx Free Fellowship, at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening

## McGrady Says Bosses Made Communists

Urges Anti-Injunction Bill and Right to Organize—Green Also Testifies

By Laurence Todd  
WASHINGTON—(F P)—Employers who refuse to redress the grievances and recognize the unions of American workers will themselves be responsible for the development of any real Communist menace to the government and institutions of this country, Edward F. McGrady, legislative agent and field representative of the American Federation of Labor, told the House Committee, investigating Communist propaganda, on behalf of the House, June 19.

Summonsed to tell of Communist efforts to break down conservative unions in the needle and textile industries, McGrady sketched the history, from the A. F. of L. standpoint, of the bitter fight in the Fur Workers' International Union in New York in 1926-27. In more general terms he told of the Communist penetration of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and of the loss of power by that organization until it, too, had been taken away from the Communists and rebuilt.

Gastonia Conditions Denounced  
Chairman Flah asked what he knew of the Gastonia affair. The witness replied that the Federation had looked over the ground in that textile center before any Communists arrived, and that the white workers in the mills were more shamefully exploited than ever the Negroes were exploited under slavery. Yet, he said, the employers refused to make any improvement. After the Federation had failed to make progress with a humanitarian argument, Communists from New York appeared, and soon stirred up enough unrest among the mill workers to lead to a strike. The workers' grievances, he told the committee, had earned the sympathy of the community. But the Communists, desiring only to create a local "revolution," and not to improve the conditions in these mills through negotiation and settlement, would not be satisfied. They brought in Negro agitators, and thereby put upon the white strikers the burden of a race quarrel. Finally the strikers were driven back, beaten, into the mills.

On the other hand, he declared, six members of the Federation were shot down, shot through the back, at Marion, N. C., and nobody was punished for their murder. Bachmann of West Virginia, Republican, wanted to know whether the Communist leadership at Gastonia was proved. McGrady said it was undisputed. Then he reminded Bachmann that in Mingo county, West Virginia, a judge had enjoined peaceful strikers, members of the A. F. of L., from even burying their dead.

America's Communist movement is all an inspired-from-Moscow affair, and is really no serious menace to the government and other institutions of the United States, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, testified before the committee, June 12.

Green declared that the A. F. of L. will never compromise with the Communists. For more than two hours Green read from official reports, orders, and speeches of the Communists in Moscow and in the United States, in order to convince the committee that American Communists are under orders from the Communist International in Moscow. He read from declarations of Communist policy, issued both by the party organization and by the Red Trade Union International, as far back as 1920 or 1922, his evidence that the Communists seek to mobilize industrial discontent rather than for the program of revolution than for the securing of better conditions under capitalism.

Funds Discussed  
When Rep. Estlick, Tennessee Democrat, tried to get Green to say that a majority of the Communists in the United States are alien-born, and that their funds come from Russia, the Federation chief replied that he was not at all sure a majority were born abroad, nor did he know that their funds came from outside this country. He said the Communists are tireless in their efforts to raise funds among members of the A. F. of L., and that in many instances they induce local unions to contribute to their enterprises, none of which is labeled Communist. He instanced the funds raised for the Sacco-Vanzetti defense, as an example of the generosity of ordinary labor unions when an appeal is made to their class feeling.

"Where trade unions have freedom, they grow strong and are a steady influence," said Green. "Britain faced danger of a revolutionary attempt at the time of the general strike there some years ago, but she was saved by her great, strong trade unions. Germany was threatened by revolution, but her organized labor movement protected her against

## Problems of The Needle Trades

Bloom Retracts Statements Concerning Previous Joint Board Administration—Says They Are Based on Rumors—Officer Involved Urges Schlesinger to Investigate

By William Bloom  
Chairman N. Y. Cloakmakers' Joint Board

IN VIEW of the comments which followed the appearance of my article in the "New Leader," of June 14th, I wish to make the following statement:

In so far as the political deal pertaining to the office of secretary-treasurer and other officers is concerned, I stand by the facts stated and the conclusions drawn therefrom.

With reference to the handling of finances in the Joint Board, I wish to emphasize the fact that I had no intention of casting reflections upon the honesty and integrity of that officer. My article refers to rumors concerning the manner in which the funds under his administration were disbursed.

In view of the fact that no charges were preferred against this officer and the rumors to which I made reference were never investigated, and since the officer re-

ferred to, stated, at the last meeting of the Joint Board, that he would request President Schlesinger to have an investigation made as to the truth of the rumors alluded to, I consider, under the circumstances, in all fairness, that I should rescind that part of my statement.

(In printing the above statement, The New Leader must express its regret that a responsible official of a union presented for publication such serious statements when they were based on what he now admits are mere rumors. The New Leader printed Mr. Bloom's original statement in good faith, and in the belief that he spoke of facts, and not of gossip. It is the aim of The New Leader in opening its columns to discussion of needle trades problems to present discussions of general policies and trends, not mere rumors. Our original invitation indicated this intention.—THE NEW LEADER.)

## Unemployment Rousing Conventions Of Labor; 5 Day Week Demanded

Railmen, Musicians, State Federations Demand Relief For Idle Members

FROM coast to coast the unemployment pokes its gloomy presence into the halls of labor conventions. Agitated delegates, many from unions half or more of whose members are tramping the streets, pass resolutions and advise action looking toward labor's goal of job security.

The 5-day week is the leading suggestion, interspersed by appeals to Congress to pass the Wagner bill. In conventions of the American Federation of Musicians, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Iowa, Maine and Wyoming federations of labor, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Switchmen, all meeting concurrently, the 5-day week had the unanimous agreement of delegates as an immediate labor objective.

The engineers advocate close cooperation with other train service unions in "unceasing effort" to attain the 6-hour day for yard men. Heads of the conductors, firemen and trainmen pledged their support in the fight. "More automatic machinery has been developed in the past 10 years," said President A. F. Whitney of the trainmen, "with the displacement of more men than during the 50 years antedating that period." He placed the unemployed at 6,000,000, the highest ever known.

Judge Is Attacked  
"The labor movement is the only force left to save the country from economic destruction," Joe Byrne, former president, told the Iowa Federation of Labor, meeting in Sioux City. President J. C. Lewis hit out savagely at Judge Yellow Dog Scott for his injunction aimed to kill the strike of the Fort Dodge gypsum workers. The injunction even forbade the labor press to mention the strike.

The musicians feel unemployment through the extension of canned "robot" music in the movie palaces. President Weber at the Boston convention has called for continuation of the union's \$500,000 publicity campaign against the "sequenics."

Wyoming delegates traveled hundreds of miles to reach Thermopolis, their convention city, many going outside their state to get there, to discuss widespread unemployment in the mines and scattered industries of the mining and oil state. The shorter work week is the dominant issue.

At Buffalo in the Switchmen's Union convention the concerted railway union movement for the 6-hour, 5-day week was approved. An attack on "amalgamationists" and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the competing non-A. F. of L. union, was defeated and closer bonds urged within the labor movement. A resolution urging joint railroad workers conferences throughout the country was also

Communist uprisings. In Russia under the czars there was no freedom to organize labor unions, and so when her revolution came there was no steady influence such as Britain and Germany had, and such as we have."

"Then the best remedy for Communist agitation is for the working people to be fairly treated," remarked Nelson.

"There must be more than that," responded Green. "They must have freedom to organize. Communist agitators are not nearly so influential for revolution as are capitalists who crush the workers and deny them their rights. The American worker, crushed by autocratic employers, becomes a rebel. Unemployed, he becomes an easy convert to the agitator."

passed over official opposition. Proponents claim that lagging enthusiasm in railroad centers can be revived by establishing such councils, composed of A. F. of L. and independent railroad unions, working for the 6-hour day and other reforms. A proposal to pension aged officers received support.

Stirring speeches at the Maine federation convention in Portland centered about unemployment, with estimates ranging from 6,000,000 to 10,000,000, suppression of WCL's rights to a better wage length as the "radio voice of labor," and the discharge of veteran chefs in Portland hotels for joining the new culinary workers union. Vice-president Robert Fehner of the International Association of Machinists, expressed amazement that the politicians seeking the labor vote in Maine had not declared themselves for such labor legislation as old age pensions and ridiculed Coolidge-Hoover prosperity as a myth. He asserted that \$16,000,000 workers had not earned over \$600 each last year.

A refreshing feature of the convention was the reading of the directors' report showing increase in membership to 24,000 cooperators, sales of the wholesale in 1929 of over \$1,750,000, organizing of new retail stores, branches and establishing direct connections with most of the important manufacturers and sources of supply.

Sales for the first four months of this year by the wholesale totaled \$653,015, an increase of 16.4% over the same period of 1929. April this year showed \$207,270 against \$160,274 for the previous April, a gain of 29.3%. The quota of \$1,750,000 for 1929 as a whole, which was exceeded last year, has been raised to \$2,000,000, and in spite of the usual three dull months in the first quarter, the new quota of \$666,666 for the first four months has been all but fulfilled.

LITHUANIAN FARM PROGRAM  
(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PARIS.—The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party is of the opinion that the program of the Party is out of date. The most important point is to adapt the program to the recent development on the plains. The new program should lay it down that the Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party does not intend to socialize the land of the small peasants. It must be added that after the foundation of the Lithuanian Republic the great landowners were expropriated and their land divided among the landless workers. These new peasants are a great support for the Party.

SEEK 75c RATE FOR LABORER  
CLEVELAND—(F P)—The Cleveland Federation of Labor has urged City Manager Morgan to approve three ordinances which would increase the pay of all unskilled labor working for the city from 60 cents to 75 cents an hour.

## CPLA. Denounces Woll Part In Enactment Of Tariff Bill

CONDEMNATION of the American Wage Earners Protective Conference headed by Vice-President Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L., for its part in the passage of the Tariff Act is expressed in a statement issued by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action through its chairman, A. J. Muste. President Hoover is also excoriated for lack of statesmanship and courage.

A Tariff Act has been passed which is the product of log-rolling by special interests; which has been condemned by the leading economists and a very large percentage of the leading editors, bankers and merchants of the nation; which was denounced even by its own sponsors such as Senator Grundy before it came up for a final vote; which furnishes "protection" if at all to only a handful of workers and raises prices for all consumers; and which will cause other nations to raise higher tariff walls against us and seriously endanger the peace of the world," the statement says.

"That a Republican Senate and House should pass and a Republican President should sign such a

## Cooperative in Wis. Unseats Communists

Big Enterprise Denounces Party Attempt to Drive It—Neutral Position Taken

SUPERIOR, Wis.—(F P)—The three Communist Party directors on the board of 11 of the Cooperative Central Exchange were removed by the 13th annual convention in Superior and their position on policy was voted down by four to one as a rule. The working class attitude of the co-op wholesale was reaffirmed in resolution adopted by the delegates.

