

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Gov. Roosevelt Trying to Catch Up—Imitation and Real Unemployment Insurance—Chicago's Newspapers—The Journal of Commerce and the Tribune—Clippings and Comment

ROOSEVELT LEARNS FAST

THE education of Governor Roosevelt of New York by Socialists proceeds apace. First he took the plank, or part of the Socialist plank, on old age pensions which he never mentioned in his campaign in 1928. And now, when he is out of his own state, he declares for unemployment insurance, a subject which he did not recommend to the legislature when it was in session or so much as mention when he set up his Unemployment Commission. Well, it is never too late to welcome a convert. Governor Roosevelt's conversion, however, would be more impressive if his advocacy on unemployment insurance were more outspoken. If he were not so closely allied with Tammany which has not appropriated a single nickel for an unemployment program in New York—unless one counts its pay raises to deserving Democrats in office as a provision against unemployment. Moreover, if the Governor is really to develop a proper program of social insurance he has got to make a fight to take workmen's compensation insurance out of the hands of the insurance companies which do much to frustrate its good intentions.

THE KIND OF INSURANCE NEEDED

NOW that unemployment insurance is getting into "practical," that is to say old party politics, it is particularly important that we should be on our guard not to be fooled by such miserable substitutes for the real thing as most of the old age assistance laws. I should like to suggest these principles in working out an unemployment insurance plan:

1. It should be part of a comprehensive program against unemployment and also part of a comprehensive program of insurance of the workers for other purposes including old age, sickness and death. Only state insurance, and probably compulsory state insurance, can deliver the workers from the life and accident insurance racket which Dr. Abraham Epstein analyzed for the League of Industrial Democracy Conference in such vivid terms.

2. Under no circumstances must private insurance companies be permitted to carry unemployment insurance which must be administered under proper government auspices.

3. Ideally, unemployment insurance and other social insurance should be a function of the Federal government. State boundaries are meaningless in industrial matters. Unemployment insurance in New York State will not get far if the growing industrial states of the South exempt employers from bearing this reasonable cost of industry. Nevertheless, unemployment insurance by states is better than no unemployment insurance.

4. Primary cost of unemployment insurance should be put on employers with differential premiums to stimulate employers in avoiding seasonal and other forms of unemployment. I think the state also should contribute from general taxation because certain sick or small industries or industries undergoing great changes in method and number of workers required would otherwise be hard put to it to bear the entire cost. Contributions by the workers are another matter. It is absurd to suggest, as apparently Gov. Roosevelt did, that unless the workers contribute the insurance will be a charity or a dole. It is not a charity for our industrial system to meet the cost of unemployment. If some contributions from workers are necessary to obtain the passage of any unemployment insurance or if they are advisable for other reasons they should at least be small. This may be a question for study but I am inclined to think that the burden of proof is on those who would make contributions out of the small salaries of workers an important source of a state unemployment insurance fund.

CHICAGO'S FUNNY SHEET

I DO NOT know any paper which gives me such sheer joy as the Chicago Journal of Commerce. Week after week it keeps on complimenting the Socialist Party and the L. I. D. for their effective fight "for the gradual socialization of industry," especially public utilities. It quotes two propagandists of the public utilities in a recent issue in support of its contention, and it is sure that Senator Norris is a Socialist under the Republican label—this because Senator Norris is a member of the Committee on Coal and Power which the League for Industrial Democracy set up and because Senator Norris has put up such a good fight for public ownership and operation of Muscle Shoals. I greatly admire Senator Norris, but, alas, I am not quite so sure of his Socialism as is the Journal of Commerce. I confess I have few higher ambitions than to have the Socialist Party and the L. I. D. worthy of the Journal of Commerce's estimate of their power.

THE TRIBUNE'S LITTLE RACKETEERS

THERE is another paper in Chicago which is worth talking about. This is the Chicago Tribune—"the world's greatest newspaper"—or its worst, whichever you prefer. It now appears that this great newspaper hired a \$65 police reporter named Lingle to give it the low down on crime without ever knowing or suspecting that as Al Capone's friend he himself was very deeply and profitably in the racket. Only some weeks after his murder by gangsters did the paper discover that he was no pure martyr. It is incredible that the Tribune should be so innocent in these matters. Part of Lingle's drag was supposed to be the fact that the Chicago chief of police was the Tribune's man. Racketeering in Chicago has some of its roots in the fight of the newspapers for circulation, and it is said now that gangsters who work for the Tribune and Herald Examiner would make it cost from 12 to 20 lives to establish another newspaper in Chicago. My guess is that what the Tribune did not know about Lingle it did not want to know.

THE IRAQ TREATY

IT is a great pleasure to turn from news of India to the news that Great Britain, under a Labor Government, has signed a treaty for the independence of Iraq to be effective when that state enters the League of Nations in 1932. The statesmanship which solved the Mesopotamian problem, Mesopotamia being the old name for Iraq, ought not to be helpless before the more difficult Indian problem.

IN THE DAY'S NEWS

DIFFERENT friends have sent me some clippings that cry out for comment. First I want to congratulate the Labor Review of Atlanta, Georgia, and the labor movement of Atlanta, generally, for its outspoken stand in support of civil liberties which are gravely menaced by the attempt to invoke an old dead letter statute against Communists under which the death penalty may be inflicted for no worse offense than a Communist meeting. Not Communism but civil liberty is at stake at this trial as Atlanta labor clearly sees.

From another Southern paper—capitalist, of course,—the Charlotte Observer, a friend sends me a most extraordinary screed written by a man who doesn't think more money or more education in wanting money will do the workers any good. Most education, he seems to think, is no good. Like so many other writers in Southern papers he tries to bring Jesus into the discussion. This sort of opinion is, one fears, typical of a dominant anti-labor attitude in the South. It is satisfactory, however, to observe that this diffusion drew a pretty effective answer which the paper published. We hope Southern friends of labor and liberty will not neglect the open forum columns of the press.

Finally, I want to endorse and recommend to your attention a very significant review entitled "New Facts About the Negro" which appeared in the Herald Tribune on Sunday, June 22nd. It is written by Benjamin Stolberg about Charles S. Johnson's "The Negro and American Civilization." It is a very powerful indictment of the various foundations which backed a factual study of statistics about Negroes without any interpretation. Stolberg says of Dr. Johnson: "He is a very shrewd man who can make his facts shut up." Dr. Johnson does this not because he wants to but because only so can he get the support of foundations too often concerned in making facts shut up instead of making them live as facts live in that exceptional survey "Middletown."

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Is Combined

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Unemployed Hunt for Food in Garbage Dump



A FOOD STATION FOR THE UNEMPLOYED OF NEW HAVEN. To this garbage dump at Commerce and Silver streets every morning come women and children, and occasionally some men, to rummage for a few odds and ends of refuse to make a day's meal. Debris from the markets are dumped here after it has been swept up by street cleaners. Often youngsters eat fruit directly from the pile without first taking it home to be washed as most women do. The picture was taken last week by a photographer of The New Haven Times.

Employment Data in Census Is Under Fire

Unionists Astonished at Low Rates of Idleness Reported by Government

UNEMPLOYMENT census figures given out by the government are arousing wider criticism among labor people as the totals continue to be given out at Washington. Union secretaries who report monotonously that 10, 25 and even 50% of their membership is unemployed read with astonishment President Hoover's announcement that the Federal job figures show only 2.2% of the population jobless. Men who make private surveys of their friends, showing a third jobless and many of the others on part time, wonder how a Federal census gets that way.

Councilman Clement A. Norton of Boston put it out rather vigorously to the Boston census supervisor when the Federal figures showed only 27,000 without work there. He pointed out that the police census recently showed 41,000 jobless. "If that number," he said, "admitted to a police officer in uniform that they were out of work, there must have been at least 75,000 unemployed."

Labor people are suspicious that the Federal figures, by grossly under estimating the seriousness of the unemployment crisis, will give Hoover and his satellites in state and city administrations excuse to sidestep pension and relief measures. With 10% more jobless this year than last, according to Labor Bureau, Inc., and the earnings of those still on the pay rolls cut by 5%, the Federal work census will fail to arouse much enthusiasm among unemployed workers, and those who still have jobs on part time or with wages cut.

Coal, Iron Murderers To Serve Few Months

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—Coal and iron politicians J. M. Lyster and Harold Watts, who brutally beat John Barkoski to death, arrived in Pittsburgh June 26 to begin sentences of 12 and 10 months respectively in the Allegheny county workhouse.

"Socialistic" Electric Light Plant Succeeds In Easton, Maryland

EASTON, Md.—(FP)—Here on the sleepy eastern shore of Maryland, Easton, town of 4000, has a municipal electric plant valued at \$209,000 against an indebtedness of \$18,000. And townspeople pay no tribute to the power trust.

In 1914 Easton authorized a bond issue of \$50,000 to erect the plant, against the advice of conservatives who said municipal ownership was not only socialism but sure to end in disaster. Today the Easton resident consuming 50 kw hours a month pays \$3.50. At Oxford, nearest private power and light served community, which pays toll to the East Coast Utilities Co. and its extensive list of stock and bondholders, the same amount of current costs \$6.90.

Last year Easton, with its rate of 7¢ per kw hour, made a profit of \$27,000 on its city light plant. Efforts are being made by the Maryland Power Co., power trust subsidiary, to force the municipal plant to sell out.

No Amalgamation Action at Engineers Convention

CLEVELAND—(FP)—Amalgamation of the engineers and firemen's brotherhoods has not been considered by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers convention, meeting in Cleveland, contrary to reports published in the business press. A proposal to widen the engineers' jurisdiction to include firemen and hostlers, strongly opposed by Grand Chief Johnston and other officers, was voted down.

Officers in the future will be elected for 3-year terms, according to the new constitution being discussed by the convention. The new rule will not affect Grand Chief Johnston and fellow officers elected for a 6-year term in the 1927 convention. The editor of the Locomotive Engineers Journal will be elected instead of appointed in the future. Former Chief Warren Stone had the office made appointive in 1922.

Proposals to call conventions for May instead of June, to take advantage of cooler weather, were voted down after southern delegates complained they did not want to come north to Cleveland to "freeze" in the spring month.

House Blocks Repealing of War Gag Law

Walsh Measure Put on Shelf by House Judiciary Committee

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Opposition to repeal of the gag sections of the Federal espionage law, on the part of the Republican organization in the House, has blocked the movement to restore freedom of speech in war time, as proposed by Senator Walsh of Montana and accepted by the Senate on June 11. The measure is now laid away on the shelves of the House judiciary committee.

This bill repeals Sec. 3 of Title I, and Sec. 1, 2 and 3 of Titles XII, of the espionage law of 1917-20. The first named section reads: "Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both."

Walsh's report on this section says that under it, either in its original form or as amended, "innumerable prosecutions were instituted and convictions had, resulting in sentences for long periods, in most cases for words spoken or written, the statute having been construed and the verdicts rendered under the influence, or at least in the midst, of the passions incident to the war. After it was over executive clemency was exercised in most if not all of the cases, largely because of a general recognition that the circumstances under which the trials took place negated the idea that a calm judgment could have been rendered. If one could conceive that the statute would be administered with the same dispassionate reflection that ordinarily is given to the law and facts in criminal trials, it might not be altogether questionable in point of wisdom, but applicable as it is only when the country is at war, it may easily become an engine of oppression."

The three sections of Title XII to be repealed are those making non-mailable any publication which violates the espionage law, as well as matter advocating treason, insurrection, and forcible resistance to law. They make the mailing of such matter punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Under these sections Postmaster General Eudeson, during and after the war, terrorized the radical, liberal and pacifist press, denying the privilege of the mails to such publications as the Masses, the Milwaukee Leader, Tom Watson's Jeffersonian, and hundreds of lesser papers and magazines. The Milwaukee Leader was denied second class mailing privileges on the ground that it "habitually" published non-mailable matter. Justice Brandies, in a dissenting opinion, said:

As the fourth largest borough in

Socialist N. E. C. Plans Vigorous Campaign For Congress Seats

Socialists Win Nine Offices In Laureldale, Pennsylvania

G. O. P.-Democrat Combination Alone Stems Tide of Complete Victory at Polls

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—Running against a coalition ticket upon which the Republicans and Democrats combined for the capture of offices in the newly incorporated Borough of Laureldale, the Socialists of that borough last week captured 9 out of a possible 17 offices, winning every seat to which they aspired for which there was any competition between the Republicans and Democrats, except that of judge of election. In the latter case, however, Harry B. Haag, Democratic candidate, was not even a serious competitor for the office, polling but 104 votes as compared with 263 and 215, which were the high and low Democratic totals polled by other candidates. As a result of the low vote polled by Haag, William P. Britigan, Republican, succeeded in nailing out Walter Yerger, Socialist, by a bare 8-vote plurality, the final count being 454 to 446.

The election of Charles R. Yerger, veteran Socialist, as the first burgess of Laureldale, was a foregone conclusion. Yerger was opposed by both the Democrats and Republicans and polled 493 votes as against 327 for Lewis D. Mervine (R.), and 225 for Conrad W. Hinershitz (D.).

The Final Vote
For council, where the Socialists met combined opposition, the winning candidates were:
Raymond F. Borda (R. & D.) 549
Daniel H. Manwiler (R. & D.) 540
William R. Lessig (R. & D.) 491
Walter Large (R. & D.) 491
Charles W. Lutz (S.) 470
Edwin Drayer (S.) 465
Warren L. Mervine (S.) 448

In addition to a burgess and three seats on council, the Socialists elected Martin Enoch, high constable; Michael Tallino, constable; Roy Bankes, tax collector, and Anna Bankes, inspector of elections, in three-party contests. They also elected Daniel Hageman as one of three borough auditors against a combined Democratic and Republican ticket. The vote for the latter office was: Hageman (S.) 503, Hoffmaster (R. & D.) 484, Becker (R. & D.) 482.

Reading Socialists Endorsed
Situated close to the city of Reading, the success of the Socialists of Laureldale was a strong endorsement of the administration of the city by party officials, reflecting the satisfaction with which the efforts of the Socialists of Reading have been received by the voters of city and rural districts.