The internal struggle, hinging on the question of the degree of direct influence that should be exercised by the Communist Party in the society's policy and personnel, came to a climax at the convention and has been settled, temporarily at least, in the decision that "the cooperative movement cannot accept orders from any group organization or party, as do the integral auxiliaries of such organizations or parties, since the acceptance of such orders would greatly weaken and perhaps destroy the internal unity of the cooperative institutions and thereby increase the ceaseless pressure of the capitalist class against the cooperative movement."

Membership Increases  
The convention reaffirmed the resolution of an earlier convention which had said that it is "our duty to maintain a completely sympathetic attitude toward fraternal worker organizations that stand upon a program of uncompromising class struggle, be they political or economic organizations, to give them economic and financial assistance as possibilities permit, in addition to working together in harmony with them in every way, keeping foremost in mind at all times the common interests of the working class and to speed the overthrow of capitalism."

The resolution continues: "The cooperative movement must remain neutral as regards the different movements of the working class itself, seeking in accordance with the decision of its congress the cooperation of all workers and farmers movements for the benefit of the exploited toilers."

A refreshing feature of the convention was the reading of the directors' report showing increase in membership to 24,000 cooperators, sales of the wholesale in 1929 of over \$1,750,000, organizing of new retail stores, branches and establishing direct connections with most of the important manufacturers and sources of supply.

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Long Court Battle  
That the court angle of the mine union battle would drag out late fall, was forecast here at conclusion of contempt of court hearings against Lewis aides. After the lengthy word-by-word testimony of almost 100 witnesses for both sides in the contempt cases is transcribed for the court, Master-in-Chancery Trutter will hear legal argument on the violation charges before he hands down a decision.

With the prediction that six weeks may be required to wade through the usual red tape it was believed the Illinois plea for permanent protection against Lewis would be considered by Circuit Judge Norman L. Jones who granted the District 12 temporary restraining bill.

Admitting wholesale violations of the injunction, Lewis witnesses and attorneys offered the reorganization convention of mine workers in Springfield as an excuse. That action, they claimed, automatically withdrew the Howat wing of the district from shelter of the order. Had this been the case, Illinois attorneys contended, a petition for modification should have been presented to the court issuing the order.

Appearance on the witness stand of the leaders in the bitter union controversy featured the six days of court sessions. John L. Lewis whose right to head the miners' organization has been vehemently questioned by the Howat group, after four hours of grilling, confessed he had maintained and financed a district organization of his own in this state despite issuance of the injunction.

INDIANAPOLIS—(F P)—In opposition to figures of per capita payment showing over 80% of Illinois working miners in the reorganized United Mine Workers, the official organ of the old Indianapolis union asserts that 70% of the Illinois membership is with the old union. No per capita tax figures are published however.

## Election To Be Held In N.Y. Laundry Union

As a result of an organizing campaign which has been waged the past few months by Laundry Workers' Union, Local 280, N.Y.C., the organization is making steady strides. The union will hold an election June 23rd in the main hall of the Harlem Educational Social Center. A president, vice president, manager, recording secretary, treasurer, an executive board, finance committee and sergeant-at-arms are to be elected. The polls open at 10 A.M. and close at 2 P.M.

## Lewis Claims 12,000 Men In Bituminous

Kennedy Puts Figures at 7,000—Reorganized Union Lists 51,000 in Soft Coal

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—(F P)—Per capita tax for the first two months since the United Mine Workers of America was reorganized by the Springfield convention March 10, amounted to \$38,000, according to Sec. John H. Walker of the union. At 50¢ per member per month this gives an average dues-paying membership for the union of 38,000. To this Walker adds 13,618 members who were exempted from paying their 50¢ international per capita tax because of unemployment and the like. The total membership therefore averaged 51,618 members.

Walker also asserts that the new union has organized 21 locals in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas, three locals in Indiana, one in Iowa and 10 in Ohio. Organizing work is also proceeding in unorganized states, he adds.

Lewis Gives Figures  
During the court hearings on alleged violations of the injunction by John L. Lewis of the old Indianapolis union, Lewis as its president testified that in 13 bituminous districts he had 12,400 members. The report of Sec. Kennedy of the old union for the same districts was only 7,386 members. Using the Lewis claims, the thirteen districts show a loss of 181,451 members from the total of 193,911 reported by William Green when he was secretary of the United Mine Workers in 1929. The decision on whether Lewis violated the injunction is expected by the end of June.

While organizing new locals in Iowa, Vice President Adolph Germer of the reorganized union had all the tires of his auto punctured by Lewis when outside the meeting hall.

In accordance with the letter of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, the Springfield Federation of Labor refused to remove its president and treasurer at the demand of a disgruntled faction. Pres. Dan McGill and Treasurer Jacob Wiesing are both coal miners whose locals are affiliated with the reorganized United Mine Workers. Green had urged city central bodies not to unseat delegates from locals of miners that went over to the reorganized union. All but one miner local in the Springfield region are in the reorganized union. The only exception is a local that is not in good standing with the Springfield Federation of Labor.

Suit Is Threatened  
Negotiations were undertaken by Mr. Karlin and the firm agreed to pay \$50 to the men and \$35 to the women, work or play, to the end of the year but Karlin insists on payment of all back wages which amounts to \$3,500. The matter is now being threshed out with the threat of a suit against the company if full justice is not done to these workers.

The contract with the Swiss workers was for the duration of a year after which they were to return home. The Department of Labor has now issued an order for their deportation and the union is opposing this. It points out that the year will not be up for four months and in order to protect their civil rights it may be necessary for them to remain here that long.

The government has made out its case against the Bulova Company for undervaluation of the watch movements it imported and the firm has paid to the government \$52,000 on this account.

The Jewelry Workers Union has filed a brief with the American Federation of Labor against granting special permits to manufacturers and this protest has been filed with the Department of Labor and will also appear in the records of hearings by the Congressional Committee on Immigration.

This struggle is a record of intelligent handling of a complicated situation, protecting the interests of victimized Swiss workers, and bringing a manufacturing firm to the bar for its duplicity in dealing with these workers.

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## Jewelry Union Defeats Move Of Bulova Co.

Company Imports Swiss Workers, but Union Wins Them Over—Pay Fight Won

DUE to the vigilance of Samuel E. Beardsley, general secretary, and Joseph D. Cannon, organizer of Local 1, of the International Jewelry Workers Union, the efforts of a New York watch firm to evade union standards in the trade by importation of Swiss workers has been thwarted. In addition to this the union has enrolled the Swiss workers in the union despite all efforts of the firm to prevent it.

In a statement made public to members of the union, Beardsley reviews the history of the case. It appears that the Bulova Watch Company had imported 25 Swiss watchmakers in 1929 under special permit granted by the Department of Labor on the plea that such workers could not be obtained in New York. There were at least 500 unemployed watchmakers in the city at that time but the firm had neither advertised nor approached the union to supply these skilled workers.

The firm had filed a sworn affidavit with the Immigration Bureau that American watchmakers were not competent to assemble parts of watches made in Switzerland; that it would require two years to break them in; that it planned to erect a large factory—that 100 more Swiss would be required to instruct American workers, and that there was no watchmaking center in this country.

Piece Work Rejected  
All of these statements were challenged by the union officials. A number of the Swiss workers were enrolled in the union and investigation revealed that the firm had contracted to pay the men \$50 per week and the women \$35. An attempt by the firm to put these workers on piece work brought resistance and a protest to the Swiss Consulate and the piece schedule was withdrawn. Meantime the union kept after the Swiss workers and by the end of February of this year all of them were members of the union.

Another attempt to install piece work last January failed and in March the firm laid off the group. In February the customs officials seized from the Bulova Company 21,000 watch movements on a charge of undervaluation and about the same time the union instructed the Swiss workers to demand pay of the firm during the time they were unemployed. The firm refused and the matter was taken to the Swiss Consulate where the Bulova Company agreed to pay the men \$25 and the women \$15 per week for the idle weeks after they returned to work.

The union was not satisfied with this concession and brought the matter to the attention of William Green, president of the A. F. of L., who took the matter up with the Department of Labor. As a result a special investigator of the department obtained evidence to convict the Bulova Company of gross undervaluation of imported watch movements and William Karlin, legal advisor of Local 1, was instructed to bring suit against the company for payment in full of wages due to the Swiss workers.

Negotiations were undertaken by Mr. Karlin and the firm agreed to pay \$50 to the men and \$35 to the women, work or play, to the end of the year but Karlin insists on payment of all back wages which amounts to \$3,500. The matter is now being threshed out with the threat of a suit against the company if full justice is not done to these workers.

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# DURHAM, PARADISE OF NEGRO BUSINESS

**Southern City Reveals Negro Proletariat As Contrast to Negro Owners of Business—No Solution of Race Problem**

By H. M. Douth

DURHAM, situated in the Piedmont region of North Carolina, has assumed a peculiar importance for the Negro in America. Here, it is claimed, in the city that Duke's mixture made famous, the Negro has escaped the tragic destiny of his race, and has emerged as entrepreneur, financier, businessman. This arrival upon the heights of the American Olympus, it is true, cannot be compared, in its economic significance, with that of capitalists of fairer skin. But, so the argument runs, a beginning has been made. Perhaps the end will be Negro emancipation along one of the two roads of which Booker T. Washington sang with persistent lyricism. At any rate, E. Franklin Frazier, in an article published several years ago, hailed Durham as the "Capital of the Black Middle Class," and Frank K. Boyd in his book, "The Story of Durham," devotes a long chapter to the achievements of the Negro group here.

Frazier, indeed, went so far as to state that "Durham is the promise of a transformed Negro." The Negro is not told to work; he has always worked. Rather, he is told to acquire. The development of a Negro bourgeoisie which, through its control of business and financial enterprises, will furnish the lever for the economic emancipation of the race is postulated. That this attitude has logic cannot be denied. The tremendous expansion of American capitalism since the Civil War, the elevation of the business man to a position of dominance in the American scene, and the absence of an effective opposition to his philosophy of buccaneering inevitably gives inspiration to a group which first assumed a competitive position in our economic life less than seventy years ago. If power in the republic goes to the financially successful, why not seek such success? Why not build a business structure that would furnish a material basis for wider social and political demands?