Of particular significance is the large number of straight party votes cast. There were 377 Socialists who marked their ballots with a single "X," while the Republicans polled but 149 and the Democrats a bare 42 straight party tickets.

Early in the campaign an attempt to run the election on non-partisan lines was balked by the Socialists of the borough. The proposal to place the names of candidates upon the ballot without reference to party affiliation was carried to the courts and a decision was gained which compelled a party line-up. This preliminary skirmish ran the temper of the anti-Socialist forces to fever heat and resulted in open fusion for what was considered the major offices. The coalition forces issued a leaflet upon which a "sample ballot" was printed which omitted the names of the Socialist candidates. That manifestly unfair action was a boomerang to the fusion forces. The Socialists carried on a consistent campaign by means of three weekly issues of a campaign leaflet and a series of public meetings at which matters of economy as well as borough policies were discussed.

Father Loses Son Wins
An interesting feature of the final results is seen in the defeat of Lewis D. Mervine, Republican candidate for burgess, and the election of Warren L. Mervine, Socialist candidate for council. The defeated Mervine is the father of the winner and each man waged a vigorous campaign against the other.

As the fourth largest borough in

Socialist Mayor



CHARLES R. YERGER
Burgess of Laureldale, Pa.

Cal. Socialists In Challenge on Membership

State Executive Offers Competition in Winning of Party Recruits

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Challenging the ten strongest Socialist States to a membership drive, the California State executive committee has revealed tentative plans for an interstate competition marked by a prize of \$100 and scheduled for August and September.

Suggested by William Busick, State chairman and organizer of Los Angeles, the contest for new members to quicken Socialist activities in the United States will involve New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, California, New Jersey, Michigan, and Connecticut. Ten dollars contributed by each of the ten states will be deposited in a fund held by the national office. At the termination of the drive, the State showing the greatest per cent increase proportional to its present membership will receive the \$100 which must be used to buy literature from the national office.

Everybody Works
"Everybody will go to work. Each State will conduct its drive in its own way, and the national party will be strengthened," Busick said in detailing preliminary plans.

"With membership in California mounting near 600, we expect to advance from our present position of seventh in the nation to at least second," the Los Angeles organizer continued. To indicate the rapid growth of Socialism in California, seventy new members were admitted this month. Our goal will be 2,000 for the State in the coming drive.

Present figures released by the national office show the following Socialist membership in the ten highest States: New York, 2,287; Wisconsin, 1,529; Pennsylvania, 1,228; Massachusetts, 1,216; Ohio, 606; Illinois, 563; California, 442; New Jersey, 397; Michigan, 223; Connecticut, 202.

Organization of Local San Diego with sixteen charter members was also announced. A strong movement is expected in the South because of the cooperation between Socialists and trade unions, according to William H. Henry, State organizer, who pointed out that the editor of the San Diego Labor News had joined. Officers of the San Diego Local are George A. Garrett, chairman, and Albert Rogers, secretary.

Long Beach, Oakland, San Francisco, and Sacramento will be the next goals of Henry, according to decision reached at the executive conference, while A. Levin, veteran member of the party, agreed to follow the State organizer to secure new members through individual solicitation and holding of street meetings.

To further spread Socialist propaganda in California, each local and branch will distribute at least 1,000 leaflets each month, the committee decided.

Sustained Literature Campaign to Be Feature—"Jimmie Higgins" Contest Authorized

By James Oneal

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party concluded a two-day session here last Friday after having given most of its attention to the coming congressional campaign. As a result of meetings at which members spoke two new local organizations of the party are certain at Waterbury and Hartford.

A sustained literature campaign will be the main feature of the electoral contest waged by the Socialists in the states this fall. It was pointed out that those cities where the party has realized successes the continuous and systematic distribution of leaflets has been the most important feature of their campaigns.

In order to carry out this program it is proposed that the big work shall begin on September 1 and continue to the last week of the campaign. The National Executive Committee will supply an adequate amount of literature for this work, including leaflets and pamphlets. In the case of leaflets the committee will print the names of local candidates and the address of the state headquarters in each state as leaflets are ordered and for a small additional cost.

New Literature Planned
The leaflets that are to be distributed include the following subjects: the Congressional Platform; Old Age Pensions; Injunctions; Socialism; the Tariff and others. Announcement of the program for the leaflet campaign with the order in which the work is to be done from week to week will be sent to all local organizations by the National Office within a week or two.

Because of the wide discontent of workers with economic conditions throughout the country the Socialist vote is likely to be very large in some localities and candidates may be elected even when local organizations do not anticipate it. Considering this situation National Executive Secretary Clarence Senior was instructed to urge local organizations to choose candidates with care so that capable standard bearers and propagandists will not only serve the party in the campaign but will also intelligently represent the party in office wherever they are successful.

To what extent speakers can be routed during the campaign is a matter that is unknown but the National Office will endeavor to ascertain where speakers and organizers are wanted and what arrangements can be made to place them in the field.

Primer To Be Issued
Morris Hillquit who was to report the draft on the Congressional platform had not finished it and the committee will act on it by mail as soon as the draft is completed. In the discussion of the draft it was decided to amplify a section in the last national platform relating to the need of changes in the Constitution of the United States.

The leaflet on Injunctions will be revised for publication and Secretary Senior was instructed to obtain a draft of a leaflet on unemployment. Upon his recommendation the committee also approved the publication of a revised edition of the Primer used in the campaign of 1920. This is a booklet illustrated with cartoons by Art Young with pithy comment on various phases of capitalism and capitalist politics. A leaflet by Alfred Baker Lewis on "Socialism and Americanism" was adopted with a few minor revisions before publication.

Secretary Senior had suggested the possibility of issuing a large campaign poster but after careful consideration action on this suggestion was deferred. He also reported that there was still some discussion of change of the party name and suggested that a questionnaire might be sent to many individuals in order to sound opinions regarding this. The committee, however, was unanimous in its view of this and the suggestion was tabled.

Morris Hillquit reported on the proposal to publish a series of twenty booklets to constitute a Socialist library, the full set to retail for one dollar. A sub-committee consisting of Hillquit, Lee, Thomas, Laidler and Oneal had met in New York and outlined a

Pacifists Win Right to U. S. Citizenship

Appellate Division Upholds Two Who Refuse to Take Oath to Bear Arms in War

REVERSAL of the decisions by New York and Connecticut District Courts which had denied two applicants for citizenship on the grounds of their pacifist views was ordered this week by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. In his opinion reversing the decision of the lower courts Judge Martin T. Manton said that it did not affect the case of Rosika Schwimmer who had also been denied citizenship.

Judge Manton declared that Rosika Schwimmer was an "absolute atheist" and "an uncompromising pacifist" and was found to have no sense of nationality. The two applicants who have obtained this reversal of the lower courts are the Rev. Dr. Douglas Clyde MacIntosh, professor of theology at the Yale Divinity School, and Miss Marie Averil Bland, a Canadian war nurse.

What Madame Schwimmer's "atheism" has to do with citizenship, considering that citizens are free to think and believe as they desire in religious matters, is a puzzle.

The Persons Involved

The Rev. Dr. MacIntosh, a World War chaplain with the Canadian Army and later with the Y. M. C. A. with the American troops, was denied naturalization in June, 1929, by John R. Davis, naturalization examiner, an opinion upheld by District Judge Warren B. Burrows. Dr. MacIntosh was a Canadian citizen. He maintained that he could not promise to bear arms unless he felt the cause to be just.

Miss Bland, also a Canadian citizen, said that her conscience as a Christian would not permit her to swear to "bear arms," although she was willing to go to the front lines if necessary to nurse wounded soldiers. She is the daughter of the Rev. Edward N. Bland, an Episcopal clergyman of Lincolnshire, England. She served with the American forces during the World War as a nurse.

Judge Manton's decision said: "It appears that the appellant stated that he was ready to give to the United States in return for citizenship, all the allegiance he had ever given or could give to any country, but that he could not put allegiance for the government of any country before allegiance to the will of God."

"A citizen sharing views which amount to conscientious or religious scruples against bearing arms in what he regards as an unjustifiable war is akin to one having conscientious scruples against all wars. There is a distinction between the morally justified and an unjustifiable war as recognized in international law. Recognition was given to such distinctions in the recent Kellogg pact. It strongly lies in the desire to maintain peace and abolish war."

Religious Scruples

"The question presented here differs from that presented in the case of Schwimmer vs. United States. She stated she was an absolute atheist and said: 'I am not willing to bear arms,' but she was willing to do everything that an American citizen must do except fight. This applicant was willing to bear arms and reserve merely the right to determine for himself whether the war was justified according to the dictates of his conscience. Mrs. Schwimmer said she was an uncompromising pacifist and was found to have no sense of nationality, but only a cosmic sense of belonging to the human family and opposed the use of military forces as admitted by the Constitution and by the laws. She had 'no nationalistic feeling.'"

"The appellant, on the other hand, was willing to give the United States 'all the allegiance he ever had given or could give to any country' but said that he would not put allegiance to the government of any country before his 'allegiance to the will of God.' This appellant, from his answers, indicates his willingness to be a citizen of the United States, assuming the responsibilities and obligations of its form of government, and at the same time he has a high regard for his general duty to humanity. He wishes to keep pure his religious scruples."

Socialist Party Summons Members To Strive For Mooney-Billings Freedom

To the Members of the Socialist Party, Friends and Sympathizers:

For fourteen years Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have been serving sentences in a California prison for a crime which they did not commit. For fourteen years they have been separated from their families, forced to endure the torture of prison regime although for many years it has been known that they are innocent men.

No stronger case has ever been built up to prove the innocence of persons accused of crime. The facts revealed since these men were committed to prison are as follows:

Every witness against Tom Mooney has been completely discredited. Some have been proven perjurers. Some have admitted that they committed perjury. Not a shred of the evidence that served to convince the jury and the trial judge is now accepted by that jury, that judge, and the officials identified with the prosecution, except one.

Judge Griffin, the trial judge, has denounced the methods employed to convict Mooney as "the dirtiest job ever put over" in any court. His voice is raised in behalf of the release of Mooney.

The Attorney-General of California urged a retrial of the case in the year of 1917.

President Wilson's Commission of investigation in 1918 denounced the trial as a "frame-up" and succeeded in obtaining a commutation of the death sentence to life imprisonment.

Duncan Matheson, active head of the San Francisco Police Department at the time of the prosecution, urges that Mooney be pardoned.

Matthew Brady, District Attorney of San Francisco County, declares that Mooney and Billings were convicted on perjured testimony and should be pardoned.

Charles Goff, Captain of Police at the time of the trial and identified with the prosecution, united with others in condemning the "frame-up" and asks for Mooney's freedom.

James Brennan, active prosecutor in the first bomb trial, urges the release of Mooney and Billings.

William V. MacNevin, foreman of the jury that convicted Mooney, has made a special plea to the governor for his release.

Every other living juror who brought in the verdict of guilty has been convinced that Mooney is the victim of a terrible miscarriage of justice and they have appealed to the governor to release Mooney.

Eminent California journalists and editors, representatives of various religious denominations and of the legal profession who have studied the case join in the appeal for the release of Mooney.

Yet in all these years during which the exposure of this revolting conspiracy has been unfolding, urgent pleas have been made to California governors to do justice but without avail.

Powerful forces of corporate wealth are known to favor the continuance of the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings because they are "labor agitators." The present governor even declared that Mooney's "attitude toward the social order" would be a matter for consideration in considering his case.

It is monstrous to contemplate the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings after the facts of the conspiracy are known. It is still more monstrous that they should continue in prison because their "attitude toward the social order" may not agree with the views of those in power.

We urge local organizations of the party throughout the nation, in cooperation with sympathetic organizations and individuals, to hold protest meetings in July. Obtain publicity for your meetings. Adopt resolutions of protest and send them to your local press.

Forward copies to Governor C. C. Young at Sacramento, Calif., urge trade unions and other sympathetic organizations to take similar action.

The imprisonment of these unfortunate victims of class justice should end. Do your utmost to end this judicial crime and restore Mooney and Billings to their families and friends.

National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party:

Morris Hillquit, Chairman, New York, N. Y.

Meta Berger, Wisconsin.

Daniel W. Hoan, Wisconsin.

Alfred Baker Lewis, Massachusetts.

James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania.

Jasper McLevy, Connecticut.

James O'Neal, New York.

Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio.

Lilith M. Wilson, Pennsylvania.

Clarence O. Senior, National Executive Secretary.

N.Y. Party Fund Passes Mark of \$200 Monthly

Lewis Urges Need of Quick Aid to Maintain Party Activities in City

PASSING the total of \$200 monthly, New York members of the Socialist Party and party sympathizers, by making contributions and pledges exceeding \$150 during the past week, continued to rally behind the drive that is being made to provide an adequate sustaining fund for the New York City Socialist organization.

Some members and friends of the party have added to the amount they had previously pledged to the Sustaining Fund, while a large number of newcomers, some of them making outright contributions and others making pledges for monthly payments, showed that as the appeal reaches a wider circle of party supporters the providing of an adequate fund will be assured.

Among those who rallied to the support of the drive during the past week are:

Jessie Wallace Huggan, who increased her pledge to the fund; Dr. Abraham Mollin, Caroline E. Seely, Isidore Geirner, Marion Hayes, Joseph Blumenkrantz, Louis M. London, Anna A. Sofsky, S. Gollub, Mrs. Bertha Socinski, Jacob Axelrad, Marius Hansome, M. David, Alice L. Seigelsberg, Bernard Barth, Richard Morford, F. Ceverenko, and Genevieve Cowles.

Payments Being Made

The drive has also helped bring up the payments on the original pledge fund, some of which had been delayed.

Meyer Gillis, chairman of the Sustaining Fund Committee, has prepared lists of prospective contributors, and letters signed either by him or by others whose appeal will carry weight, will be forwarded in an effort to make the next two weeks of the drive the most successful so far.

At the same time personal solicitors will continue their efforts by visiting party members and sympathizers who cannot in the ordinary course of events be reached, during the summer, at party meetings or gatherings. Dr. Louis Sabloff, whose pioneer work in this personal canvassing was responsible for a large part of the gains registered since the drive began, has a list which he is visiting. Friends of the party who came forward with contributions last year to the United Socialist Drive and to the Norman Thomas campaign, will receive special letters, asking them to continue their financial assistance this year.

During the next few days members of the Sustaining Fund Committee will receive lists of prospective contributors residing in their neighborhoods, with a request that they visit them and report the results of their efforts.

Lewis Urges Speed

The slowing up of income from other sources leaves the city office in a precarious condition, Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, announces. Retrenchment of expenses has so far been avoided, so that there will be no lapse in party activities on the eve of a State campaign in which every energy of the party must be mustered to make good.

"We do not know how long we can continue," Lewis declared. "The response to our sustaining fund appeal has shown that there are a large number of supporters who need only be visited or told how urgent the demand is to make their pledges and contributions. Their response has held up any retrenching that might have otherwise been attempted. But with no income at all from dues, and with a monthly expenditure far in excess of what is now being received, we cannot go on indefinitely."

Those who intend to respond are requested to do so at once. We do not want to let up in our work, and we will not if the Comrades will show that they are interested and anxious to prevent a curtailment.

"Those who cannot pledge more ought to pledge at least \$1 a month for the balance of the year. We need 500 such pledges to not only carry us through with our present staff but to undertake a number of things that cannot be done while we are running so far behind financially."

"Those willing to help should fill out and return the following coupon:

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

Dear Comrade Lewis:

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

(Please check amount of total pledge)

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

This I shall want to pay at the rate of \$..... (per month, quarterly) on or about..... 1930

(Please fill in date or dates of payments)

Name.....

Street and Number.....

City and State.....

Socialists and Labor Organize Maurer Drive

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Report Promising Initial Campaign Activities

By Joseph Schwartz (New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia Socialists have started the ball rolling to elect Jim Maurer, Governor of Pennsylvania. A campaign committee of Socialists and unionists has been selected for the campaign of all Socialist candidates. The rank and file of the trade unions, as well as leaders, are eager to see Jim Maurer governor of the greatest industrial state.

Pinchot, supported, rejected and supported by the State Federation of Labor, does not have the confidence of the great mass of exploited wage-earners in the one auto-to-every-family and average bank savings of \$1,400 state.

The Socialists of Philadelphia have selected a campaign committee of working people against Pinchot's campaign advisors of business men and professional politicians. Your correspondent was selected chairman, David Felix, secretary Louis Schneyer treasurer committees include Joseph E. Cohen, prominent writer and member of the Typographical Union; Harry Berger, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward; Braginsky, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Kennedy of the Pocket-book workers.

An organization committee headed by Simon Librows will form professional, women's and college undergraduates, as well as church and civic communities, in a gigantic movement towards enlightened social justice.

Unions and Workmen's Circles will be stirred from the post-war lethargy. Carpenters, textile workers, shoe workers, clothing workers, twenty-five per cent of Philadelphia willing and anxious to work in need of clothing, shoes, textiles and homes, have been searching for a boss. The abject misery of one-fourth of Philadelphia workers is of too long standing to be ignored.

In the midst of great suffering due to the collapse of capitalist industry, the Democrats of Pennsylvania talk of personal liberty (?) and the need for booze to open the arteries of trade. Mr. Pinchot, as the Republican nominee, a progressive of the Roosevelt type and of that period, yells for dry enforcement and lines up with the tariff-doll, Mr. Grundy.

The Socialist Party of Philadelphia as well as of the state, are discussing unemployment insurance, old age pension, abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, as the vital issues of the day. The reception given by the mass workers to the Socialists at street corner meetings and elsewhere augurs well for the rebirth of the progressive spirit and the rekindling of Socialist ideals.

Pittsburgh Begins Its Literature Distribution

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Pittsburgh.—Pittsburgh comrades of Local Allegheny launched the state-wide campaign by initiating the Sunday morning distribution of literature Sunday, June 22. Starting modestly with three crews the results of the morning's work netted three thousand pieces of literature handed in at as many doorways. Street meetings began for the summer on Saturday, June 15, with a single meeting addressed by Edward Goldstein, a young English comrade. A week following, two meetings were held with growing audiences, that held, for even the census takers found 40,000 unemployed in Pittsburgh. The third street meeting planned to open the 28th is located in a ward of the city that alone boasts 1,400 unemployed.

The activities looking towards the campaign of Jim Maurer for governor will gradually expand to include the entire membership of the party in Allegheny County. A general meeting of Allegheny County membership will be held at party headquarters the evening of July 1, at which new teams or squadrons for literature distribution will be formed and time limits put on gatherings of signatures for state and local petitions. From Pittsburgh the campaign will grow on the same lines throughout the state following the first of July.

The committee also adopted a ringing statement regarding the Mooney-Billings case, and urging that the party organizations arrange protest meetings all over the country in July.

Contrast To Be Started

One of the most interesting recommendations made by Secretary Senior was that of initiating what he styled a "Jimmie Higgins Contest." This was a plan to correlate with the membership drive in all the states. The committee made some alterations in the plan as submitted and as adopted it includes the following program:

A competition will be initiated by the National Office to determine who is the best worker for the Socialist Party, the best "Jimmie Higgins" in the United States. It will begin on September 1 and continue to March 1 of next year. A series of prizes will be awarded which include the following:

First prize: A trip to "Red Vienna" and the International Socialist Congress, July, 1931, traveling and living expenses to be paid.

Second prize: A year at Brookwood Labor College or a term at the Rand School of Social Science to be optional with the winner.

Third prize: A free trip to and maintenance at the next summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Fourth prize: A library of Socialist classics.

Fifth prize: A complete autographed set of the works of Upton Sinclair.

It was decided that no more than two of the main prizes should go to any one state.

The awards will be made on the

Wis. Towns Demanding Socialist Party Speakers

Metcalf, Gubernatorial Candidate, Will Make Auto Tour Through States

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILLWAUKEE, WIS.—The state office of the Socialist party in Milwaukee constantly receives appeals from Socialist centers in the state asking for speakers and organizers.

The party means to do the best it can, but must cut its garment according to its funds, and these funds come from the working class, which is not wealthy, while the capitalist parties have millions of dollars to provide them with plenty of money not only to carry on their campaigns but for crooked work besides, Secretary Al Benson says.

Socialist Awakening Here

"We are going to manage to get speakers and organizers to as many points as possible, and we realize that there is an awakening of thought throughout city and state that we shall have to take advantage of if it doesn't swamp us," he said today.

He received letters from Wausau, Elroy, Stevens Point and

other cities in which the party was urged to supply speakers or organizers.

If possible, Benson says, these will be furnished in advance of the opening of the state campaign, when regular speaking tours will be arranged.

The state executive board has been holding meetings to consider the state campaign and its plans are already under way.

Speaking Vans Meet Favor

Its plan of sending speaking vans from place to place, thus taking in the smaller as well as the larger cities and villages, found instant favor.

That some of the party workers are eager to utilize their vacation time by joining in is already being indicated.

The Socialist candidate for governor, Frank B. Metcalf, will be routed through many districts on auto speaking trips, and will be joined by other party speakers from different parts of the state. The literature for the campaign is being printed, or at least the first portion of it.

This will include the state Socialist platform, which will include with it brief statistics and other facts to show how vital the Socialist demands are, the state secretary says.

Socialist N. E. C. Plans Congressional Fight

(Continued from Page One)

list of titles and authors and further announcements will be made as the venture unfolds.

A list of lecturers for the proposed lecture bureau in the National Office was considered and the details are still in process of organization. It is expected through this means to provide Socialist lecturers to forums of various kinds, opening of a new field of educational work and enabling the National Office to increase its revenue by providing this service.

Fund Drive Ended

Marx Lewis reported for the United Socialist Drive that to June 25 the total amount collected on this account was \$29,955.69 and the administration expense was \$6,197.99, leaving a balance for distribution of \$23,757.70. The disbursements were as follows:

Administration expenses, \$6,197.99

Debs Memorial Radio

Fund..... 2,325.00

Young Peoples' S. L..... 1,451.00

Newspapers..... 2,100.00

National Office..... 7,891.15

States and Locals..... 7,238.24

Total disbursed.....\$27,203.38

Other contributions to this fund are coming in and the total outstanding pledges amount to about \$4,000. Lewis expects to complete this job as soon as possible. It is the most successful fund raising campaign the party has engaged in for many years.

Office Not To Move

At the Los Angeles meeting Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio was appointed as a special committee to make a complete survey of the proposal to move the national headquarters from Chicago. He submitted a detailed report relating to the advantages and disadvantages of Chicago, Milwaukee, and Washington and much time was given to a study and discussion of the report. There was a considerable variation of opinion and the final result was defeat of a motion to move headquarters to Washington by a vote of 5 to 4. Wilson, McLevy, Lewis and Berger voted for removal and Hillquit, O'Neal, Maurer, Sharts and Hoan against. The question of headquarters, however, may come up again as the vote means that for the present headquarters will remain in Chicago.

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The awards will be made on the

Socialists of Queens Name Full Ticket

Tucker Smith for Congress—Fine, Clarke Also on List of Candidates

SOCIALISTS of Queens County nominated a complete list of candidates for the county ticket last Sunday. The nominating convention met in the afternoon in the Workmen's Circle building, 89-04 161st street, Jamaica. The nominations will be ratified in the September primaries.

There were no contests for any nomination, each candidate being approved by a unanimous vote. James O'Neal of Richmond Hill presided and Edward P. Clarke of Sunnyside served as secretary.

The matter of the two salary grabs by city officials came up and it was pointed out that George U. Harvey, Republican Borough President of Queens and "reformer" in the last election, had voted for the two salary grabs. Secretary Clarke was instructed to express the sentiment of the convention regarding the grab and Harvey's relation to it in a letter to the mayor.

Following the convention, the Jamaica branch held a short meeting to vote on five Queens delegates to attend the unofficial state convention in Schenectady on July 19 and 20.

The following candidates, with the respective offices for which they were designated, were chosen at the convention:

Representatives

First Congressional District—S. W. CHRISTENSON of Valley Stream. Second Congressional District—TUCKER SMITH of Sunnyside.

State Senators

First Senatorial District—KATHERINE M. SMITH of Massapequa. Second Senatorial District—MORRIS S. SCHENBAUM of Jamaica.

Third Senatorial District—NATHAN FINE of Sunnyside, director of the Research Department of Rand School.

Assemblymen

First Assembly District—EMMERICK STEINBERGER of Astoria. Second Assembly District—EDWARD P. CLARKE, county committee secretary.

Third Assembly District—HENRY H. LAYBORN of Elmhurst. Fourth Assembly District—ADELLA K. ZAMETKIN of Jamaica.

Fifth Assembly District—J. GEORGE FRIEDMAN of Far Rockaway. Sixth Assembly District—ERNEST MEEGLIN of Ridgewood.

County Officers

Surrogate—GILBERT M. SACKMAN, Flushing Attorney. County Clerk—ELIZABETH STUYVESANT, Sunnyside, librarian.

Rhode Island Unions Vote on Labor Party

PROVIDENCE.—(FP)—Trade unionists in Rhode Island are being asked, "Do you favor the formation of a labor party in Rhode Island?" in a statewide referendum, the first on this subject in American labor history. It was ordered by the state federation convention last month. Locals are now voting.

The referendum resolution, initiated by John M. Ganez of Machinists Lodge 147. Thus far few returns have come in, according to State Secretary Elizabeth M. McConnell, who is the first and only woman to be elected to such a labor office. Most unions have had no chance to vote as they meet but once a month.

The industrial situation in Rhode Island calls for drastic action by labor. The commissioner of labor recently announced that one person out of seven of the 688,000 inhabitants is unemployed. This means that about 50% of the wage earners are jobless. Sup J. W. Thompson of the state free employment bureau declared that the commissioner was quoted correctly but admitted that his office could place only 5% of those seeking work.

"We hope this cooperation with the forces of labor will be continued by both groups working to secure old age pensions for the veterans of industry, and part pay for the unemployed, through a system of unemployment insurance. Both of these pieces of enlightened social legislation will be of inestimable aid to the Negro masses who now suffer greatly from the plague of unemployment and old age insecurity."

"On our part we pledge the support of the Socialist Party in breaking down the color bar in Unions, where such a bar exists, and in obtaining full civil and political rights for workers, both colored and white, in the South."

You show appreciation for the cooperation our advertisers give us by patronizing them and telling them the reason.

Ever a state flourishes where wealth is more equally spread—Francis Bacon (1561-1626).

When your doctor sends you a bill for a truss bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.

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CAMP TAMIMENT
FOREST PARK, PA.

10th Anniversary Celebration All July

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"AROUND THE SAMOVAR"
DRAMATIC HITS
MUSICAL REVUES
LECTURE COURSES
ALL SPORTS

For full information write to
Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.

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

Dear Comrade Lewis:

To aid in carrying out the enlarged program

Slump Cost U.S. Workers Two Billions

Green Says Hoped For Improvements in June Failed to Materialize

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Unemployment conditions were no better in June than in May, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, announced June 27. In the first half of this year, he estimated, the loss of wages through lack of jobs had reached \$2,000,000,000, and the situation was very serious.

"Unemployment in the first six months this year has meant a loss to the country equivalent to wiping away the entire product of manufacturing industry in the United States for one week and every building constructed in two months in the 36 eastern states," Green said.

"We estimate that wage earners in the United States have lost over \$2,000,000,000 in wages through unemployment in these six months. The country has lost much more than this amount, for these men and women would have created far more than \$2,000,000,000 worth of wealth if they had been employed."

"The Federation preliminary estimate of the total number of unemployed in May is 3,600,000. This figure does not include office workers and farm laborers. The preliminary figures show a gain of only 3 per cent since February when 3,700,000 were out of work. The loss in wage earner purchasing power has been of major importance in prolonging business depression."