Plausible though it may seem, this theory fails to reckon with the realities of American capitalist development. With the exception of the relatively small number of free Negroes in the North prior to 1860, the Negro, as a class, had the doors of business enterprise closed to him before the Civil War. Even after attaining the status of freeman, the Negro was concentrated in the agricultural South which only today is heeding the call of industrialization. In the South, too, after the reconstruction era, the white population easily deprived the Negro of his political rights, and restricted his efforts in numerous ways. Peonage as a substitute for slavery developed, and, as the Mississippi flood of 1927 revealed, this condition does not yet belong to an historic past. In simple terms, from a temporal point of view, the Negro was released from slavery in time to take advantage of the economic growth that followed the Northern triumph, he was, through his own inexperience and the hindrances placed before him by the white brethren, prevented from doing so.

The Civil War shifted political power from the followers of Jefferson and Jackson to the followers of Hamilton. Aided by this power, but, perhaps, more forcibly impelled by the richness of the country in natural resources and the incoming tide of cheap labor, American capitalism advanced to its present position of leadership. Between 1860 and 1910, railroad mileage increased from 30,628 to 242,107, thus widening the internal market to an undreamed of extent. The value of manufactured products, in 1860, was \$1,855,862,000, a sum of considerable magnitude, but, at the opening of the nineteenth century this value had reached \$11,406,927,000. By 1923, the value of manufactured products has

a certain success. But what chance has he in the realm of banking, confronted, for instance, by the new Chase National Bank?

Abram L. Harris, professor of economics at Howard University, in a very wise essay, "The Negro and the New Economic Life," sees in the advocacy of Negro business enterprise a revival of eighteenth century mercantilist theory. He stresses the racial element that would characterize Negro business could it develop. "Social attitudes being what they are," he writes, "the racial identity of Negro economic institutions will, perforce of these attitudes, confine their services to the Negro race." This would result in an economy within an economy, as the logical outcome of the assumption that, if Negroes were employed by Negroes and dealt with Negro merchants the race would benefit. Such an assumption cannot be maintained in the face of modern economic theory.

It may be confidently asserted, then, that the development of Negro business, as the economic salvation of the race, has small chance of realization. The Negro, it seems likely, will remain primarily a laboring, wage-earning group, with a small professional class and a much smaller bourgeoisie. Let us examine a minute segment of the Negro working class. Durham, if it is the capital of the black middle class, is also a center of the black proletariat in the South.

II.

Durham, almost wholly an industrial town, is itself a product of the New South. Calhoun's South was highly resistant to in-

dustrialization. In the decade preceding the Civil War, it is true, a movement for industrial development, aimed at freeing the South from dependence upon the North, was agitated. At the convention of cotton planters in 1851, and again in 1852, a resolution was introduced recommending the erection of cotton mills in every section of the cotton states. William Gregg, a leading manufacturer of South Carolina, was one of the leaders in the movement for industrial development. But before the movement could reach fruition, Southerners were more concerned with blood and iron than with machinery. After the cessation of hostilities, industrial growth was further hindered by, among other things, the necessity for reconstruction. Indeed, it was the World War which furnished the great impetus to temporary industrial development in the land of cotton. The slogan of Gaston County (N. C.) in 1919-1920—"Organize a mill a week"—gives but one indication of the force of this impetus.

Durham, however, is not of sudden growth. It has had a gradual evolution. Two products, tobacco and cotton goods, furnish the basis for its existence. Located in the heart of the bright tobacco belt, its earliest manufacturing establishments were devoted to the weed. In 1865, but one factory was to be found; in 1869 there were four, and in 1872 twelve. That these factories were woefully small is indicated by the fact that in 1870 Durham had a population of 256. Then came the Dukes. Washington Duke and

his three sons first established a factory in Durham in 1874. Their business expanded with extreme rapidity, especially after their utilization of the Bonsack machine for the manufacture of cigarettes. With growth came the next step—consolidation. In 1890 the American Tobacco Company was formed. This company was dissolved under the Sherman anti-trust Act, only to be reorganized. Today, huge tobacco plants, not only of the American Tobacco Company, but of others that have crept in, are the most conspicuous objects in town. The excise taxes of approximately \$50,000,000 collected from Durham factories in 1928 can be used to gauge the extent of the industry here. As the Chamber of Commerce proudly, though ungrammatically, admits, Durham became known as "A center of Industry and Education, since James B. Duke, as head of a great tobacco corporation, was plastering the pyramids of Egypt, the rock of Gibraltar and other points far and near with tobacco signs."

...

In 1884, Julian S. Carr introduced the first factory for the manufacture of cotton goods. In 1892, the Erwin cotton mill was organized by the Dukes. This has expanded to embrace five units with a total capitalization of \$9,245,600. The Durham Hosiery Company, organized in 1894, now comprises fourteen units, with a capacity for turning out 25,000 pair of hosiery per day. Banking facilities have kept pace with the industrial advance. Smaller industries, in part to supply local

needs, have arisen, so that today Durham is almost as typically an industrial town as any in New England.

The population of Durham jumped from 256 in 1870 to 52,026 in 1930. In 1928, the number of industrial workers was placed at 13,500. Of this number, about 40 per cent., or 5,400, were Negroes. The total Negro population approximates 15,000.

Perhaps 85 per cent. of the black population live in one section, a section that, in effect, is a town in itself. Across the Southern Railroad tracks, south of the industrial and white divisions of the town, lies Hayti. From the elevation afforded by the tracks, the entire district may be seen, a collection of frame dwellings intersected by crooked and unpaved roads. The houses are, for the most part, of unpainted wood, and wretched from lack of repair. Sanitary arrangements are most primitive, and it is small wonder that the colored death rate is 16.1 per 1,000 to 8.9 for the white population. The district, however, has a life of its own, distinct from that of the town. Here, along the two main streets, are various types of stores, barber shops, funeral parlors, beauty parlors, rooming houses, a hotel, and, for entertainment, the gymnastics of Tom Mix are exhibited at the Wonderland Movie Parlor. At night, the streets teem with dusky life. The Octavius Roy types are seen. But, in general, the male population appears in overall, dirty and often torn, soiled blue shirts, and clumsy shoes, obviously

ly the dress of the factory. The population is a proletarian one. The Durham Negro bourgeoisie makes but faint impression on the whole. One feels that in this husky working class resides the race.

In Durham, as well as elsewhere in the South, exists a curious racial distribution of Negroes in industry. The two chief industries of Durham are tobacco and textiles. In the textile mills few Negroes are found. The manager of one of the Erwin units through which I passed, a unit employing over 900 men, exclaimed proudly that in the entire mill but six Negroes were employed. In the whole textile industry, in 1920, only 24,734 Negroes were used. In tobacco the story is different. Here it is that most of Durham's black proletariat finds employment. The work, as a rule is heavier and dirtier than in the textile mill. The hours are as long, averaging ten a day in this eminently profitable industry. The pay is no higher and probably less. Figures as to the average Negro wage in Durham are hard to obtain, but \$12 a week is a high estimate. This drives, of course, the women into industry, and the number of Negro women tobacco workers is amazingly large. The tobacco industry absorbs most of the Negro workers, but a good many are employed in construction, notably in the building of the new Duke University.

III.

In Durham, then, side by side, lives perhaps the most noted section of the Negro bourgeoisie in

America and a healthy section of the Negro working class of the New South. The Negro as a race looks toward emancipation—social, political, and economic. We have seen that the chances for this emancipation through the development of a strong Negro bourgeoisie are small. The proletariat remains. Can cooperation between white and black workers looking forward toward a new type of social organization be effected? A distinguished leader of the race, DuBois, has written: "Already the more far-seeing Negroes sense the coming unities: a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of men." To make this unity a reality, much work must be done. Particularly in the South, educational work along the line of racial understanding and cooperation is imperative. The workers, white and colored, must be organized. In the tobacco field, the Tobacco Workers International has been in existence for 35 years, has 3,000 members, 18 locals, only two of which are in North Carolina. In tobacco and textiles—the two most important industries in the South—millions of the industrial type are needed. Finally, the Negro must win the franchise in the South. Years of work will be necessary to break down prejudice, and to build up an effective unionism and political movement of labor in the South—indeed, in the country. But the time seems ripe for action. White and Negro must join hands. In the South, the workers of both races are economically but not ideologically ready.

## PLANNING FUTURE OF URBAN LIFE

By Henry J. Rosner

**Present Irresponsible Drift in City Growth Must Be Brought Under Intelligent Social Control If Chaos Is Avoided**

THE industrial revolution has committed us to urban life. To make our cities genuine homes for their inhabitants, planning their growth and development is absolutely essential. This, to be effective, must be a function of municipal government as distinct as legislation or administration. It must be entrusted to an independent authority in the shape of a board or commission composed of experts conversant with the technique of modern city planning. New York City and most of our cities lack such planning departments. New York's growth has not been controlled and guided by a master plan under the skillful direction of technicians. The results are to be seen on every hand, and in this respect New York City is anything but unique.

Walk through any residential section after school is out, and you are certain to find children playing their games in the streets in the direct path of oncoming automobiles and trucks. Children must play and if there are no playgrounds for them under the supervision of skilled leaders, one must expect to find them in the streets constantly facing the danger of being hit by motor vehicles. The lack of such neighborhood playgrounds is so well recognized that the Commissioner of Parks of the Borough of Brooklyn, after a detailed study, has requested the Board of Estimate to acquire thirty-five sites for playgrounds in the congested residential areas of his borough. There isn't a chance that this request will be granted. Assuming playgrounds two acres in size, the cost of condemning seventy acres of improved property would be much more than the city could bear.

Had the growth of our city been intelligently laid out, however, long before a specific neighborhood had been developed, when it contained few dwellings and

many vacant lots, a planning commission with foresight would have recommended that the municipal purchase enough of this vacant land to be held until such time as the growth of the area warranted the construction of a playground. Land in this early stage of improvement could be purchased for very little. Instead, the practice is to wait until the neighborhood has been completely built up. When the area is fully developed and becomes congested, a clamor goes up for the construction of a playground at general city expense. Then must the city pay not only enhanced values resulting from the growth of the community, but also for the buildings on the land. Costs mount so that the project becomes impracticable.

Stroll through the Grand Central district any noon. Watch the jostling crowds on the sidewalks or the traffic congestion in the streets. Go down into the subways between five and six o'clock any weekday and see how the New Yorker fights his way home after a hard day's work. The dangerously crowded streets and subways are only two of the many indications that the Grand Central district is painfully overbuilt. The unlimited sky-scraper development has reached such proportions that it brings into the area hosts of people more than the existing rapid transit facilities or even the very streets can accommodate. This condition is paralleled in countless other sections of the city. Planlessness has resulted in the herding of people here with no thought to beauty, comfort or economy.

This is easily avoided by regulating industrial and residential development with a view toward a more equitable distribution of the city's population. Such regulation would involve zoning ordinances restricting the height, bulk, number and type of buildings in a specific area. These ordinances would be dependent upon numerous factors and could only be drawn up after very careful study. Studying the factors would be one of the chief functions of a planning commission.