Expected Improvement Fails
The hoped for improvement in unemployment did not materialize in June. Reports from trade unions in 24 cities show unemployment just as high as in May, with 20 per cent of the membership still out of work. This figure shows just as many unemployed as in January. At the February peak 22 per cent were unemployed. Usually over one-third (39 per cent) of those out of work in January are back at their jobs by June. More than twice as many are out of work this year as last year, the increase being 122 per cent.

"Our June figures show a very serious unemployment situation. Nevertheless, the fact that June shows no improvement over May is not cause for discouragement as to the future. Layoffs always come with the beginning of the summer dull season in June. With the usual fall pickup in business, employment will improve in the late summer and autumn."

"But meanwhile the summer months will bring hardships to hundreds of thousands of workers who have already been out of work from 3 to 6 months. And the low level of workers' purchasing power will continue to delay business recovery. The six months unemployment has already meant arrears of debt and many failures among grocers and merchants who depend on wage earners' accounts and those who have sold on installments."

Building a Little Better
"In building trades there was a slight decrease in unemployment which indicates that the situation is improving a little. But nearly twice as many are still out of work as in June last year. In metal and printing trades, the number out of work is increasing; the summer dull season seems to have begun earlier than usual. More than twice as many are out of work in printing as in June last year, and four times as many in metal trades."

"In two trades where the unemployment situation had been improving in May, the tide has turned and unemployment is again on the increase—food industries and water transport trades. In service industries the May improvement has been checked and June showed no further gain. In street transport—trucking and delivery trades and street railways—unemployment began to increase in June. In clothing trades, unemployment has increased 12 per cent with the beginning of the summer dull season. Eight per cent more are out of work in professional groups."

Hall Johnson Choir At the Unity House
Elaborate preparations are being made by the Unity House to receive the large number of guests who are expected to come out for the Fourth of July week-end. There are more guests being expected this July 4th because it is a week-end celebration. Since the holiday falls on Friday, it is possible for the visitors to spend three days there.

Due to this, a special gala performance is being arranged. In this program will participate many prominent artists, and a Russian opera will be performed. The program promises to be one of the finest arranged in Unity House. The three-day holiday will begin Thursday evening, July 3, and will end Sunday evening, July 6. Many will start their vacations at Unity House now and include the Fourth of July week-end in it.

Detailed information can be obtained at the New York office, 3 West 16th Street, telephone Chelsea 2148.

Problems of The Needle Trades

Wander Assails Bloom—Declares He Misrepresented Facts in New Leader Article—Accuses Joint Board Chairman of Circulating False Rumors

By Harry Wander

(An Answer To William Bloom)
THE New Leader in its edition of Saturday, June 14, 1930, published an article by William Bloom. In that article, William Bloom dwells upon a certain political deal with reference to the office of Secretary-Treasurer and other Joint Board offices and also apologizes for having voted for Louis Langer as Secretary-Treasurer.

If Bloom's article were confined merely to criticizing political deals as being harmful to the Union and if he only apologized for his voting for Louis Langer, I would not have anything against him. Unfortunately something occurred. William Bloom was criticized by the labor editor of the Forward for having voted for Langer and in order to justify his act, he assailed my character and attacked my person in a savage manner. He went so far as to charge that under my administration the Finance Department was steeped in graft (whether he implies that I accepted graft or handed it out to others, is not clear) and that monies were spent in an outrageous manner. These accusations, Bloom admits are based on nothing more than rumors.

Criticizes Procedure
It would be unfair on my part to dwell on that part of Bloom's article pertaining to the office that I administered, since he personally withdrew publicly at the Joint Board meeting as well as through the June 21st issue of the New Leader, everything he wrote against my office. (Even in this instance, he did not act honorably as is demonstrated by the fact that while taking his written retraction to the New Leader, he altered some parts of the statement, that he himself composed.)

Although Bloom in his article did not give any facts to substantiate the rumor upon which he bases his assertions against the former officer (you will observe that he is very tactful never to mention my name), still in order to make the matter more clear, I wish to explain the method of procedure, which is to be borne in mind and remembered by those who are not directly affiliated with the Union and are therefore unacquainted with its methods in dealing with expenditures of monies and the manner in which such expenditures are controlled.

In the Cloakmakers Union, there is a regular Finance Committee, composed of one representative of each Local. This Committee meets every Wednesday for the purpose of passing upon all items of expenditures and without whose approval no expenditure can be made. In times of General Strike, the Strike Committee elects a special person to act as Chairman of the Finance Committee, who is the chief supervisor of all financial transactions. During the last Cloakmakers' strike, Brother Baroff, the former Secretary-Treasurer of the International, was the Chairman of the Finance Committee, while in the recent Dressmakers strike, Brother Dubasky, the present Secretary-Treasurer of the International, exercised that function. It seems to me that these two officers have not taken this article seriously as otherwise they would undoubtedly have something to say regarding it.

Denies Rumors Exist
As I already stated in the beginning, I should like to ignore that part of Bloom's article, which pertains to politics and deals, but I cannot resist stating briefly that if I had been willing to be a party to the so-called political deal and if that deal had been acceptable to some of the leaders of our Union, I should still be occupying the office of Treasurer of the Joint Board, Bloom would not have been spared the trouble of writing this article of apology.

One word about the so-called rumors on which Bloom bases his assertions. I wish to emphatically deny the existence of such rumors and I base my arguments on the following: First, because rumors have a tendency to travel in a circle and sooner or later would have reached the ears of either the officers of the Joint Board or the International. Secondly, there are elements in our Union, who, whenever they hear rumors, especially against an officer, are the first to pick them up and circulate them so that it could not have remained a secret. After the appearance of Bloom's article, I and others made it our business to inquire of various people whether they ever heard such rumors and as far as I and others have been able to ascertain, no one ever heard of such rumors. I asked Bloom, in the presence of a number of others, "why is it that aside from yourself, none of us ever heard of such rumors," his answer was that there was some sort of a whispering campaign which might have been in order to prepare the field for political purposes. When I stated at the Joint Board meeting of June 18th that I will request President

Schlesinger to investigate this matter, it was not because I believed in the existence of such rumors, but I did not want to give anybody an opportunity to say that I left the office under suspicion.

Charges Misrepresentation
I could go on indicating the many contradictions in Bloom's article, but I do not wish to elaborate upon it nor take up too much space. I shall therefore confine myself to merely pointing out how Bloom misrepresented certain facts to suit his purpose.

Bloom stated that another Secretary, while in office, did all the work by himself, while I had to employ an assistant. His statement is contrary to the facts. The Secretary referred to also had an assistant in spite of the fact that he was only the Recording Secretary and not both Secretary and Treasurer, as the present officer requires. He also stated that no finance report was ever submitted. This is likewise a misrepresentation of facts. The truth is that an annual report as well as a report for a period of the cloak strike was submitted by me to the Board of Directors about seven months ago. The Board of Directors then decided that instead of reading the report at the Joint Board meeting, copies of same should be forwarded to each Local to enable the Joint Board Delegates as well as the members of their respective executive boards to take it up at their meetings and inspect each item carefully and offer criticism if they have any. Everyone thought at that time that this was proper procedure, and the Joint Board approved that decision of the Board of Directors.

Fulfilling the above decision, I forwarded copies of the finance report to all the locals. Brother Kirtzman, Manager of Local No. 9, upon receiving the copy of the report, wished to be enlightened concerning a certain item. He called at my office where he received the desired information. About five weeks ago, I heard a remark at one of the meetings, to the effect why no financial report was read at the meeting of the Joint Board. I immediately realized that some locals had failed to read the said report at their executive board meetings, and I requested to be given the privilege that the same report be read at a meeting of the Joint Board. On May 28th the said report was read and Bloom, as the Chairman, took up a motion for the adoption of this report, which was carried unanimously and Bloom had no criticism to offer at the Joint Board meeting. It was therefore a surprise to everyone as well as myself to read, two weeks later, Bloom's article containing such assertions. But it seems that when Bloom is on the defensive, he is ready to forget the facts, in order to build up a defense for himself. The conclusion that can be drawn from the entire incident is that from the many evils that our movement suffers, the lack of responsibility is one of them.

Milwaukee Socialists Flay Police Chief

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MILWAUKEE.—The Socialist Party of Milwaukee through its executive board last week issued a statement criticizing the police administration and the chief for the tactics used toward street meetings and public parades. The statement read:

"The conduct of the police department toward the antics of a handful of transplanted Communists in Milwaukee is so palpably aimed at developing disorder that the Socialist Party has no choice but publicly to criticize the tactics of the police administration and toward the chief that he is treading a dangerous path that will in all probability place him in the position of helping whatever disturbance may eventuate."

While the Communists all over the United States have been accusing the Socialist city administration of being reactionary and suppressing demonstrations, the Socialist and the city administration have been going to the bat one hundred per cent for the Communists.

The Mayor of Milwaukee does not control the police department. Under Emil Seidel, the first Socialist Mayor, the police were used in ways which did not suit the Milwaukee reactionaries. During the time when the Socialists were out, the control over the police department was taken away from the Mayor, so that now Mayor Hoan does not have any responsibility for the action of the police. The chief of police has issued a statement calling the Socialist letter "an outrageous, uncalculated, and unjustifiable attack."

The finest qualities of our nature, like the bloom on fruit, can be preserved only by the most delicate handling; yet we do not treat ourselves or one another thus tenderly.—Thoreau

Silk Union Has 20 Bosses Punished in N.J.

Prosecutions for Violating Labor Laws Strengthen Morale of Membership

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PATERSON, N. J.—Like all other industrial units of the capitalist system of production, the textile division in general and the silk manufacturing plants in particular are in the middle of the worst slump and depression the industry has ever experienced in the history of this country.

It is true that silk is not the article of luxury it used to be some years and generations back. It still suffers through the fact that it is not as yet a basic or fundamental fabric. If more people are wearing silk or variations of silk such as imitation and rayon there are also more plants engaged in the manufacture of those commodities. In this connection, I have only to draw the reader's attention to the large number of up-to-date plants—mills with a capacity far exceeding any in the East and North—established in what is known as the New South.

It was all very well to import experts from Germany and Holland and other countries and to build huge rayon and silk mills in the South but the states below the Mason and Dixon line did not and do not furnish the markets for the products turned out in those mills. The goods had to be transported to the North and East for sale and distribution. Had the South a higher standard of living and had it been able to buy the goods and commodities it manufactured all would have been well and our depression would have been the usual periodical one and short-lived.

Southern Market Small
But the South has no market nor was it able to find one abroad so it did what was inevitable—it flooded the North and East with its cheap silk and rayon. Paterson and Easton and Allentown and Astoria and South Manchester—the East in other words could not meet the mass production in cheap commodities and rayon unless they worked as cheaply, which was impossible. They did cut pretty close and met the competition in glutting the market further.

There was a chance to keep some plants going on high grade silk and fancies as they are called but the competition from France and other countries prevented the fulfillment of this hope except in the matter of a few small orders which were economically speaking, useless. Anti-tariff hounds can bark and yell here but such is the case nevertheless.

Six Employees Fined
With this economic background one must conclude that the condition of unions in the textile industries is not rosy. Well, I have seen them worse off. At present the unions are holding their own which is saying a great deal for them. Speaking for the largest division in the silk industry—The Associated Silk Workers of America, Organizer P. L. Quinlan said: "I can state that the membership is sound and the secretary reports no falling off. Other branches have to report a sharp decline through the slump, and other causes."

The Association alone and unaided, said Quinlan, has conducted a campaign against the mills and their owners and managers who made a practice of violating labor laws of the State of New Jersey. The honor for the first trial in the history of the state where a capitalist was brought into court and fined severely belongs to the Associated Silk Workers Union. "We celebrated May Day with having six silk manufacturers in court and fined for violating the law as it applies to long hours for women and children. Altogether we prosecuted twenty and had them punished."

The Association compelled the State Department of Labor to conduct three open investigations and hearings on those violations. It compelled the Labor Department officers to report several manufacturers to the State Attorney-General for prosecution. As a result of all this work the morale of the membership of the union is very high. The eight hour day that was killed by the intrigues and open attacks of the Communists has been restored. Night work for women has been abolished.

"We expect from the membership continued loyalty during the depression," said Cornelius Post, the secretary. "For unlike other unions in the textile industry we do not demand dues from men when not working. All the officials ask is that they apply the proper time for 'out-of-work' stamps. Those who do not report to the office their unemployed status: must not expect special treatment when work picks up."

Quinlan, who is handling the prosecution of the manufacturers, says he has completed his survey of the city. He said, "The number of violators of the State Labor Laws has lessened considerably. Soon there will only be technical cases. However, during the summer vacation we have to keep a sharp lookout for the unscrupulous manufacturers who exploit children. That alone will keep us busy." Quinlan reports that despite the dullness and the pro-

Esthonia Places Bar On Communist Party

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
REVAL.—The attempt on the life of General Unt, chief of the garrison, made in Tallinn, is being taken advantage of by the reaction in order to introduce exceptional measures and carry on unrestricted political persecution. The Minister for the Interior and Justice has ordered dissolution of the Communist Party and the confiscation of its property.

The Government intends to take advantage of the reactionary feeling in the country in order to secure the adoption in Parliament in a sharper form of the exceptional protection law. This protection law would empower the Government to proclaim a state of siege even in peace time, after simply notifying Parliament.

15,000 Miners Are Called Out In Penn. Fields

District Officials Ban Walkout Ordered by Grievance Committee

SCRANTON, PA. (FP)—While John L. Lewis and other officers and members of the anthracite districts of the United Mine Workers were preparing to meet with anthracite operators to frame a new 5-year contract, 15,000 miners of the Pittston Coal Co. were ordered by their general grievance committee to strike for equalization of work among collieries. Of the 12 unions, representing as many collieries, all but one voted for the strike.

District miners' officials have condemned the walkout and municipal authorities have taken steps to prevent interference with any miners willing to defy their grievance committee and return to work. In case district officials interfere with the strikers, it is reported that the grievance committee, headed by the chairmanship of Rocco Carey, may call for representatives of the Springfield United Mine Workers, the reorganized union headed by Alex Howat.

The operator-union conferences for renewal of the 5-year agreement for 150,000 anthracite miners will be held June 30. Philadelphia & Reading, Pittston, Lehigh Valley, Glen Alden and Madera Hill are some of the big companies directly represented on the operators' committee. Pres. Lewis, Vice Pres. Phil Murray and Sec. Thomas Kennedy of the U. M. W. A. and John J. Boylan, Michael Hartnady and Martin Brennan, presidents of the three hard coal districts, will represent the union with four miners from each district named by the district presidents.

The Pittston controversy arises from the shutdown of many of the company's mines while others continue to operate. The miners insist on equal operation of all pits. State troopers and city police are patrolling all union meetings.

Rail Union Endorses L. Wilson's Candidacy

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Reading, Pa.—Lith M. Wilson, local legislative candidate on the Socialist ticket, has been notified by the State Legislative Board of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen that her candidacy has received the unanimous endorsement of that organization. The action of the rail union was taken, according to a letter signed by James A. Fox, chairman, and Charles H. Kiefer, secretary-treasurer, because of Mrs. Wilson's long services for the betterment of conditions in society. The communication advising the Socialist candidate of the labor group's endorsement in part said:

"This endorsement is made up on the facts that we know your past life has been largely given over to the bettering of conditions in society; also we know that the working class will profit much by your activities if elected to the legislature and at the same time the people of this great Commonwealth will have a public servant in whom we can depend upon which we do greatly appreciate and which is very much necessary in order that society might attain that which is rightly the possession of mankind."

N. Y. Orders Supply
Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the New York City Socialist organization, announces that copies of the leaflets just printed by the National Office on "How to End War" and "Labor's Politics" will be available to branches for a week, an order for a large supply having just been placed.

Lewis announced at the same time that the printing of leaflets dealing with State issues and present industrial problems has been authorized by the Committee on Literature, Propaganda and Meetings, of which Leonard Bright is chairman. Norman Thomas, James O'Neal and McAlister Coleman have accepted assignments to prepare these leaflets for immediate printing.

longed depression the union is doing well. "As soon as business resumes its old time activity the Associated," said Quinlan, "will renew the fight for complete organization with all its old time vigor and vitality."

12 Hour Day Common in Texas Oil

Long Waiting Lists of Job-Seekers Keep Hours Long, Wages Low

WINK, Texas.—(FP)—Gen. Sherman is reputed to have said that if he owned both Hell and Texas he would rent out the first place as a summer resort to those who by reason of circumstance have to live in the second. The general had his taste of the Lone Star state along the desert section of the Rio Grande not so many miles west of this oil field.

Here 95 degrees in the shade (of a shack, not a tree) is not hot weather. 118 is pretty hot and if thrust into the sand in August, a thermometer has gone to 135. At night the deafening exhaust of pumping engines, the bright flares of giant gas torches and the hot sand blowing over the sage brush flats gives one a deep impression of inferno.

And yet men, women and children call this place home and workers count themselves lucky to have a job from one of the numerous oil companies operating in this field. This can be understood as one drives along the highway across the state from west to east and counts the numerous penniless hitch-hikers looking for work.

Three years ago the country around Wink was grazing land and rather poor at that. \$2.50 per acre was a good price and nobody wanted it at that figure. Then came the discovery of oil and the subsequent boom which built a city of frame storebuildings, tents and plasterboard shacks of one and two rooms to house 20,000 people.

500 wells each costing about \$35,000 were drilled on 12,000 acres. Nearly all were producers and at one time the field was producing 250,000 barrels per day. Now nearly all the wells are on pump with 65,000 barrels as the total average daily production. With the price of oil fluctuating from \$1 to \$2 a barrel during the past years millions of profits have flowed into the coffers of the big companies.

This field presents the curious contradiction of two major companies, the Humble and the Standard of California operating on the 8-hour shift and the 6-day week, while the other four-fifths of the producing area works on the 12-hour basis with the 7-day week. The two short hour companies pay their pumps (there is very little drilling or rig work in the field) \$100 per month and require a small house rental (\$8 a month) for a fair house. The others pay \$165 and furnish a one or two room shack of plaster board to their pumps. These duties are not exacting and it is the common thing for a man to sleep several hours during his shift. This usually runs from noon till midnight and reverse and the two workers exchange turns each week. Common labor works nine hours at \$4.50 and \$5 per day with bunk houses furnished.

The population has dropped to 8000 but Main street on a Saturday evening is jammed with practically new autos. There are not many Fords or the cheaper makes. Having no home to pay for nor furniture to provide the oil field worker is ordinarily paying for a high priced car. This is the best means for making his life a little more bearable since he can speed to a nearby larger town on holiday occasions.

The only excuse one hears from workers for the long working day is that a reduction in hours would call for a reduction in wages and they couldn't get by on less. There is no talk of organization to deal with this question. The Humble and Standard have a very small labor turnover and a long waiting list of applicants.

Against Forced Labor In the Belgian Congo

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BRUSSELS.—Since the 25th of March, when Vandervelde drew the attention of public opinion in a great interpellation in the Chamber to the forced labor of the natives in the Belgian Congo, the Belgian Labor Party has carried on an incessant fight for the defense of the rights of the natives. The facts mentioned by Vandervelde in his interpellation were so moving that even non-Socialist elements joined in the fight of the Labor Party. Vandervelde asked for a Commission of Enquiry to be sent to the Congo to investigate the serious abuses of which private companies and the authorities are guilty. The Prime Minister (Jaspar) refused this request, as a Commission of Enquiry into the question of the recruitment of workers in the Belgian Congo had already been appointed. The Brussels "Peuple" replied, however, that this Commission was not working on the basis of a knowledge of the conditions on the spot, and did not represent all sections of public opinion.

The terrible crimes committed in the Belgian Congo are shown by the report of Orts, President of the Red Cross in the Belgian Congo, which was quoted by Vandervelde. It is stated, for example, that: "I have spoken of a death rate of

120 per thousand, which was found among certain groups of workers. This rate is no exception, but is even frequently exceeded. In many concentration camps of workers recruited for the Katanga industry, death rates of 125.57 and 144 per thousand were registered in 1927. In the Labor Office camp at Kinshasa, a semi-official institution, directed by civil servants temporarily taken from the public service, the death rate reached 146.16 per thousand in the same year. Even these figures do not give a true picture of the sacrifices imposed by European economic activity upon the natives, and the missionaries do not hesitate to state that if the deaths among those who are sent home, and those who die during the journey, are

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THE REWARDS OF RACKETEERING

By Edward Levinson

IN the list of American industries, "racketeering" now holds an established position. One racket alone—the bootleg racket—has a turnover of some \$3,000,000; over 6,000,000 Americans are associated in one form or another with one or more of the 200 varieties of "rackets." With these figures, Edward Dean Sullivan, erstwhile sports writer on Chicago newspapers, placed the industry in its proper perspective at the opening session of the annual summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment last week-end.

Having sketched in rough outline the proportions of "racketeering" (the word is so widely accepted we may as well drop the quotes) Sullivan proceeded to sketch the ramifications of gang warfare and political alliances. Prof. Douglas applied the yardstick to Chicago and indicated the superiority of big business or monopolistic racketeering as contrasted with the waste of competing rackets.

Friday brought two of the three outstanding papers, Abraham Epstein's sensational arraignment of the insurance company racket and H. S. Raushenbush's brilliant address delivered as he took the role of a public utility magnate addressing his fellow magnates. With these addresses, the discussion turned to more fundamental rackets—rackets within the law. Dr. Clair Wilcox analyzed the tariff grab and made some particularly telling attacks on the so-called "flexible clauses." The flexibility of the tariff he compared with the flexibility of the elbow—it bends but one way. James B. Brown of the Manhattan Single Tax Club spoke on the pyramid of land values. Karl Scholz, of the University of Pennsylvania, analyzed the "Property Taxation Racket." A letter from Donald Richberg which proved to be a letter from a public utility magnate to his son proved a fine chaser for Raushenbush's paper.

The third outstanding paper of the conference was that of David J. Sappos, of Brookwood College, on racketeering in the labor movement. Oscar Ameringer followed him with a recital of the racketeering exploits of John L. Lewis. From the labor movement, the conference skipped to the "loan shark racket" with Leon Henderson, director of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, presenting some amazing figures on the extent and machinations of usury. Saturday night, Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist party, spoke on rackets of New York and in his usual inclusive manner outlined the two outstanding rackets of the city—Tammany, the political racket, and capitalism, the economic racket.

On Sunday morning Stuart Chase and McAlister Coleman spoke on the ballyhoo racket. Of particular interest to the Socialist movement was Coleman's address. The New Leader columnist and author declared that the ballyhoo of capitalism, of success and of trade union righteousness has seeped into the views of Socialists. The conference closed Sunday afternoon with an address by Norman Thomas in which he presented the philosophy of capitalism, with its seeds of racketeering, and contrasted it with the philosophy of Socialism.

The line taken by Prof. Douglas and Mr. Sullivan were indicated in last week's New Leader.

The evils in the life insurance business revealed more than twenty years ago are present in the insurance field today in a more flagrant form. Mr. Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, declared:

Dr. Epstein asserted that nepotism, excessive salaries for officers and poor pay for clerks and agents, extravagant costs of writing insurance, excessive rate lapses, the control of public opinion by the expenditure of large funds for lobbying are the common characteristics of the insurance companies of today.

"Essentially the evils of 1905 remain unreformed, although considerably sophisticated," Dr. Epstein asserted. Extravagance and wastefulness are more appalling than ever before."

During 1928, the insurance companies' total expenditures were \$2,202,527,550.45. But only \$1,540,211,455.90, or 69.6 per cent, was paid to policyholders. \$682,316,094.55, or over 30 cents of every dollar, went into the cost of management and dividends to stockholders. This was for the companies doing business in New York State. In all companies throughout the United States the expense ratio averages about 35 cents of every dollar. Few efficiently run businesses require such enormous overhead."

Dr. Epstein defended the superior value and lower cost of state insurance as against private insurance. Of a population of 60,000,000 nearly 22,000,000 Germans, or more than one third, are insured against old age, invalidity, sickness, unemployment, death and orphanage, he asserted. Approximately 18,000,000, or one half of the English men and women, are insured against all of these hazards, while of the approximately 120,000,000 Americans, over 40 per cent carry no insurance whatever, only about 100,000 are protected against unemployment, not over 1,000,000 are even partly insured against illness and invalidity, and not more than 5 per cent are assured of old age protection. Both Germany and England have established state insurance systems.

Denouncing the tariff bill as an

immense but respectable "racket," Dr. Wilcox, associate professor of economics, at Swarthmore College, told the conference that the flexible clause in the bill is a "fraud."

"The flexibility of the tariff is like the flexibility of the elbow. It bends only one way. In plain words, tariff flexibility is a fraud. It's the old army game," Dr. Wilcox declared.

Investigations of rates as provided in the flexible tariff clause are time-consuming, said Dr. Wilcox. Pointing out that in eight years the Tariff Commission has made only 80 investigations, Dr. Wilcox said investigation of the 2,000 items in the present bill would take 800 years. It took two years to probe sugar rates, and six years to investigate linseed oil rates, he said. In the 36 changes of the last eight years, the tariff has been boosted 31 times and lowered but five, he added.

Dr. Wilcox described the tariff as a racket which penalizes 34,000,000 people who cannot conceivably gain from the high duties to subsidize 8,000,000 more or less who may gain. One result of the new bill will be the increase of \$10 yearly to every family in the price of sugar, he said. The economic prostration of Cuba was predicted.

Raushenbush, who was formerly secretary of the National Committee on Coal and Power, and sometime Professor of citizenship at Dartmouth College, fished at the utility racket as the most imaginative enterprise in the world's history for making money from the national birthrate. If mothers stopped having children and thus stopped boosting the value of the utility property, he said, the utility men would rush to the rescue of the country with pathogenic baby farms. No novelist in the country uses his creative imagination half as effectively as the attorneys for the N. Y. Edison Com-

pany and Telephone Company in their attempts to think up reasons why it is right and proper for the consumers to pay them the tribute they do.

Mr. Raushenbush put the excess cost of private ownership of the electrical industry in 1930 over government ownership at a quarter of a billion dollars, due to the difference in the cost of money for a ten billion dollar investment.

The main danger to the country from such a highly concentrated control as is represented by the various utilities, with forty billion dollars invested and fighting together in Congress, in every State Legislature and any election is a feudal attitude. Neither business men, professional men or others feel free to take a stand against such a powerful group when it is militantly on the offensive against every attempt to improve regulation as well as to set us yardsticks such as the St. Lawrence or Muscle Shoals, Mr. Raushenbush declared.

The most scathing arraignment of the American trade union movement yet uttered by any of the responsible students of the labor movement was made here Saturday by Professor Sappos.

Professor Sappos, co-author with Professor John R. Commons of the standard "History of Labor in the United States," formerly on the staff of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, expert on the staff of the New York Department of Labor, and investigator for the Carnegie Americanization Study, as well as the author of a number of books dealing with trade union questions, told the conference that "no other labor movement of the world is so beset with dishonest and unprincipled leadership and activity" as the American.

Under the heading of "garden variety" of racketeering, Prof. Sappos listed dishonest elections, riding of union treasuries, transformation of expense accounts into "swindle sheets," and rackets on money expended in connection with union activity. More subtle forms of labor "rack-

ets," multibusiness and industry of large sums, he said. Among these "rackets," Prof. Sappos listed the milking of businessmen and politicians in soliciting "ads" for softeners and annual selling of influence of official labor journals which often, though called official, are privately owned, and the soliciting of advertisements from non-union firms under threats of retaliation. Continuing, Prof. Sappos charged many unions, while holding jurisdiction over entire industries, organize only on the fringe of their industries and refuse, for considerations, to permit any other labor groups to operate their industry. The speaker charged that the union label is being exploited as a "racket." Many organizations sell the right to use the label to a limited number of manufacturers, part of the agreement being to restrict the use of the label, and automatically, the number of men to be organized in the union.