Not only would a planned city be a better place to work and play in, but a much less expensive one. For example, New York has launched a subway construction program which will cost a billion and a half dollars. Had the city's activities been decentralized through wise zoning, we would never have had the great concentration of business activities which necessitate daily transportation of over two million people to and from the lower end of Manhattan Island. This would have obviated the need for an extensive program of subway construction as the city has begun.

The same logic applies to traffic congestion. It is proving very expensive to the city as can be seen in such measures taken to relieve it as the expansion of police activities and the construction of the Motor Express Highway on the West Side, the Triborough Bridge, and the Brooklyn-Manhattan Vehicular Tunnel. A more balanced development would have saved us these immense expenditures. Courageous and imaginative city planning would have curtailed these items in our city budget and made available vast sums for other vital municipal activities. The Education and Health departments, for example, could make many needed improvements with additional appropriations.

It might be urged that the city beautiful, comfortable and economical could be achieved without setting up an independent planning authority in New York, since the Board of Estimate is the principal legislative body of the city already controls in every detail of its physical development. It has power to acquire sites for

parks and playgrounds; it authorizes major public improvements, and can determine their locations; it has sole authority over city zoning.

However, despite its possession of all these powers, we cannot, in all fairness, expect constructive results in city planning from the Board. Its members are much too busy. With the exception of the President of the Board of Aldermen, each member has important administrative responsibilities as well as a great deal of legislative detail to take care of.

What New York City needs is a definite City Planning Commission of about five members who are qualified experts in the field and whose job it should be, after a thorough study of the city to advise the Board of Estimate on all questions pertaining to its desirable growth and development. No major improvement, no change in the zoning laws, should be authorized before this expert commission has had an opportunity to study its merits. The Commission's recommendations should be given the most careful consideration by the Board of Estimate. To guarantee such consideration a three-

quarter vote of the total membership of the Board of Estimate should be required to overrule recommendations of the planning commission. We would not, however, go so far as to give the Commission power to veto proposals contrary to their recommendations as it is obviously undesirable in a democracy to give an appointive commission such a power over the decisions of a body elected by the people. In the final analysis policy must be determined by popularly elected officials.

The type of commission which we have just outlined is in thorough accord with the recommendation of the best authorities in the field of city planning throughout the country. But what does this mean to Tammany Hall? Mayor Walker has just introduced a bill in the Municipal Assembly, setting up a planning department, which violates virtually every one of the principles we have just enunciated. For the commission it substitutes a Commissioner at the head of a department, said commissioner to be appointed by the Mayor and to be his creature completely. Although all authorities recommend that the members of the planning com-

mission should be selected by the Mayor from a panel of names submitted by technical organizations like the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Institute of Architects and the American City Planning Institute in order to guarantee that the members of the appointed commission shall be technically qualified city planners and not political hacks, the Mayor allows no qualifications for his Commissioner to be made. While experts agree that a three-fourths vote of the Board of Estimate should be necessary to override the recommendations of the planning commission for reasons which have been indicated above, the Mayor's bill makes no provision for this. The Mayor's contemplated planning department is to have only advisory powers and there is no sort of guarantee that the Board of Estimate will even give careful consideration to its suggestions.

Even with its many shortcomings, the Mayor's bill seems to be much too radical for our Borough politicians. At a recent executive session of the Board of Estimate, Walker was the only man present who supported it. All the Borough Presidents as well as the President of the

Board of Aldermen opposed it vigorously, only the comptroller remaining neutral. The borough politicians object to a planning department in any form because they fear it will interfere with their power to initiate local improvements. On the other hand, the Mayor's enthusiasm for his bill may be exemplified by his desire to increase his own power at the expense of the Presidents of the Boroughs other than Manhattan. Certainly a planning department altogether under his thumb would help. The Mayor is a Tammany man, and Tammany, we must remember, is now faced by the prospect of losing its leading role in metropolitan politics through the steady migration of voters from Manhattan to the other boroughs.

The present opposition to the Mayor's bill is strong enough to kill it, indicating that New York City will have to wait a long time before it will have any sort of planning commission. In the meantime it writhes with growing pains, suffering all the evils incidental to planlessness. Need we any better example than this of how the general public welfare is daily trampled upon in partisan political wranglings?

### Young Longuet and His Marx Bust



The above is a portrait of Carl Jean Longuet, great grandson of Karl Marx, a talented sculptor, whose bust of his famous ancestor is shown above. This bust has been exhibited at the Salon des Artistes in Paris.

Young Carl is a son of Jean Longuet, journalist and lawyer and Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies and a prominent figure in the Labor and Socialist International. Longuet's father was a member of the Paris Commune and participated in that famous Paris rising. He married Jenny Marx, daughter of Karl Marx.

Information reaching The New Leader indicates that bronze duplicates of the bust in any size can be obtained in Paris.

### Queens Auto Outing Sunday, June 22nd

The automobile outing of Queens County Socialists will take place Sunday, June 22, to the beautiful Chatham Colony in New Jersey. Thanks to the cooperation of Harry T. Smith and Edward P. Clarke, the outing will be a splendid success socially and financially, and will enable the Queens organization to do a lot of constructive work.

To save time and to avoid confusion, each division will proceed from its own assembling point, direct to Chatham. The outing committee prepared full directions and road maps, on which the route is clearly marked with red ink. Each car owner will be furnished with a separate set.

Two more cars can be used, and if a reader can volunteer a car, please telephone immediately to the nearest manager: Jamaica Division, Harry T. Smith, Tel. HO 113 3776; Elmhurst and Corona, F.

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## THE HIGH PRICE OF PLAY

WE ARE now approaching that time when "All Out-Doors Calls You to Come Away from the Four Walls of Cities," etc.

You know the stuff. Most of it was written by young advertising copywriters last March who, when they had got it off their chests, hurried away to the wide open spaces of the nearest speakery to take the taste of it out of their mouths.

"Vacation time." "Pick up your heels." "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." The newspapers and circulars and billboards and radios are all hollering at us that it is our duty as God-fearing Americans to run out and play whether we happen to feel like playing or not.

Or as Merle Thorpe, editor of "Nation's Business," the glorified house-organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, put it the other day in a radio speech: "But no matter where you go, whether your sporting instinct calls for a steam yacht, a private golf course, or is content with the lawn of your home, you will find that a good many industries are making interesting work of your leisure. They are in business to aid and abet you in looking the part or in playing the game. Perhaps that is why the good sports in business like to look on it as the best sporting proposition in the world."

Then Mr. Thorpe goes on to give us fascinating statistics as to the amount of money we spend on the 110,000 roadside stands and tourists' camps, which last year exclusive of the sale of gasoline and oil was estimated at \$500,000,000, the total expenditure of 51 million dollars annually for food alone by campers and camp owners, the grand total of \$292,462,200 of all sorts of camp expenditures, the twenty million dollars spent for peanuts, the fifty millions spent for sports and athletic supplies and the three hundred million for ice cream, the seventy-five thousand dollars spent to put a football team on the field for a season, the grand estimated total of from four to five billion dollars a year spent by all of us for our so-called play.

Mr. Thorpe is quite justified in calling his speech, "The Big Business of Recreation."

Heel kicking is certainly getting to be a mighty costly proposition. John Tunis in "The New Republic" is writing an interesting series on "The Amateur Sports racket" with the significant sub-title, "Sport as a National Industry." He starts off with the following which needs to be said as it has caused a lot of shirt-leaving among the sports racketeers:

"Did you ever stop to consider how much it costs at the present time merely to clothe the average big-league player for one season? Starting at the bottom with his special speed shoes at \$25 a pair—usable for one game—and continuing with the underwear which has been made to order; the socks, the stockings, the shoulder pads, the hip and kidney pads, the specially devised braces to protect this ailing muscle or that torn ligament, the tin cups, the jerseys, the sweaters, the head-guards, the hoods, the glastebury, the de-luxe silk pants, there are dozens of items in the rumble-dumble which goes to make up the trousseau of the American college football star in 1930. Exact figures on this equipment are rarely obtainable, but the yearly clothing cost per man in the larger colleges is probably much closer to a thousand than to five hundred dollars. Multiply this by, say, twenty men on the varsity squad, then multiply this number by twenty of the leading colleges, and one begins to realize what is meant by the oft-repeated statement that sport is a big business today."

Now certainly it is not our intention to crab the idea of "getting away from it all." Every chance we get we "get away from it all." Our squawk comes from the fact that nowadays it is becoming more and more necessary to blow it all in order to get away from it all. We have recently played tennis on what is derisively called a "public court" where they soaked us three times an hour. This was in New York where of course vacant lots are scarce and you have to get it while the getting's good. Just the same no tennis that we have in our system is worth three bucks an hour and our Scotch instinct interfered a lot with the pleasure of the game as we figured out just how much it cost to serve a double fault.

Much worse are the prices charged by the summer camps. For thirty-five or forty dollars a week you can sleep on a bed that has about it the rigidity and narrowness of Cal Coolidge. You arise at ungodly hours because otherwise you are out of luck and run to a mess-hall grewsomely reminiscent of the dear, dead days of army life or, if you didn't happen to be in the army by the grace of God, of the pictures you have seen of the breakfast hour at the Ohio State Penitentiary. There seated next to some loathsome athletic old, or worse still, one of those outdoor gals with long bare legs exhibiting a startling variety of scars and other blemishes you are permitted to bolt down the worst coffee in your experience, carefully avoiding (if you can escape the eagle eye of the dietician) those strange and unpalatable foods supposedly rich in vitamins.

From then on you are regimented about by a succession of educational directors, tennis and swimming instructors, social drill-sergeants and dramatic Simon Legrees until finally you crawl back on your rock-bound cot, "to be lulled by the soft breezes which blow over the dreaming lake" from the direction of the garbage pit and to be assaulted by as hostile a group of mosquitoes, jiggers and plain gnats as any entomology contains.

To be sure there is no Federal law compelling you to go to any of these camps. And there are some of them where they leave you to your own devices and don't insist that you begin to play at the sound of a bugle-call. But just the same it seems a bit pathetic to think that a whole nation with a few exceptions, has to have its play handed out to it on the principle of mass production. Canned food, canned ideas, canned play. And the price of the stuff is going up every year.

McAlister Coleman.

### Science

Blessings on Science! When the earth seemed old, When Faith grew dotting and the Reason cold, 'Twas she discovered that the world was young, And taught a language to its lisping tongue; 'Twas she disclosed a future to its view, And made old knowledge pale before the new.

Blessing on Science, and her handmaid Steam! They make Utopia only half a dream, And show the fervent and capacious souls, Who watch the ball of Progress as it rolls, That all as yet completed, or begun, Is but the dawning that proceeds the sun.