As a result of more remunerative "rackets," Prof. Sappos declared, many labor leaders have supported political office seekers who are unfaithful to labor and local labor bodies maintain alliances with corrupt municipal machines. The racketeering in the labor movement," Prof. Sappos ascribed to the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor to make labor fit perfectly into the accepted economic and political scheme. Only the development of a labor culture and idealism distinct from and above the accepted practices of the business, industrial and political world can remove "racketeering" from the labor movement, he asserted.

Discussing the "High Cost of Ballyhoo," E. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, declared organized religion has acquired too many aspects of ballyhoo. Other forms of ballyhoo, which Vladeck termed expensive but useless, were conventions, drives and advertising.

Without in any way wishing to question the necessity or usefulness of religion, it does seem to me

that organized religion has acquired too many aspects of ballyhoo, Mr. Vladeck declared. According to statistics recently published, the value of the churches in this country is nearly four billion dollars and that the cost of operating them is in the neighborhood of a billion dollars a year. A temple was recently erected in New York City which is supposed to have cost eight million dollars. It is a beautiful temple. But what good does it do the community or religion? A great part of the monies expended on beautiful churches could be used to much greater advantage for the economic and spiritual improvement of the community. The other forms of ballyhoo of which nobody knows the exact cost but which are very expensive, are quite many. Take for instance, conventions. How many hundreds of millions of dollars are spent yearly on conventions whose only purpose is to give the delegates a chance for a drink and whoopee. Has any convention ever accomplished anything? Or—Drives? How many of the drives conducted throughout the country have a real purpose behind them and how many are simply a racket? And what about expense of certain forms of advertising which shows a beautifully gowned lady leaving for Europe on savings effected by buying a particular tooth paste? Or public utility advertising for which the public pays and which is used primarily to fool the public.

There could be a playground and a swimming pool, a community house and a park in every district of our modern cities; there could be better trained teachers and more vocational schools; there could be better music and more museums everywhere for only a fraction of the high cost of ballyhoo.

Toward the end of his address, Vladeck took sharp issue with Sappos. He held it was unfair to describe the labor movement as one immense racket. His experience with New York trade unions had shown him that there was no racketeering practiced except pos-

sibly in the building trades. Vladeck deplored wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on the labor movement, holding that such procedure was a poor one if the end in view was a closer working of Socialist-minded people with trade unions and their leaders.

A promised expose of "refined racketeering" in the labor movement failed to come off because of wet powder or something not clearly explained. Benjamin Stolberg was to talk on this subject and it was mooted about that the L. I. D., the Socialist Party, the C. P. L. A. Brookwood, The Rand School, etc., were to come in for some cruel dissecting. But Mr. Stolberg did not speak, the chairman explaining he was out of town or something. It is to be hoped Mr. Stolberg is not permanently discouraged. His "expose" should be amusing at any rate and, perhaps, provocative of some helpful discussion.

A "super-combine" of usurious loan sharks has been set up that functions through a board of strategy composed principally of "loan shark" chain owners from Chicago, Milwaukee, Atlanta and Louisville, Henderson charged.

The main function of the combine "loan shark" forces is the influencing of legislation and the warding off of attempts at effective regulation of loans, Mr. Henderson asserted. At present the combine is working in Louisiana to break down that state's anti loan shark law, he said. Loan sharks in Ohio openly bragged of an initial "kitty" of \$100,000 during a recent bitter but unsuccessful fight against legislative proposals of business bureaus, Mr. Henderson declared.

Discussing the rates exacted by loan sharks, Mr. Henderson declared that a recent check on nineteen "salary-buying" loan shark offices in Kentucky revealed rates ranging from 240 to 960 per cent. Loan shark managers in St. Louis in May were charging 240 per cent a year, he said, while the United Charities in St. Paul has had to defend borrowers in suits where

the rate was a flat 400 per cent. The "loan shark racket," Mr. Henderson told the conference, concerns itself principally with discounting post-dated checks, with "salary-buying"—the purchasing of wages due, and with "selling endorsements" or "guaranteeing notes."

The Tammany Hall Machine is the most eminent example of political racketeering in the country, Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, told the conference.

Mr. Hillquit declared the "new Tammany" has had a short life, and the old Tammany has reappeared. The city is again "wide open," the Socialist leader asserted, crime is undetected and unpunished, graft has reappeared, "too often there is little moral choice between the judge on the bench and the criminal at the bar."

"The Tammany racket is at its height," Mr. Hillquit declared. "It is becoming too noisy and boisterous to endure. Tammany is throwing caution to the winds. It is riding for a fall."

Mr. Coleman who spoke Sunday morning deplored what he felt to be the acceptance of ballyhoo in radical circles and particularly in the Socialist Party. The ideals of middle class life, with its jargon of the stock market, pervades too many children of Socialist parents. The ballyhoo of success has also affected the Socialist movement, he said. As an instance of this he declared that in many Socialist circles the British Labor Party was held to be sacrosanct and above criticism. Acceptance of the Indian policy of the British Labor Party, which Coleman described as "damnable," was given as a case in point. Impatience of some Socialists with criticism of the policies and practices of the American Federation of Labor was offered as another example of the worship of the ballyhoo success and power which is corrupting Socialist idealism.

Algernon Lee, who followed, denied that there was any tendency in the Socialist Party to forbid

criticism of trade union policies and leadership. Of course, he said, we have the right and duty to discuss union questions as well as all other public questions, and to point out mistakes and abuses where they exist. But such criticism, in order to score any good purpose, should be fair in substance and temperate in tone, and too often it is one-sided and needlessly bitter. Socialists who are not also union members ought, he said, to be very cautious in this matter, because their knowledge of the subject is usually less complete than they suppose.

The first duty of Socialists, Lee declared, is to build up a sound working-class movement on the political field. Unionism by itself is in its very nature not a movement of the whole class, but an aggregate of movements in separate trades or industries, each of which must necessarily look out for itself first and for the working class only secondarily. In order to have class-conscious and idealistic unionism, which means clean and militant unionism, we must have also a vigorous and aggressive political party of the working class.

We must not wait, he said, for unionism to purify and enlighten itself and create a labor party. If we do, we may wait forever. By building up our party in every way and bringing thousands of rank-and-file working people into it, we shall do more to make the unions what they ought to be than by any amount of attack upon mistaken policies and bad leadership in the unions.

The modern development of business has caused work to be looked on as folly, Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, told the concluding session of the conference.

Capitalism, which began by extolling thrift and hard work, now needs more and lavish spending to keep functioning, Mr. Thomas declared. Poverty has been made the chief crime and "the one most surely punished," he asserted. "A certain amount of commercial honesty is necessary for the life of capitalism. Yet the capitalist measure of all things in the terms of dollars, the only yardstick it knows for the worth of individuals, necessarily encourages the cynical morality: 'My son, get rich—honestly, if possible.'" Mr. Thomas declared.

As specific examples of the way capitalism inculcates a belief in the folly of work, the Socialist leader listed first the separation between ownership of industry and responsibility for its management.

"The surest secret of success for the average man would be to go to sleep like Rip Van Winkle, having first signed some directions to the company to hold his stick for him while he slept. When he woke up he would be a millionaire and hence a success, consulted on all high matters like the Einstein theory, the immortality of the soul, the length of skirts and the future of the stock market. Yet if he told the truth he would say: 'My son, the secret of my success was not hard work but picking a winner and then going to sleep so that I couldn't weaken.'" Mr. Thomas said.

The rewards of speculation in land and the handing down of large fortunes through inheritances are further factors making for the folly of work, Mr. Thomas continued. The psychology of success through these legal "rackets," makes it natural that men should arise "who cannot discriminate between legal and illegal racketeering," he said.

SOCIALIST-TRADE UNION PROBLEMS DEBATED

"Unofficial Convention" Discusses Party and Unionists

By Louis Stanley

COLD SPRINGS, N. Y.—An "unofficial convention" of the Jewish labor movement of New York City took place on June 29 at Camp Eden, the beautiful summer place for adults and children conducted by the Jewish Socialist Verband under the auspices of whose City Committee the "convention" was held. There were delegates from the leading Jewish labor organizations as well as many visitors. The conference—for such it really was—subjected to each other's criticisms the practical trade unionists, the political leaders and those whose main interest was the movement as a whole. The thought-provoking quality of the discussion made the affair a success.

M. Weinstein, organizer for the City Central Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband opened the convention and explained that Abraham Cahan, editor of the "Forward" and Judge Jacob Panken were unable to be present as had been expected. S. Wolos of the Forward Association acted as chairman at the morning session, which took place on the green before Sol Chonin's statue of Eugene V. Debs. B. Masur of the Cloakmakers presided at the afternoon session in the social hall. Louis Schaeffer, labor editor of the "Forward," followed Weinstein and stated that the purposes of the gathering were to bring together the various elements in the Jewish labor movement for a heart to heart talk and to prepare for an official convention similar in character to be held in the fall in New York City.

The first speaker was B. Levitan. He analyzed the history of the third party movements in the United States and of the Labor Party in England. He pointed out that no third party could become established in this country unless it represented definite economic interests. As for the British experience, the American labor movement is now where the British was some thirty or forty years ago. At that time in England the trade union leaders opposed independent political action but circumstances made them change their minds. Economic and political conditions will produce the same result in this country.

Dr. Louis Hendin, the next speaker, declared that the bursting of the prosperity bubble was making the time ripe for the formation of a labor party. It will take time, however, for the psychology of the worker to catch up with his changed economic condition. A labor party must be based upon the trade unions.

Hillel Rogoff, who spoke next, threw a bomb-shell, as it was referred to afterward, into the discussion. He advanced a theory to minimize the importance of organized labor. The trade unions as they are organized at present must

become less and less helpful to the Socialist movement. Instead of relying upon organized labor more, we should rely upon it less. The trade unions must protect their members against the introduction of machinery, against improvements in methods of production. This they can only do by restricting membership in the union, making it ever more difficult for the unorganized to become affiliated, restricting output, resisting rationalization. The unions are opposed to progress. It will be the unorganized who will look to the Socialist movement and a labor party for protection. It is upon the workers who are not in the unions that we must depend for the building up of the Socialist movement. Therefore, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor should not concern us much. He referred to the recent British experience. In England the trade union leaders are demanding a protective tariff to help solve the unemployment problem and the workers are cold to Indian emancipation because of textile market involved, although the Socialist position is in opposition to protection and imperialism.

A. I. Shipiloff, until recently manager of the Pocketbook Makers' Union, said the Socialist labor leader was between the devil and the deep sea. Good Socialist comrades go out and form sporadic groups such as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action but there are also the conservative labor leaders with whom one has to deal. The labor leader is divided in his allegiances. The best thing for him to do is neither to become estranged from these sporadic groups, children of the Socialist movement, nor get down on one's knees to the conservative labor leaders but instead take an active, friendly participation in A. F. of L. affairs through central bodies and state and national conventions. "This is a kind of boring from within but that expression should not be used because of its black history. The speaker did not share Rogoff's faith in the unorganized."

In the afternoon session Louis Schaeffer insisted that the great contribution of the British labor movement is the demonstration it has given us of how the Socialist and the trade union movements may work hand in hand. Brown of the Teamsters asked that something constructive be suggested to show how the trade unions and the Socialist Party can work together. Dobbin of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board objected to what he called Rogoff's attack upon the unions. The unions must take care of the bread of the workers. The Socialist Party should organize the unorganized. If it does not do this, then it has no right to criticize. Wexler of the Forward Association resented the

manner in which Rogoff had wiped the unions out of the picture. He wanted to know what could be done now? Ashbes, secretary-treasurer of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board could not see how MacDonald's retention of India was bad. He resented Rogoff's implication that the Socialist Party would have to fight the unions. Abraham Miller, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Joint Board, pointed to various occurrences to illustrate how difficult it is to have the ideal movement that we all want. He did not disapprove of Rogoff's criticism because it had come from a friend. Wholesome criticism is a good thing. Max Cohen, Manager of Local 35, I. L. G. W. U. did not see why everybody should jump at Rogoff. David Meyer of the Pocketbook Makers did not believe that the A. F. of L. should be buried. We want the workers to be organized. Student, Chairman of Local 2, I. L. G. W. U. argued that we must first have a strong Socialist movement before we can organize the unorganized. When the American workers go Socialist the leaders will. Rogoff took the floor to defend himself. He pointed out that the crux of his remarks was that the Socialist Party must be the party of the great masses of workers not of the American Federation of Labor. He was opposed to the tendency to having dinners and meetings with A. F. of L. leaders. The fact is, he said, that we have no real labor movement in this country, because the basic industries are not organized.

Louis Waldman approached the problem from still another point of view. The fallacy of the arguments of Rogoff and others he said, was that they looked upon the Socialist Party as a party of producers. It is not. It is a party of the working class in so far as the workers make up the largest part of the consumers. The trade union is merely a group of producers in conflict with the interests of the community, that is the consumers. In preparing for the Socialist state and within the Socialist state trade unions will be necessary as the means of democratically controlling industry and of making adjustments with the community interests. The early Socialist theory of a classless society under Socialism will have to be revised. The revision will consist in allowing for labor's dealing with the community. Turning to the subject of the morale of the Jewish labor movement, Waldman deplored the demoralized state into which the movement had fallen. He denounced the connections that have been set up with Tammany Hall and declared that the tactic of trying to get into the good graces of the A. F. of L. is a mistake. The Socialist Party should not waste too much time on the

A. F. of L. The American Federation of Labor proceeds on two assumptions: first, that individual action is a failure, and, that therefore, secondly, there must be collective bargaining. Socialists and Socialist trade unions add, thirdly, that collective bargaining alone will not solve the social problem of the individual worker, and fourthly, that a socialized state must have a trade union movement to avoid industrial autocracy. The Socialist Party must concern itself with the eighty-eight per cent of the unorganized who need protection. We must go to the working class first but we must not stop there. We must go to the consumers too. The responses from the consumers' side will in a few years even impress the conservative labor leaders.

The discussion was wound up by N. Chanin of the Jewish Socialist Verband and M. Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades. Chanin called for consolidation and centralization of the progressive

elements in the Jewish labor movement. He advocated a closer cooperation of the Verband, the Workmen's Circle, the United Hebrew Trades and the "Forward." Feinstein asserted that it was the function of the Jewish Socialist Verband to carry on propaganda for Socialism in the unions. A trade union leader is not free. He must think of the immediate needs of the workers. The Socialist Party must build up the Socialist Party independently and not make the trade union a Socialist branch.

Among the delegates present at the "unofficial convention" were the following:

Joint Board Cloakmakers: M. J. Ashbes, Charles Jacobson, Philip Katz, Max Dobbin, Harry Zaslavsky and Louis Biegel.
Local No. 2, I. L. G. W. U.: Alex Student and Benj. Masur.
Local No. 6, I. L. G. W. U.: Abraham Snyder.
Local No. 9, I. L. G. W. U.: Harry Sulzberg.
Local No. 17, I. L. G. W. U.: M. Cohen.

Local No. 23, I. L. G. W. U.: Sam Fremed.

Local No. 35, I. L. G. W. U.: Max Cohen, Max Carolinsky and Meyer Love.

Cloakmakers' Branch of Verband: Max Kushner, Joe Weinstein and Max Propstein.

Cap Makers: Sam Herskowitz.

Amalgamated Joint Board: Abraham Miller, Joe Cirito, Jacob Yelowitz and Jacob Itzkowitz.

Pocketbook Makers: M. Bandklayder, Garlick, M. Dissenhaus, Charles Goldman, Julius Adler and J. Levine.

United Hebrew Trades: Feinstein, Tiegler and Brown.

City Committee of Verband: Weinstein, Schaeffer, Klukofsky, Leventhal, Swabacko.

National Office, Verband: N. Chanin and David Meyer.

Furriers' Joint Council: H. Begoon and William Young.

There were many other persons present in their official or private capacities.

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Strong Notes as the Full-Grown Debs Emerges, Politically Aware, Emotionally Afflame—The Fire Burns Strong as Debs Joins and Leads the Socialist Pioneers—Years of Strident Battle Leading With Inevitable Climax to a Hero Standing Before a Sneering, Snarling Nation, Maddened by War—"I Abhor War"—The Storm Breaks Around Debs' Erect Head—Mob Hysteria, Lynchings, Deportation, Prisons Fail to Bow Him—The Symphony Ends—Beauty, Fraternity, Devotion, Promise—"The Heart Beat No More, Gene Died With His Hand in Theodore's."

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

"Calvin Coolidge Says"

"Thomas Says Socialism Will Cure Rickets," ran a headline on the recent L. I. D. conference. And for our part we will let it go at that. For rickets, which is caused by malnutrition, is one of the ghastly by-products of the sort of civilization we have in this country and Socialism will surely cure it.

Of course the headline writer meant "rickets" and by this time having heard a terrible lot about all sorts and varieties of rickets we are well fed up with that word. Not that the conference papers were not worth while, especially that of H. S. Raushenbush who fell upon the public utility racket with a savage irony, some of it so subtle as to escape many of his auditors but all of it of a most devastating character. Now that eminent palladium of the liberties of our embattled magnates, "The Chicago Journal of Commerce" will have a theme for another editorial in which it will point out that Raushenbush is a Socialist because he writes for "The New Leader" that I wrote a "eulogistic biography of the life of Gene Debs" and that the L. I. D. is a "camouflaged and subversive organization which has for its object the destruction of American industry."

At that, "The Chicago Journal of Commerce" is more logical than some of our Socialist brethren who say that we have no right to criticize the handling of the Indian situation by the Labor Party because our personal habits are not those of the late John Roach Straton.

However let us forget and forgive and hurry on to the more comic aspects of life as revealed in the daily writings of Calvin Coolidge for "The New York Herald Tribune."

You know that Cal is writing a piece every day for this gaffers' rag and we have just read his first article and had no idea Cal could write so funny. At first we thought Bob Benchley was writing a parody of a Fourth of July speech for "The New Yorker." Cal's stuff is that good. Especially the first line which for satire has Dean Swift, Voltaire and all the other great satirists of history backed clear off the boards. In case you missed it, boys and girls here it is: "We need more faith in ourselves."

By the Sacred God, so that is what is wrong! So its faith we're lacking! Faith, and I had always thought that if there was one people in this world that had faith in themselves it was We, Us and Company.

"Surely we are the people and after us wisdom shall depart from the earth." Has not this been blazoned, bellowed, boomed, ballyhooed, broadcast, bled, blaahed, bow-wow, blabbered, blustered, bombarded and bombasted at us by every vote-catching politician, penny-snatching manufacturer, n-jacking press-agent, palm-smivelling parson and kilowatting utility bandit, since "We won the War" and inherited the earth?

If there was ever a nation whose persons, citizens, on the whole a decent, humble, God-fearing folk, were regimented into believing that they were, in some mystic manner not yet manifest, especially appointed by the Creator to run everything and everyone else on the face of the habitable globe, that nation is the United States of America.

Faith in ourselves? Why we have the faith in ourselves that moves mountains. Like the redoubtable Mr. Beers of the poem:

"Now this is Mr. Beers
And for forty-seven years
He's been digging in his garden—
Amid his neighbors' jeers.
He's digging down to China,
This most persistent man
And to those of us who say,
'You can't,' he just replies, 'I can.'
If all of us had faith like his,
No mountains could rely
Upon their firm foundations
Underneath an azure sky.
For grim determination
Is the charm of Mr. Beers
Who's been digging in his garden
For forty-seven years."

Calvin goes on to say:

"Largely because of some decline in trade we have set about finding fault with nearly everything and everything. We are told the President is wrong, the Congress is wrong, the Supreme Court is wrong, and the Cabinet departments, the Federal Reserve Board, the chain stores, the power companies, the radio and even the religious bodies are all wrong. Yet our government, our physical properties and our industries have changed very little from a year or two ago, when people were fairly content. We have the same country in charge of almost entirely the same people with substantially the same laws and administration. The most casual consideration shows us that this whole structure could not turn sour over night."

You said it, Cal. At three bucks a word you said it, you great strong silent man. It's just because we have the same bunch running things as when you were in office that folks are getting sore all the way from Northampton to Los Angeles. And now let us tell you something. Things haven't turned sour over night. They've been sour for years and years and years. Only right now with the cold fingers of hunger and want pinching them, men and women who had never given thought to such things but had always been told to have faith in this and that and Massachusetts, are waking up to the fact that it is precisely because they have the same government of respectable pickpockets that things are just as sour as they are.

You say that people who had been "fairly content" with the Power Trust and the Radio Trust and the hypocrisy of the churches etc., are finding fault with these cherished institutions of you and your gang. You should have underlined that "fairly." What happened during your administration was that through a series of economic breaks for you a lot of loose jack was spread around the country and for awhile everyone went on a spree, if Sam Friedman will permit us the use of that terrible word. You ducked out just in the nick of time. Just as the country woke with a katzenjammer that would pride to a drunken sailor. And as a consequence poor old Herbie is getting the effects of the grouch that invariably attends a bad hangover.

Some day there won't be the same old gang doing the same old stuff in Washington, Wall Street and points West. Some day there will be a change, incredible as this may seem to you, oh unchangeable Cal. And then folks will look back at you and your Administration and at Herbie's and his and wonder how it ever happened that such a sour bunch should stay in power so long.

McAlister Coleman.

We must crucify the word "impossible." — Miss Picton-Turberville, British Labor M. P.

Our Weekly Foreign Letter

FRENCH SOCIALIST PROBLEMS

Party Congress Attempts To Unify Varied Opinions Great Advances Being Made In Elections

By Emil Vandervelde

(Special New Leader Correspondent in France and Belgium)

THE most characteristic event in French politics during the past few months has been the striking advance of the Socialist Party (the S. F. I. O., French Section of the Socialist International). During a series of by-elections, the "Bloc national" of M. Tardieu lost hardly any ground, the Communists saw their electors literally melt away, the Radical parties suffered material losses, while the Socialists, the only victors, saw the number of their votes increase by 50 per cent.

There were 100 Socialist Deputies in the Chamber after the election of 1928. Today there are 107. Even their opponents admit that they are on the way to become the most numerous Parliamentary group, and no one accuses the Socialists of nourishing exaggerated hopes when they count on winning about sixty new seats in the election of 1932.

Under such conditions the annual convention of the party, held the second week of June in Bordeaux, was bound to be a political event of the first rank.

Everybody knows that, despite the unity of the party, there are "tendencies" within the ranks of the S. F. I. O. which are quite divergent on certain questions.

Some party members, profoundly attached, according to the Jaures tradition, to the idea of national defense, are inclined to admit a certain degree of collaboration with the bourgeois parties for the organization of this defense. Others, although firmly resolved, for the most part, to participate in such defense in case of aggression, stick to the traditional formula of "Not a cent for the armaments, for the military budgets of the bourgeoisie."

At the extraordinary congress, held in Paris last January, the same tendencies were opposed to each other on the question of participation by the Socialists in a "Government of the Left," and at Bordeaux itself lively debates were expected on what relations were to be established between the Socialist Party and the other parties calling themselves "democratic," especially on what is usually called in France, the "republican discipline," i. e. the withdrawal of candidates on the second balloting in favor of the best "candidates of the Left."

Let us hasten to add that this expectation—a dread for some and a hope for others, the hope of a Socialist split, or a break between Radicals and Socialists—fell through.

The question of national defense was adjourned for a more thorough examination. On the suggestion of the leaders of the Left themselves it was decided to maintain the status quo in certain irritating questions such as having Bouisson, a Socialist, preside over a Chamber with a reactionary majority, and the approval by some Socialist Deputies of a report on budgets, like the aviation budget, which in some ways are linked

with the problem of national defense.

And finally, following a speech by Leon Blum, the party's leader, who on this occasion gave proof of incomparable dialectic power and clearness of view, unanimity of the party was achieved on the matter of giving the autonomous provincial federations the right to advise the most effective means of "barring the road to the reaction" in the second balloting.

For the rest, almost an entire session was devoted to the organization of the Socialist women, still in an embryonic stage—This was something new for France. Another was taken up with something just now the major preoccupation of the S. F. I. O.—propaganda work in the country districts, the elaboration of an agricultural program more complete than the old ones of pre-war days, and, especially, a clear definition of the Socialist attitude toward peasant property.

But to one who, like ourselves, was following the deliberations of the Bordeaux congress, it was quite clear that the big problem of the convention, the underlying preoccupation of the mass of the delegates, was the settlement, once for all, of a question particularly close to everyone's heart—the representation of the "tendencies" on the C. A. P. (the Permanent Administrative Commission), and in a general way, on the various central bodies of the party.

After the congress of last year, the "moderates" retired to their tents. They abandoned the C. A. P. Most of them refused to collaborate at all on Le Populaire, the party paper.

This time, on the contrary, they

demanding their places back, and places with more influence. They based this demand upon the results of the vote on governmental participation at the special Paris Congress last January, which had been relatively favorable for them. But on this point the other side was deaf. Of course it was admitted that the minority ought to have its share in representation, and as proportionate as possible. Then, on the other hand it was contended vigorously that in the party, as in a parliament, there ought to be a majority and a minority, a government and an opposition, it being understood that on both sides it was legitimate to try to become the majority or to try to reduce the minority to the minimum.

It is hardly necessary to point out that a similar thesis, pushed to its logical consequences, would be especially dangerous from the point of view of party unity.

A party is not a parliament. The creation within a party of two opposing factions, each with its own newspaper, its special program of action, its separate reunions, would end in decentralizing it, in polarizing it in favor of the extremes, in giving control in both groups to the most intransigent elements, the ones most disposed, in the event of a crisis, to go their own way apart.

And so we may be glad that at Bordeaux it was not the spirit of tendency, but the spirit of unity, of unanimity, that won a definite victory.

To all those who heard the debates, it was evident that, while there might be differences in temperament, of degrees of realism or idealism in sizing up the necessities of current policies among such

men as Pierre Renaudel, Leon Blum or Paul Faure, there was no essential divergence of opinion about the essentials of Socialism.

And it was just this that the mass of the delegates, after a rather harsh beginning, learned to understand. And then what was in fact the most thorny question on the order of the day found itself virtually settled. It was agreed to send into the C. A. P., elected on a common list, all the men really representative of the party.

Does this mean that in France they had put an end to tendencies, to quarrels among groups, to the more or less clear recognition of rival factions?

I shouldn't dare to be so optimistic.

At base the evil from which the S. F. I. O. is suffering, even under the present favorable circumstances, is one which afflicts some other European Socialist parties. It is exclusively a political party, not to say—for that would be unjust—a party for elections. It always stands firmly with the working class. But it is not, like in some other European countries, the working class itself, organized politically and economically at the same time.

Of course it will require a great deal of time before it will be different, before, for example, there will be no longer in France water-tight compartments between political Socialism and the non-political trade unions or cooperatives.

But there is no longer a single French Socialist today who isn't convinced of the necessity of bringing together all forms of working class action. And the day such rapprochement is effected, Socialist unity will be founded on the solid rock of working class unity.

The Problem Of Indian Freedom Debated

ABRAMOVITCH, a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International, describes in an article he has written the session of the Committee which took up the problem of the British Labor Party's attitude toward India. The problem, both as it arises from the internal affairs in India, and the many difficulties that have to be encountered, no matter what principles are applied to their solution, and the situation which it creates for the British Labor Party, is set forth to educate the difficulty presented by its consideration in the Executive Committee.

After discussing the general question involved, Comrade Abramovitch writes: "The question consists of two distinct parts: first, the situation in India; second, the situation in the labor government of England. 'The situation in India is certainly not simple. The population of India is about 350,000,000 people. But it is a very mixed population—mixed as a race, and as to religion. Both of these continue to play an important part in the life of India. Sixty-eight per cent. of the people are Hindus, 22 per cent. Mohammedans, and 3 per cent. Buddhists. And there are other religious groups. According to language, the nation is divided into 12 main language groups and 222 dialects, which are not understood by any two of the groups. The largest group language and national group are the Hindus, who numbered, in 1921, 97 millions. According to religion, there were 217 million Hindus."