—Charles Mackay.

Those who want to capture the machinery of the capitalist parties for Labor would have to give it up if they got it because the owners would prosecute for taking away their property without due compensation.

Those who think that Tammany is not an organization to promote philanthropy, as George Olvany contends, have their answer in the salary increases the boys voted themselves last week.

## Our Weekly Foreign Letter

# British Labor's Dilemma

Heavy Drop in Votes at Recent Bye-Elections  
Ascribed to Timid Unemployment Policy

By Fred Henderson

(Special New Leader Correspondent in England)

LONDON, July 2.

IF one were a detached and disinterested spectator instead of being in the thick of it, the present situation in the British labor movement would be fascinating to watch for the mere drama of it. But the dramatic subtleties of a developing situation are not easy to appreciate when one's vital hopes and purposes are at stake on the denouement. During the past month the development has been swift and potent; and in this first letter it will, I think, be best if I give a general survey of the situation, of how it has arisen, and how it has been affected by the events of a most important month.

To begin with, let me recall to you the position created by the general election of Parliament a year ago. We fought that election on as clear an issue as ever a political party placed before the electors. In "Labor and the Nation"—our election manifesto—we issued not only a statement of the principles by which the Party was to be guided in Parliament, but a series of definite and very carefully worked-out proposals which we assured the electors would be carried out if we became a Government.

Our electoral success in that appeal to the nation was great, but not quite great enough. We found ourselves the largest single party in Parliament; but we fell just short of an actual majority. The small group of Liberals who survived the appeal to the people, insignificant as they were in numbers, were just enough to make a majority against us in the House of Commons whenever they might choose to vote with the Conservatives.

From the beginning there was a strong difference of opinion within the Party as to what we ought to do with a situation like that. Ought we to take office or not? There were three points of view about it. The obvious fact we had to face was that if we took office we could not carry out election program into law. The first point of view was that even if we could not hope to go on with our program we ought none the less to take office; because there were many worth-while minor things we could do which the Liberals would not dare to oppose. The second point of view was also that we should take office, but with the intention of presenting

our policy at once to Parliament in a series of bold and massive measures for social reconstruction, knowing quite well that the House would not accept them but regarding it as the most effective way of educating the nation in our purposes in readiness for a second and decisive general election to follow as soon as our measures were rejected. The third point of view was against taking office, on the ground that it was folly to take responsibility without power to do what we believed to be the right and necessary things, and that in the long run our identification with a series of minor Liberal reforms, merely intended to make capitalist work a little more smooth, would confuse the public mind as to what we stood for, and lead to a bad reaction against the Party as time went on and the workers found that we were not delivering the expected goods.

In the end the first view prevailed, not by any deliberate choice by the Party, but mainly by Ramsay MacDonald's personal decision for office. And all that has since happened has developed out of the transfer of the controversy from the sphere of theoretical reasoning to the more decisive arena of actual facts and experience.

The test of experience in such a matter is necessarily slow. A Government in that position can fairly ask for time before judgment can be passed upon such an experiment; and during the greater part of the past year it has been fairly evident, both within the Party and by the more crucial test of bye-election opportunities for the general public to express an opinion, that most of those who supported the Party at the general election were prepared to give the Government a fair chance. A small group of M.P.s, with John Wheatley and James Maxton as their chief spokesmen, were openly hostile; but in the main there was, during the greater part of the year of Labor in office, no very noticeable disposition to withdraw support from the Government.

That period of a suspended judgment is now quite evidently coming to an end; and the deep significance of the events of the past month is that they reveal a definite and unmistakable decision taking shape in the public mind. The two outstanding facts have

### Fred Henderson Joins New Leader Staff

THE NEW LEADER has completed arrangements with Fred Henderson to act as its correspondent on the arena of political and economic affairs in England.

Fred Henderson is one of the best known of the English socialist journalists. His articles were a feature of the famous "Clarion" edited by Robert Blatchford. His more recent writings in the labor and Socialist press have been no less distinguished for their incisive treatment of current problems from the Socialist viewpoint. Henderson is the author of "The Case for Socialism," possibly the most widely read propaganda pamphlet published by the British Socialist movement.

Henderson's articles will appear in The New Leader exclusively once a month, as will articles by Emil Vandervelde on France and Belgium, Benedict Kautsky on Austria and G. E. Modigliani on Italy.



Fred Henderson

been Oswald Mosley's resignation from the Government, and the couple of test bye-elections at Fulham and at Nottingham. Mosley was one of the three Ministers deputed to assist J. H. Thomas in grappling with unemployment; and he resigns on the ground that in his opinion what has been done and is being done is futile and ineffective, and that he has been unable to persuade the Government to take action on the lines to which "Labor and the Nation" pledged the Party. That the action so far taken has been ineffective is beyond controversy; the tragical mounting up of the unemployment figures week after week is conclusive evidence of that; and Mosley's statement to the House of the case for putting the proposals of "Labor and the Nation" into effect made a deep impression.

But the resignation of a Minister, had it stood by itself, might have passed without creating any very serious trouble for the Government. Ministers who do not get their own way have often resigned, and Governments have survived the loss. What gave immediate larger importance to it was the fact that, as luck would have it, two important constituencies were, at that moment, involved in bye-elections. There you get to the ultimate reality in politics—the judgment of the constituencies. Parliamentary situations can be adroitly handled, and party machinery can be, shall we say, managed; but these are not realities in any final sense. They are the merest chaff when a blast of direct public opinion blows upon them.

What the elections have shown

is that Mosley's resignation was not merely the pique of a dissatisfied individual Minister, but a true interpretation of the views of a very large section of the Party throughout the country. Fulham was our seat at the general election; and we have now lost it. Nottingham was not our seat, but the Labor vote of 11,573 at the general election has now crashed down to 7,923. The lost votes have not been transferred to our opponents. The Conservatives have held their seat with a Conservative vote practically unchanged. It is by the abstention of our own people from voting at all that this staggering reduction in the Labor poll has been caused. About a third of our own supporters of a year ago, in a typical industrial constituency, have refused to support the Government any further.

This is wholly without precedent in the history of the Party. The advance of the labor movement during a generation past has made it a political axiom in Britain that once we convince our elector we convince him for keeps. And happily these figures do not falsify the axiom. For the facts about these abstentions are perfectly well known. It is not the indifference or the careless who has abstained, but our own most earnest fighters, and they have abstained not because they have any less faith in the Labor cause, but because they saw no reason for coming to support the Government which, in their judgment, was failing to carry out the declared policy of the Party.

That is one side of the story. From the Government side, the

point insisted upon is that the malcontents have failed to appreciate the difficulties confronting a Government which does not command a majority in Parliament. And that takes us back to the original point of controversy—was it wise to take the responsibilities of Government without commanding a majority in Parliament? If capitalist principles are to shape the actions of a Government, then, say the malcontents, let the capitalist parties carry the responsibility and the odium of the inevitable failure to make any real impression on the facts of poverty and unemployment.

The death of John Wheatley would have been a great loss to the movement in any circumstances. It is a disaster of the first magnitude in these present circumstances. In the Labor Government of 1924 he was by general consent our most successful administrator. He has been, from the moment of the last general election raised to the issue, the strongest opponent of the policy of taking office without power to do our own work; and we shall now have to thrust out the difficulties of this controversy without the help of one of the best brains and the strongest characters that have ever been devoted to the service of the movement.

LONDON, June 4.

Postscript—Within a day or two of the mailing of my letter, events have again moved very swiftly, and very much on the lines indicated in my main survey. Mosley's resignation and the Nottingham election have had immediate effect. J. H. Thomas, whose failure as Minister in charge of Government policy with regard to unemployment, has been the outstanding factor in bringing the discontent within the Party to a head, now drops out of that post and transfers to the Colonial office; and a new method is announced by which the Prime Minister himself will preside over a special committee of Ministers, with Vernon Hartshorn earmarked for special responsibility, whose job it will be to try and retrieve the situation. The bare announcement of the change of officers and of methods is all we have at the moment. What changes in actual policy will come of it remain to be seen; but at least here is prompt evidence that the Government is awake to the danger which Nottingham revealed.

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

### Dutch Socialists Open Disarmament Fight

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

AMSTERDAM.—The Dutch Social-Democratic Party has taken up the fight on a large scale against the new navy bill, which provides for an expenditure of more than 120 million florins for naval construction for the period 1930-1940. The campaign opens with the Social-Democratic summer festivals which take place in Nijmegen on July 6th; in Tilburg (North Brabant) on July 20th; in Leeuwarden (Friesland) on July 22nd, and in Zutphen on July 30th. An international rally attended by people from adjoining countries, which is being organized for July 27th in Aix-la-Chapelle by the Limburg Socialists jointly with German and Belgian comrades, is likewise to be a demonstration against Dutch and international armaments. A protest conference of the Party is to be held at the Hague on September 13th, the agenda of which will include the question of disarmament, workers' holidays (the right to a share in factory control, and state pensions. Great street demonstrations in favor of these demands will be held in Amsterdam and Rotterdam on September 14th.

### German, Belgian and Dutch Socialists In Fete

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BRUSSELS.—An international demonstration attended by people from adjoining countries is to take place in Aix-la-Chapelle on July 27th. About 25,000 Socialists and trade unionists from Belgium, Germany and Holland, will march in procession in Aix-la-Chapelle to a mass demonstration in favor of peace and understanding between the peoples.

### NEW SOCIALIST REVIEW

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LISBON.—The Portuguese Socialists are publishing a new international Socialist review called "Pensamento," which deals mainly with social and scientific subjects from the Socialist point of view. "Pensamento" is published as the organ of the Institute of Socialist Culture, and its editor is Antonio Fernandez. The review has to be seen by the censor before it can be published.

## MacDonald Recounts Accomplishments Of the British Labor Government

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LONDON.—"We have worked hard and we have asked the House of Commons to work hard." These were the words of the Prime Minister, addressed to me in his room at the House of Commons.

Twelve months ago yesterday Ramsay MacDonald, for the second time, became Prime Minister. For the benefit of the labor press, he talked to me of the achievements and disappointments of that eventful period.

"People may not realize it," he said, "but the legislative output of this Parliamentary session has been enormous, and far above the usual."

"We promised that we would amend the widows' pensions scheme, and we have done so."

"We addressed ourselves at once to the task of improving the administration of unemployment insurance, and amended the law in order that some obvious and crying grievances might be remedied."

"We are carrying a Housing Bill that gives local authorities the power they need to clear their slum areas and rehouse the people decently."

### COAL MINES BILL

"Our Coal Mines Bill takes the first steps towards bringing into that important industry the element of organization of which it has stood in such urgent need, besides doing justice to the mine-workers in the matter of their hours."

"Then there is the Bill to raise the school age. This will certainly, in my judgment, be regarded by future historians as a notable milestone on the road of educational progress."

"Our Consumers Council Bill gives the housewife protection against excessive prices."

"Our Budget placed the nation's finances on a sound basis. It laid on the backs best fitted to bear it the burden that resulted from our predecessors' failure to meet their bills."

"All this is the work of one Parliamentary session, in legislation alone. What previous Parliament could show such a record?"

"That, however, is not all. We

promised to pursue the path of peace abroad, and we have done so."

"I visited the United States because I felt that there had been in the past unnecessary misunderstandings between the two nations, which could, I felt sure, be removed by frank personal talks between President Hoover and myself."

"The results of the visit were better even than I had dared to hope and the way was opened for a big forward move towards disarmament."

### The Naval Treaty

"The recent Naval Treaty is a valuable contribution to the cause of disarmament by agreement."

"It removes possible causes of friction among the nations; it puts a limit to the process of naval competition; it is a definite step towards disarmament."

"In the League of Nations we have pursued the same ideal."

"As for the future, we look forward to a term of office in which we may extend the work we have begun."

"Much remains to be achieved, both at home and abroad."

"Problems confront us that have to be faced courageously and intelligently, and the nation has confidence in our ability to do the right thing."

"There is India; and then there will be the Imperial Conference this autumn, at which we shall apply ourselves to important issues affecting the political and economic future of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

"At home, there is, above all, the grave question of unemployment, which has suddenly increased in intensity all the world over, owing to causes beyond the control of the Government of this, or indeed, of any single nation."

"The problem is different in kind and degree from that which faced us when we came in a year ago, and is much more difficult to deal with."

The World Slump  
"Had the change not taken place, Mr. Thomas' efforts, which have been most useful and effective, would by now have made a noticeable impression on the figures of the unemployed, which would cer-

tainly have been under a million.

"Owing to the slump in world trade, however, their effect has been lost sight of by many people."

"The nation may rest assured that anything that a Government can do, both to strengthen the country's economic force and to mitigate the evil consequences of trade depression, is being, and will continue to be, done."

"We are facing this task with determination, and we ask confidently for the loyal support of our friends in the country to help us to go through with it."

### MAY DAY IN LITHUANIA

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—It was only possible to hold one meeting in Lithuania on May Day, namely that of the Socialist students in the Kovno High School itself. Several hundred students sent the following message to the Latvian Socialist students: "We promise never to slacken in the fight against Fascism and for a brighter future. Long live Socialism."

### Fascist Movement Rises In Denmark

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

COPENHAGEN.—The successes of the Socialist-Liberal Government in Denmark, headed by Stauning, seem to have caused Conservative forces to see no other way of extending their activities than by resorting to Fascist and semi-Fascist methods. Rumors have been circulating about a secret organization, recruiting its members and above all securing financial support, from the big landowners and industrialists of Denmark. An organization of the kind has been in existence for the last four months. A journalist from the Conservative "Nationaltidende" of Copenhagen has been employed as organizing agent. Funds of more than 100,000 Danish crowns have been collected.

The organization, which is called Alliance for Social Enlightenment (in Danish the abbreviation "S. O. S." from its Danish name "Socialt Oplysningsselskab"), is in general use, is confessedly directed mainly against the Social Democratic movement in the country, and against the present Government.

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## The Chatter Box

### Bricklayer

Rising from the sour earth  
With clod on limb and thigh,  
He climbs with bricks upon his back  
Toward the sullen sky.

With skiffull wrist to turn and slap  
He piles bricks row on row,  
And builds a universe for men  
Trafficking below.

Around him circle pools of air  
Sifting snow upon his face,  
Before him stretches broadly,  
Illimitable space.

His rugged hands displace the sky,  
Earth lies bound beneath his knee,  
And on his back he carelessly  
Balances immensity.

DORIS KIRKPATRICK.

EVERYTIME you talk about religion, or God, be prepared for an infinity of debate, rancor and uselessness. Time is so brief, and energy so scant. It were better to leave the discussion intensely alone.

And to talk about the labor unions, and organized labor in general is just as provocative of futile harangue among us radical folks as theology is among mankind at large.

So it were best to just let the unions, the A. F. of L., and their kind remain in utter neglect as far as our own purposes are involved.

And our own purposes are for the education of the workers in general to organize for the capture of government in order to establish a Socialist form of living.

From what we can observe, organized labor today is as spiritually and practically alienated from our ideals as Tammany Hall and the G. O. P.

We are not wasting any time or propaganda on Jimmy Walker or Bishop Cannon. Nor on any of their cohorts. We should forget the leaders and the followers of the old line unions. We must make up our minds that they do not belong any more to the working class. High wages, high exclusion of new members, high living, and no thinking among the highly protected trades has served to remove the leaders and most of the rank and file from any consciousness of their original class.

Socialism is an ideal entirely too fragile against the possessiveness of a job. Whatever is foul and ugly in the capitalist class has managed to weed itself into the garden plot of labor's splendid dream . . . and the job of cleaning up the mess is not for our time or power.

There are some thirty odd million workers left who are still untouched by present day unionism. Our task lies in that direction. And what a task! Yet withal, we have our unfortunate experiences with labor organizing to assist us in a better up-building . . . in a firmer structure for Socialism. I see where the New Leader has opened its columns to a frank discussion from the insiders of organized labor about their problems. The very first letter that came in from a responsible labor official opens up a stenchy mess, which if followed by answers, by accusations and counters will have all of us holding our noses in disgust.

Forget it all, say I. True, we have wasted a great deal of our lives in helping the unions to grow in strength out of fearful beginning. True, we have done our utmost to deserve their trust and faith.

But the way of all flesh has gotten them. Money, power, and greed have done for them what they are doing to the civilized world. There is no use in groaning over the failure. There are new worlds to win . . . over thirty million more men and women to hear our message and receive our help.

For whatever we may think of the Salvation Army, we too are a sort of faith-intruded folk who want to save humanity for its soul's sake. And having found treason and desertion among our old converts, we must rally forth to create a new army.

To call the leaders grafters, or idiots, or traitors is silly. The leaders reflect the followers with faithful image. To call the rank and file stupid and sheepish and all that is also insane. These have in the main become little bosses in mind, and some in fact. By their peculiar methods of exclusion, they have really become grasping possessors of their jobs. And that is all that suits them. So that except in times of utter stress and unemployment, our message is just so much boloney to them.

It is time we started a revamping of our threadbare illusions. If illusion be necessary let it at least be shiny and whole. We have no more right to include the old unions in our scheme of organization than we would have to call on the Rotarians, Lions and the Chambers of Commerce. The old unions are dead for us. Long live the new . . .

All this is said because there has grown up among our younger comrades an impatience and militancy for quick action to remake and remold the A. F. of L. and the others nearer to our dream's desire.

While one can admire them for their fine purpose, it needs only hard grained sense to remind them how useless the material is for such splendid intention.

Let them alone. They have a plan of shrinking into themselves. Expansion would be destructive to whatever they now possess in jobs and power. It is far easier to make a Socialist out of any unorganized worker. Let the living dead bury its own.

The world is just full of human beings who will find in Socialism whatever we see in it . . . if only they are shown as we were shown.

For such we must keep on the soap-box, in the offices, the shops and everywhere . . . For such we have a reason to exist.

To capture the unions, or to even hope for a friendly gesture from them is quixotic and humiliating . . . And above all impossible . . .

For if the old time "Socialist" clothing workers unions, born out of our own party have come to the sorry pass of opportunism, greediness for petty power and contentment with petty advantage, what may we hope for from the Aristocrats of the Railroad or the 17 dollar a day building trade blue bloods . . . ?

Let the old unions be. Forget them. Organize the rest of the workers. That's the job . . .

### Portrait of a Young Lady

Boring into sunlight, her nose can smell  
A dream parched yellow where the red truth fell;  
Scooping out a burden of concave death  
Her brow floats belly-wise in storms of breath;  
Teeth of her lashes, if they bite too soon,  
May bolt the food which is her dark of moon;  
She of the poetry of mouth too wide,  
Of breasts so small their hardness bristles pride  
Boasting a heart where nothing lives so long  
That its own singing may remain as song.

CHARLES A. WAGNER.

Last week I mentioned Wednesday night as the regular Poet's Corner at the Labor Temple under the tutelage of Anton Romka. . . . I wish to correct the error. . . . Tuesday night at 8:15 is the regular meeting time. S. A. de Wit.





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**SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1930**

## Tariff Paternalists

WITH the aid of enough Democrats Congress has passed the most notorious tariff bill in our history, a bill that is loaded with that "paternalism" which its supporters pretend to hate. After this performance Congress should erect a sign above its doors reading: "Stock Exchange. Open to Serve Capitalists. Leave Your Orders at the Desk. Action Guaranteed."

Within a few days billions of stocks crashed in Wall Street and 200 issues reached the low 1930 level. Meantime thirty nations are offended and they are not going to be kicked in the face without striking back. To divert attention from the fact that Congress is a servile agency of our arrogant capitalist exploiters, a committee is to drag a red herring into view by undertaking another investigation of Bolshevism. With the Bolsheviks reduced to five or six thousand members, divided into three sects and each cutting the throats of the others, this performance is obviously insincere and a defense screen to divert attention from Congress and from widespread unemployment.

What is evident in the passing of this tariff bill is that its supporters do not have sufficient ability to serve our ruling classes intelligently. The protests of the political economists a few weeks ago support this view. When a capitalist class has so little political opposition as in this country its agents do not have to think but when they cease to think they are also incapable of serving that class intelligently. The result is that the average member of Congress becomes dull and stupid.

Bad as economic conditions are for millions of workers and farmers they are not likely to improve. The cost of living will go up, retaliation abroad will decrease exports, industry will slow up, and more jobless men will walk the streets. Nothing is done for the unemployed. A few fat parasites may gain. No nation has been so absolutely ruled by witless agents of the capital-owning class.

## Tammany Sweaters

TAMMANY boys of the Board of Estimate have voted more salary increases which total over a half-million dollars. The increases go to high city officials whose salaries are already ample to keep the wolf from the door. Of course this reaching into the city money vaults without even so much as a whisper that the boys were going to help their cronies reveals budget-making as a farce but other aspects of the transaction are more interesting to us.

There are many thousands of city workers whose wage is so low that they vegetate on a sweatshop standard of living. As Norman Thomas points out, there has been no establishment of even a minimum of \$1,500 annually for these city wage workers. How the poor devils manage to live on their meager incomes is a mystery. The attitude of the Tammany rulers in this matter does not differ from that of the sweaters who, a generation ago, made the sweatshop a culture medium of disease and death.

This situation also illustrates one phase of capitalist politics that is often ignored. It is as much an exploiting business as the production of commodities for sale and profit. While the party machine in office must support the main property interests it is also required to enrich its agents by multiplying jobs and paying high salaries to the vulgarians who fill the jobs. The humble thousands of wage workers must be satisfied with low wages. It is because of this character of the party machine that an "Al" Smith eventually emerges as a banker. It is because of this that swine like Tweed, Croker and their ilk pass into oblivion as wealthy men.

Tammany is a sweatshop concern, its proprietors thriving on the masses of its dupes.

## The Census Returns

DISCUSSION of the census figures by Louis I. Dublin in the New York Times brings out some remarkable phases of American capitalism. Indications are that the urban population is now over 55 per cent compared with 51.4 per cent in 1920. Even this may not tell the whole story as it is estimated that about 10 per cent of all persons living on farms are engaged in other than rural occupations.

The farms have lost about 4,000,000 population in the past ten years while the tendency to industrialize agriculture continues. In other words, the capitalist system of production is slowly transforming American agriculture. Despite the huge decline in the rural population the output of the farms increases. This is due to the application of labor-saving machinery and the electrification of the farm.

It is interesting to speculate on these shifts and changes. The four million who have left the farms are not dead. Shifted into urban life, they come into contact with industry which is also displacing workers. Machinery and technical changes have been throwing masses of workers aside and we are facing a nation-wide unemployment problem. Even professional men are being displaced by mergers.

What does it all mean? Simply that American capitalism is creating a proletariat. With immigration reduced to a minimum, American and Americanized workers are being sentenced to occupy a permanent place in the lowest layer of society. Immigrants and Negro workers have for decades vegetated on this level. Now it is the boasted "freeman" who must face this and with the knowledge that the owners of industry cannot employ all.

If there ever was a situation ripe for a great Labor and Socialist movement this is it. American capitalism is recruiting a working class that it cannot feed or make content. It is preparing the way for a Socialist order.

## Poisoned Fruit

THE aftermath of modern wars is disillusionment. Masses fight for what they do not get and they get what they do not fight for. This is even true of the Civil War. Probably not one worker who fought in the northern armies knew that a clever and cynical group of politicians representing the bankers, manufacturers, railroad investors and mining speculators of the North planned to control the government when the slave system was conquered.

We wonder what these dead workers would think today if they awoke to observe the mastery enjoyed by these economic groups. What would they think of the politics and the leading parties of today? Would they enjoy the spectacle of the two parties, led like twin puppets by the same string and fed by the same owners? Would they rejoice that their lives had been given that city regimes like that in New York and Chicago might flourish as poison upon trees?

Here is Chicago, ripe fruit of capitalist politics. If some one seventy years ago had predicted that the city which nominated Lincoln in 1860 would in another generation reproduce some of the work and activities of the old Italian Mafia he would have been jeered. But here is the city a scene of gang wars and murders, the deadly gat an instrument of sovereignty, and gang leaders enjoying influence with high public officials. It is a "state of armed anarchy," confesses one Chicago daily.

This is the revolting thing nourished by the politics of capitalism and other large cities are more or less affected by it. Will the Congressional committee now investigating the red herring please take this into account when making its report?

## IN A NUTSHELL

New York Republicans are looking forward to a victory over Tammany Hall because of the many exposures of corruption. We understand that they are negotiating for the services of Fall and Doheny to clean the Tammany stables.

It would be difficult to conceive of a real advance toward social justice in the United States that has not left, or would not leave, a vast wreckage of judge-made law in its pathway.—Donald Richberg in "Tents of the Mighty."

With former mercenary soldiers of the late Czar Nicholas welcomed in American "patriotic" parades and bankers and capitalists praising Mussolini we may be sure that no tariff will be erected against the importation and sale of the views they represent.

One advantage the power gang has in seeking control of all the power sources of the nation is that our voting power before election becomes their government power after election.

Nothing is more terrible than to see ignorance in action.—Goethe.

It is better for a man to go wrong in freedom than to go right in chains.—Thomas Huxley.

A Socialist vote never came back to the worker with an injunction written on it. Republican and Democratic ballots are exclusively used for that purpose.

The Money Power garbs itself in militarism, nationalism, sectarianism, and all the other hypocritical guises which Capitalism finds useful to its purposes. These serve as pretexts to hatreds. These are the bulwark behind which Capitalism gorges and digests in security.—Emile Zola.

Another salary grab on the part of the Tammany boys shows that they believe it isn't necessary to wait for Christmas to find the "neediest cases."

If the working class had the same power to enact old age and unemployment insurance that the capitalist class has to jack up its tariffs wouldn't it be a wonderful feeling?

## Shortridge And "Honest Labor"

By Mercer G. Johnston

THERE is not only a nationwide, outcry against the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill (whose nickname is "Grundy's Grab"). From 170 foreign nations or important groups, and from outstanding spokesmen of every department of life within the United States except the specially favored tariff "thieves and hogs" to whom Charles Francis Adams pays his respects, strong protests against the "racketeering" bill have come. One of the most powerful of these protests was that signed by 1025 of the leading American economists. Everywhere this calm analytical condemnation of the pending measure met with respectful consideration, with one known exception. That exception was Senator Shortridge of California, one of the senatorial gluttons for infamy who noisily sponsored the bill. This Samson came to judgment smote the economists with the jawbone of an ass.

This is what the Senator said: "As for me, I am not overawed and I am not at all disturbed by the proclamation of the college professors who never earned a dollar by the sweat of their brow; honest labor—theorists, dreamers—I am not overawed or disturbed by their pronouncements. . . . Oh, those college professors! Some time I shall take a day off to express my views touching their capacity to guide this Nation!"

More and more the grandiloquent tommyrot glibly talked by the junior Senator from California is coming to be the most notorious brand of senatorial apoplexy. But what struck us most aghast about this particular explosion was the reference to money earned by "honest labor."

This is why. One of the blackest crimes ever perpetrated under the American flag by a State represented by a star in it against an innocent American citizen is the unrepented crime of the State of California against Tom Mooney. But for President Wilson California would have gotten away with the murder of an innocent man by a carefully calculated conspiracy. As it is, California is getting away with life imprisonment of an innocent man. Yes, of two innocent men, for Billings also is still behind California bars, his face, like Mooney's, a living indictment of his State's infamy.

If ever a State committed whoredom, and brazenly flapped its filthy finery in the face of common decency, and smeared its courts from top to bottom, and degraded the courage of its officials, even the highest, to courage, sun-kissed, sin-cured California did that in the course of its frenzied conspiracy against Tom Mooney.

Now, Senator Shortridge played an important role in this conspiracy. But for him, there is good ground for believing, Tom Mooney, who is as innocent of the crime for which he was fouly convicted as the Senator himself, would never have been brought so near to death, or been buried alive these past thirteen long years in St. Quentin prison.

In the early stages of the conspiracy the "frame-up" was about to fail to pieces. It rested upon the rotten foundation of the testimony of Frank C. Oxman, the State's star witness. Suddenly it became known to all the world that did not wish to believe a lie that Oxman was certainly guilty of suborning perjury, and almost certainly guilty of perjury of the most dastardly brand.

To save the conspiracy Oxman had to be saved. If Oxman went to prison it would be most too embarrassing to send Mooney to the death house, even for conspirators as callous as ever plotted against human flesh and blood, whether from cowardly or sordid motives. No matter that Oxman smelted of perjury and blood that a decent lawyer could not approach him without holding his nose, no matter at what cost to the reputation of California courts, he had to be saved.

The lawyer selected for this job was Samuel Morgan Shortridge, now serving in the United States Senate, coterminously with Tom Mooney's service in the California State Prison. He was reputed to be a smart lawyer. Abe Ruef was one of his clients. He performed the easy trick; easy, because his associates were pastmasters at court "rigging". Oxman went forth a free man. The black shadow of death fell on Mooney. The smart lawyer (it has often been publicly stated without its truth being questioned) got \$10,000 for his "honest labor."

"Oh, those college professors! Some time I shall take a day off to express my views touching their capacity to guide this Nation!"

## Special Bundle Rates

THE NEW LEADER offers a very low special rate for bundles of fifty or more papers weekly. By placing a standing order for a bundle, branches and locals will find it profitable and also will increase the circulation of the paper.

# The Flathead Power Grab

A New National Scandal In The Making  
The Fictitious Regulation Clause

THE Federal Power Commission has done its heroic bit to allay the business depression by a timely gift to the struggling power trust. The Flathead water-power site in Montana, second in importance only to Muscle Shoals, is the generous donation. It has been leased to the Rocky Mountain Power Company, a subsidiary, in turn, of the Electric Bond and Share Company.

The lease is being heralded as a great victory for the consuming public and for the Indian owners of the site. Its exponents point out with much satisfaction that a great natural resource will no longer go to waste, that the Indians will receive a return above all original expectations, and that the terms of the license constitute the very ideal of public regulation.

The deal is, in reality, the greatest hoax which has been perpetrated upon the public in recent years. So glaringly evident is this, from the terms of the license itself, that it cannot be explained by Secretary Wilbur and his assistants as an oversight. It stands out as a deliberate attempt to perpetuate and strengthen the power monopoly.

Much might be said against entrusting the development of this immensely valuable project to the Montana Power Company under which it operates, but, with the closely associated Montana Copper Company, it is the political dictator of this area as well. A Congress interested in protecting the public and its rights might have considered federal development of the Flathead power sites as an effective measuring stick. A great deal could be said, moreover, in favor of the establishment of wholesome competition by the grant from the non-Socialist viewpoint of the license to Walter H. Wheeler, the independent competing applicant. The lease should at least have been delayed until the completion of the pending reorganization of the Power Commission. But even granting the desirability of development under Montana Power Company auspices, a vastly different type of contract was necessary to protect the consumer. Certain extraordinary provisions of the license itself provide painfully sufficient evidence of the Commission's betrayal of the public interest.

Justification of the lease on the ground of needed development to avoid further waste of energy is decidedly specious. The Montana Power Company has no intention of adequate development. It is

merely following the dog-in-the-manger policy of preempting all available sites lest they fall into the hands of an embarrassing competitor. Already in control of undeveloped sites on the Missouri River capable of producing 200,000 horsepower, the company now comes into possession, for a 50-year period, of Flathead water-power site No. 1, which is the key to the profitable development of the five Flathead sites with their potential capacity of 214,000 primary horsepower. It purposes to develop, however, only 68,000 horsepower of the 114,000 primary horsepower capable of generation at site No. 1. The rest it can guard, through benevolent federal cooperation, against competition which might menace its monopoly position with its inflated capitalization and excessive profits. The Federal Power Commission, in facilitating this state of affairs, has deviated from its general policy of insisting that a power company develop all the sites that are possible on the river upon which it has leases before it will be granted a site on another river.

A significant arrangement is the granting of the license, not to the Montana Power Company. The licensee agrees that its securities shall be issued only to the Montana Power Company. (Article 39) The terms of the license establish very rigid control over the Rocky Mountain organization. It is to be capitalized only on the actual cost of construction, its accounts will be independently maintained and under the constant scrutiny of the Federal Power Commission, and the profits from power sold are to be limited (Article 38) to "an average return of eight per cent per annum on its actual legitimate investment" in facilities and property used in the generation and delivery of the power. With the cost of generation at close to two mills per kilowatt hour, and with the exclusion of all fictitious values from the rate base, the purchasers are in line for the full benefits of government control. It is this feature which has aroused the enthusiasm of many proponents of effective regulation.

But this optimism, unfortunately, is somewhat premature. The joker, and there is a beautiful one, is to be found in Article 36 of the license. "The licensee agrees that it will enter into a contract with The Montana Power Company under which all electrical power and energy generated by the project covered by this license, except that delivered to or reserved for the

United States pursuant to the provisions of this license, shall be delivered to or made available for said The Montana Power Company or its nominee". Thus there will be no cheap power at cost plus eight per cent for Montana towns and farms, no cheap power for new industry that might be attracted to the Flathead region, only cheap power for the Montana Power Company to pass on to the consumers of the state at exorbitant rates.

If the dummy licenses could be thus adequately controlled under the Federal Power Act, why was not this control imposed upon the actual licensee where it would have been of direct benefit to the people of Montana? The rate control applied to the dummy licensee is of little or no value except to the Montana Power Company. Applied to the parent company as licensee, this control could have been made of far reaching value in reducing rates to the ultimate consumers. If the Montana Power Company were the licensee, it would have been required to submit its financial structure and operations in all particulars to the direct scrutiny of the Commission. Under the convenient arrangement of the dummy organization the Montana Power Company is saved all such embarrassment. It can capitalize its contract with the Rocky Mountain Power Company, include this fictitious value in its rate base, and retain its excess profits from the sale of Flathead power with absolute impunity in so far as federal control is concerned.

The device has the further use of making it appear that the Indian rental is high in comparison to the licensee's earnings. If the licensee were the Montana Power Company, then it would be apparent that the Indian rental was low when compared to the excess earnings of the Montana Power Company.

Sworn testimony in the hearings before the Commission developed that the excess profits to the Montana Power Company from the sale of Flathead power will be \$700,000 a year. An additional profit of \$200,000 a year will accrue to the Thompson Falls site of the Company from the regulation of flow at Flathead site No. 1. But since these will be the profits of the actual, not the dummy licensee, the Federal Power Commission will have no jurisdiction over their proper distribution to the Indians and the public.

The Montana Power Company

distributes nearly one-half its energy to the Montana Copper Company at a special rate, approximately one-half of the rate charged to other industrial consumers. Mr. John D. Ryan's intriguing device of a dummy licensee was admirably conceived to prevent the Commission from interfering with this arrangement between his two companies.

True, the Public Service Commission of Montana will now have available important information as to production costs which it may use in determining rates. But the work of the Montana commission has been singularly ineffective. It has not prevented the excessive rates to industrial and domestic consumers which offset the cut rate sales to the Montana Copper Company. It has no jurisdiction, under Montana law, over the issuance of securities by the utility companies. It was unable to prevent the purchase by Mr. Ryan of the Thompson Falls power plant for \$925,000 and its immediate sale to the Montana Power Company for \$5,000,000 worth of stock in that company. It has not been able to prevent the Montana Power Company from carrying over 50 per cent of its total capitalization on its books as "water rights, franchises and contracts", and from charging the people of Montana interest and profits on that amount of water in its capitalization. It will be impotent to prevent the capitalization at more millions of dollars, the contract for the purchase of power from the Rocky Mountain Power Company.

The Flathead license is, in brief, but another of the magnificent fictions of regulation. While the Federal Power Commission "regulates" the Rocky Mountain Power Company with all of the appropriate gestures of efficiency, its fond parent, the Montana Power Company, gathers in the concealed profits which could, under direct supervision, have been safeguarded for the Indians and the public. The completed contract, now secure as against action by Congress, is still vulnerable to action in the courts. From the point of view of the Indian owners of the Flathead site, of the competing applicant for the license, and of the consuming public, the validity of many of its provisions, as well as the method of its negotiation, are open to legal attack. It is to be hoped that the opportunity will not be lost to nullify the contract in the courts, as well as to expose the ruthless neglect of the public interest displayed by the officials responsible for its perpetration.

## BOOKS ABOUT BOOKS

### By Joseph T. Shipley

BEING myself engaged in the preparation of a book about books, I am naturally appalled at the hosts of such volumes recently issued. All the world's turned critic, these democratic days. . . . In spite of Henry Adams' indication of the degradation of democracy. The complete failure of the people's vote to achieve equal distribution of the comforts of life does not lessen the opinion any individual is likely to have, about his superior critical brains.

The first of the books before me now has a sound and legitimate start, being Mary Ware Dennett's "Who's Obscene?" (The Vanguard Press, \$2.50) an account of her trial for having written and circulated "The Sex Side of Life". The blackguardly method used to secure the evidence against Mrs. Ware—recently matched in Boston (where there once, remember, was a tea-party)—is in strong contrast to the quiet dignity of the woman herself; her earnestness and progressive zeal are clear in these pages—indeed, when the Y. M. C. A. has used her pamphlet, what further guarantee that it is safe need the government ask? The book is more than a mere record of the trial, however, as it gives glimpses of other obscenity cases, and studies the motives behind such drives and such "reformers". More literary in its direction are

the "adventures of a pragmatist in aesthetics", the essays of Horace Kallen; and he shows how truly pragmatic he is by permitting as title "Indecency and the Seven Arts" (Liveright, \$2.50), though that is the title of an old and little interesting essay in the book, not truly indicative of its tone. But the writer is led into curious futilities too many here to dwell upon. Provocative always, he usually stirs to contradiction. Thus, in his survey of expressionistic criticism, Mr. Kallen first overlooks the fact that the critic may write in order to organize, to discover, his own thoughts—and then, after the event, naturally wish to share them; then he accuses the critic of "sustaining the presumption" that his work is inevitably to advise the public about a work of art, when it is Mr. Kallen who presumes this, and the critic often frankly says—let us put it in Anatole France's words: Let us agree that we are talking about ourselves, on such and such a subject. "Mr. Somebody," says Mr. Kallen, "does not heed the criticism because he is interested in the critic"; has Mr. Kallen never read a critical work? He seems to be talking about book reviews. The scorn of this eminent pragmatist is further heaped upon those who prefer "growing up" as a word, to "maturation", "growing old" to "senescence", and "call this

consequence of laziness and fear good writing". "Grow old along with me, The best is yet to be, The last of life, for which the first was made"—so wrote a wiser man.

The pedantry that makes as well understanding in these essays is well seen in contrasting "The Quality Called Eastern" in Mr. Kallen's book with the similar essays in Edith Hamilton's "The Greek Way" (Norton, \$3), wherein the truly modern spirit of the Greeks, alone of ancient peoples, is brought out, together with illuminating and fresh comments upon the comedy and tragedy of the great Athenians. This book is unpretending and alive; and it comes as a glad, deep breath between the pretentiousness of "Indecency and the Seven Arts" and the profound lifelessness of Louis Rudin's "A Primer of Aesthetics" (Civici, Friede \$3). For instance, in the last named, the chapter headed "Aesthetics" begins: "As we have seen, a distinct term may itself mean or be meant by a variety of others, and a work of art may itself be meant as the same work of art" to which each of its reductions in different meanings refers. Overlooking the fact that the writer is himself so tangled that he cannot connect his verb with its subject, and recognizing that he may protest it is unfair to pull out a specimen of chapter XIV, which the earlier chapters have led up to, I am forced to the feeling nonetheless that a great hocus-pocus and Mumbo-Jumbo have been stirred, an introduction of new fangled phrases and complications into an already too complicated field, with the middle not cleared but made the more muddy.

For a final boon comes the second part of Thomas Hardy's biography, "The Later Years", by his widow (Macmillan, \$5). This book presents the narrative of Hardy's life from the completion of "Tess", "Jude the Obscure", his last novel, is still ahead, and many poems, and "The Dynasts" there are surrounded with personal comments and objective portraits made by an intimate, which fill or correct the picture one may have had of the man, and give the book its value for all who have enjoyed the stern writings. A few days before he died, Hardy had read to him Browning's poem "Grow old along with me". . . . Perhaps critics will someday recognize that every book is about—its author. This being the case, it is equally about the civilization which produced him.

## Looking Back At the War

From "Death of a Hero," by Richard Aldington

OUR splendid troops" were to come home—oh, so very soon—purged and ennobled by slaughter and lice, and were to beget an even nobler race of even nobler fellows to go and do likewise. . . . We were to have . . . but really I lack courage to continue. Let those who are curious in human imbecility consult the newspaper files of those days.

If you want to judge a man, a cause, a nation, ask: Do they Cant? If the War had been an honest affair for any participant, it would not have needed this preposterous bolstering up of Cant. The only honest people—if they existed—were those who said: "This is foul brutality, and we admit and respect brutality, and admit that we are brutes: in fact we are proud of being brutes." Thanks for your honesty. You, at least, were an honorable murderer.

To be born for the slaughter like a calf or a pig! To be violently cast back into nothing—for what? . . . Is there nothing but despair and death? Is life vain, beauty vain, love vain, hope vain, happiness vain? "The war to end wars." Is there anyone so asinine as to believe that? A war to breed wars, rather.

## 100,000 To Welcome Northern Edition of "Daily Herald" July 7

LONDON.—The Northern edition of the new "Daily Herald" will be first published at Manchester on July 7th.

Preparations are being made for a great gala day in celebration of the Northern edition on June 28th. It is expected that at least 100,000 people will attend from all parts of the North of England. Excursions by train and motor-coach from all important towns are being run for the occasion. A wonderful procession, expected to be 20,000 strong, will march through the main streets of Manchester. There will be speeches of welcome from Cabinet Ministers, music by massed bands, singing by united choirs, dancing competition and the presentation of striking tableaux representing scenes portraying the advance of Labor. In addition to this great piece of organized publicity, a large body of helpers is being enrolled with the object of securing 500,000 new readers for the paper.



"Couldn't you send me a nice, good-looking radical—who isn't too upsetting?"