Both the languages and the religions determine in India national tendencies, the political beliefs, and, therefore also their relations with India. The followers of the Hindu language and religion belong mainly to the Indian nationalist movement, which is antagonistic to England. But at the same time they are also violent religious enemies of the Mohammedans, because the Mohammedans eat meat of animals which the Hindus consider holy, and not to be even touched. On the other hand, the Mohammedans, because of the great enmity they feel towards the Hindus, the majority of the population, are much friendlier to England. That is why they did not identify themselves with the general Indian nationalist movement against England. And since they number about 80,000,000, and they are, as a rule, both physically and militarily much stronger than the Hindus—the Mohammedan question became a grave internal problem to Indian nationalism.

In addition, it is important to observe that the Mohammedans and the Hindus divide according to territory so that in some provinces of India practically all are Hindus whereas other provinces, on the contrary, have a great majority of Mohammedans. For that reason, any serious differences between the Hindus and the Mohammedans must not only lead to a weakening of the general Indian nationalist movement but also to strife in the Indian provinces themselves. In order to understand further the complicated situation of the Indian population we must remember that India consists of hundreds of millions of people who live in

indescribable poverty and ignorance, and whose income amounts on the average to \$14 a year. Among them all, there are about 8 per cent. who can read and write. And so far as the 68 per cent. of the population are concerned,—the Hindus, they are divided into five castes that are divided from each other by an impenetrable wall, and have nothing to do with each other. The highest of the castes are the Brahmins, the Indian aristocracy, with great education and cultural development, but numerically small. The lowest of the castes are considered by the Hindus themselves so low that any contact with them makes the higher castes unclean. This caste counts between 50,000,000 and 60,000,000.

We have here an unusually mixed population with a primitive social order, in which there are castes and individuals that rule in their own domains with the same despotism, the same cruelty, and the same luxury that prevailed in ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. And into this there have penetrated some phases of modern capitalism.

During the last several decades there has developed a growing modern industry in India, which was inaugurated by British capitalists and is now continued also under native capitalists, and which employ about 1,500,000 industrial workers. They have also a middle class, special mechanics, who are beginning to suffer from the competition of the foreign and native manufacturers, and who demand the exclusion of "foreign products" and call upon the people not to dress in clothes and textiles produced in other lands. (On this was built the Gandhi movement against the importation of British textiles, and for the return of the Hindus to hand weaving.)

During the same period there has also developed an intellectual class, which is comparatively larger than are the economic possibilities of poor India. In India there is an overproduction of intellectuals who have graduated from universities to become public officials, lawyers, engineers, etc. There are thousands and thousands of these intellectuals who have now no hope to obtain situations. When, for example, a vacancy is created in the position of ticket agent on a railroad, there is a flood of applications from people who have completed college courses.

The modern classes that have come to the front through the development of capitalism have become the champions of nationalism in India. Especially the intelligentsia, and at that the Hindu intelligentsia, which comes mainly from the richer and higher castes, has become the most energetic and fanatic representative of the Indian nationalist movement. For that class independence means an opportunity to drive out tens of thousands of European (British) officials, employers, lawyers and other intellectuals now in India. For them it means not only a national deed, but also a question of livelihood.

British officials, who serve in India, and also impartial tourists, such as, for example, Germans, who visit in India, assure us that the overwhelming majority, per-

haps 95 or 98 per cent. of the Indian population take no part in the so-called "nationalist movement," and remain untouched and politically passive, impartial. From all considerations, that view seems to be correct. The same thing may also be said of other Eastern peoples, as for example, the Egyptian and Arabs. The great masses are politically dead and passive, and all the political struggles involve only a handful of the modern intellectuals and bourgeois, who perhaps a few industrial workers, who have recently come up as a group, and who are under the influences of national and bourgeois ideas. Even those who call themselves "Communists" or "Socialists" are not to be taken seriously. These are only modified forms of radical nationalism.

But are we to conclude from all of this that the nationalist movement in India is not important? Are we to just wave aside this handful of intellectuals, and not consider their demands?

Of course, the Indian nationalists exaggerate greatly when they speak of the demand of "350,000,000 Indians" or talk on behalf of the entire Indian population who they say are all excited about British rule and determined to secure liberty for themselves. The overwhelming majority of the Indian people are not excited and are too much concerned with their immediate daily problems to be interested in the nationalist movement. It is just as much an exaggeration to claim otherwise as is the charge of many nationalists and Communists that "England is sapping the life blood of the Indian people" and that the Indian people are becoming poorer and poorer because of British exploitation.

All statistics prove, on the contrary, that the economic, physical, and especially hygienic conditions of the Indian people have since British rule not become worse, but much better than they ever were. Certainly, England exploited India, but perhaps not more, but much less than the Indian masses were exploited by the despotic, half-barbarian nobles and kings who ruled India before England entered. And so far as development is concerned, beginning with railroads and ending with universities and hospitals, these were inaugurated under British rule in India.

But even if we disregard all the exaggerated claims of the nationalist propaganda, it would be a mistake to consider Indian nationalism too insignificant to be reckoned with. It is true, that the intellectuals and others of that type who are behind the movement are for the time being, a small group. But economic development, not only of India, but of all other backward peoples, or people who possess an ancient culture, and which were halted in their development, as for example, China and India, leads with irresistible force towards the development of capitalist classes in these nations, and the awakening, more and more, of a desire for a national life of their own, and national political independence.

This is now understood by all European governments and that is understood, first of all, by the British Labor party, and who, at

her conventions and congresses ever since 1919, has frequently declared that she recognizes the right of the Indian people to complete self-government and self-determination.

But if that is true, if MacDonald and his Comrades understand that the growth of the Indian nationalist movement is inevitable—then why do they not make the necessary changes, and do they not give the Indian every national right that the Indians demand? Why does MacDonald have to arrest Gandhi and have British military break up peaceful demonstrations?

To answer these questions we must first recall that the MacDonald government is a minority government, which has in parliament no majority, and which remains in power only because the liberals have not the courage of overthrowing MacDonald and bringing on new elections. Can a government which stands on such weak ground undertake a step like granting the demands of the Indian nationalists? And if we should take seriously the demands of the Indian nationalists, that the question is one of complete independence for India, can anyone imagine that in England there should be a government supported by a majority in parliament that would dare break up the British Empire? For this step would in effect spell the breaking up of the Empire—and would any government decide upon such a course without first obtaining the view of the electorate in a general election? Can anyone imagine, knowing the sentiment of the English masses, where millions of workers still vote against the Labor Party and for the conservatives that any government could obtain a majority in any elections held on the issue: "With India, or Without India?"

It is sufficient to just ask these questions in order to understand that the only thing MacDonald could do would be to resign, if he does not want to engage in a struggle with the advocates of independence for India. To grant Gandhi's demands, the minority government of Great Britain has no power.

MacDonald can, then, do one of two things: Protect the interests of the British Empire, as is demanded by the majority of the people, (liberals, conservatives, and a part of the working class) or retire from the scene, and permit the Conservative Churchill or Baldwin to take his place. (None but a conservative government could be expected after MacDonald's resignation).

Of course, from a pure Socialist agitator's standpoint, especially to quiet the yelling of the Communists, a resignation would be best. MacDonald's hands would remain clean, and he would always have the right to point to the fact that he did not oppress India. But, on the other hand, that would be in a large degree ordinary hypocrisy. And that we must understand.

What would the Indian nationalists gain if MacDonald stripped off and a conservative government would come in? Would Gandhi and his followers be treated any softer or better? Would there be any chance that under a conserv-

ative government as much of the demands of the Indian people would be granted as would under a labor government? Would the number of victims through such a change be decreased, and the inevitable adjustment of the differences between India and England carried through better with a conservative government in power than a labor government?

India would not gain anything by MacDonald's resignation, and the English workers and the whole European labor government would as a result lose a good deal. And it was this argument which carried great weight in the discussion on India at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International.

Can we demand of the Labor Government adherence to an abstract principle regardless of the realistic, tangible results that would ensue, both as to the Indian people, and as to the British and European working class?

That is the way the question was finally put to the Executive Committee, when the Indian matter was taken up. No one on the Committee doubted that MacDonald, Henderson, especially Lansbury, Moseley, Miss Bondfield and the other now left members of the Labor Government have the best intentions to do all that is possible to satisfy the just aspirations and demands of the Indian nationalist movement and to come as soon as possible to an understanding with the Indian Nationalist Congress.

That is why there was no disposition on the part of any one to come out with any attacks or accusation against the Labor Party and the Labor Government. At the same time every one knew what tremendous significance for all of Europe, for the whole working class, the existence of the Labor Government has. If Italy and Hungary do not pounce down on Yugoslavia or Rumania, if Poland and Rumania do not decide upon another struggle against Russia, if in Austria the Fascists haven't the courage to attempt a revolution and flood the streets of Vienna with workers' blood, if in the Far East it is still quiet and peaceful—all of that is in a very large measure due to the fact that in England rules not Churchill, but MacDonald.

To sacrifice all that, to bring into Europe a new epoch of reaction and war danger, and at the same time not to bring any new practical good to the Indian people—that was a course upon which the Socialist International could not decide, and a course it could not ask the Labor Government to follow.

But many members of the Executive Committee had the feeling that perhaps the Labor Government, could, without risking its existence, develop more energy and show more determination in preparing for those negotiations and for that Round Table Conference to which have agreed the more reasonable Indian nationalists, and against which there will not be any opposition even from some parts of the conservative and liberal groups? Perhaps it is possible that the Labor Government could, (Continued on Page Seven)

The Chatter Box

The Iron Foundry

WITHIN this smoky cavern,
Are spawned what breeds?
Many an iron mastodon
Gnashes and feeds.
Giant monsters on their haunches crouch,
Fantasies of what dream?
They cough in harsh exhausts
And sniff in steam
And all about and under
Their growls and bellowing
(A djinn's unseemly chaos...)
Make prouling thunder
Which is a shaggy beast that roars
And everywhere
Shakes out a terror from its sooty hair...
Nearby, overhanging nests,
Countless wriggling snakes of fires
(Hatched from the eggs of what desires?)
Write in the forest of the smoke...
While squat and swartly gnomes
And blackened ogres poke
Feeding an endless ore
To fierce chimeras of blast-furnace—
Gryphons that gulp it down
And glare for more.
(Oh, what would happen if these brutes
Would rise
Maddened by a glimpse of skies,
Revolt
And frenzied-struck,
Rage on these insect-men,
And in this foundry, run amuck?)
Yet here they pant
And chew a metal strength from sullen ore
With oozy jaws that pour
Sulphurous serpents of a red-hot slag—
Disgorging streams that in the eerie light,
Sluicing along the troughs of moulds,
Harden at last to strength of iron might...

Yet as these beasts
Belch their flames,
And all their monstrous frames
Shake with rage;
As scorpions of fires sizzle hate;
As goaded gryphons stamp
And scream upon their fate,
What vision shatters on the dim—
How well—
How fierce it flows,
This lurid Dante's Hell,
Where penal fires fan—
Are all these floors, the burning heart of man?
LOUIS GINSBERG.

To get back from the Unity House and the L. I. D. conference at Camp Tamiment all spent with physical stress and mental anguish, and find that there is a column to be filled with some sort of coherent badinage was stupendous worry. But to discover a fine long poem from such splendid poet as Louis Ginsberg to fill in with worthless such space as might have been marked with strain and foolishness is blessedness indeed. Thanks, thanks to you, my gentle friend, for the blessing you have wrought...

All the way back from the camp, Comrades Esther Friedman, Augusta de Witt, and Mrs. L— argued with me the pros and cons of the conference. Mrs. L— evidenced the long pull to the left... and with considerable feeling...

"What does all this accomplish, this bartering and trading of speeches by authorities who hardly ever agree with one another on any solid premise...? Talk, talk, talk... and nothing is ever done... We need the youth to take the places of those who have grown so tired or soft in the struggle... As Mr. MacAlister Coleman so aptly put it, the Socialists bring up children but hardly ever prospective minds the tenets of the faith in which they themselves sacrifice so much... Socialists get rich or even just comfortable in worldly goods... and all that is talked about over the dinner table or before the fire is bonds, stocks, business and real estate... Small wonder that the children grow up with Babbitt weeds in their brains, and small wonder that they do not respond to the call of the cause when they are older."

On this point Mrs. Friedman and Mrs. de Witt launched forth with especial fervor, since both of these good comrades have grown children to whom these hot observations might be pertinent.

Between watching the road and dodging questions flung at me from the feminine battle ground in the rear, my own mind seethed enormously.

To sort of create a temporary lull in the tempestuous affair, I broke out with a brand new thought... "Seems, ladies, we Socialists have a great deal to learn from the Catholic Church as to organization and practice. Men and women who feel the urge of our cause sufficiently strong to make them zealous for leadership have no right to marry."

"The Catholics forbid family obligations to their leaders and workers so that they can devote their entire lives, spiritually and physically to the purposes of the church. In that way they are assured of a leadership that remains on the job every day of the year with the single end of building and keeping what they build for permanence."

"With the Socialist Party and similar organizations built on an ideal the leaders complicate their lives with domestic obligations and economic situations that in nearly every case tend to weaken their use to the cause... Children are indeed moot to the question... Most of the men and women who spent their youth in the movement because they rebelled against their own personal sufferings under capitalism (although they honestly believed in their impersonal and universal hope for the rest of mankind), react with instinctive dread where their own children are concerned."

"The first impulse and the strongest, is to equip their offspring with professions and such education as will secure them from what usually falls to the ordinary worker's lot. The memory of olden poverty and struggle is unfaceable."

"Apply this irrefutable condition to hundreds of the old valiants, see them holding on to their positions and means of livelihood, whether they be now in union offices or in organizations that have grown powerful out of the ancient days of idealistic endeavor, and you understand quite clearly why the brilliant fire-brands of the past now burn with the dull glow of sacramental candles."

"Then these leaders and officials ought to resign or be forced to resign from their fat salaried jobs... and younger men and women be given an opportunity and much less remuneration to contribute their energy and enthusiasm... The ticket man at the ferry interrupted the lady from the left... 'Fifty-five cents, please...'"

As I rolled onto the ferry boat, my rear vision mirror disclosed the flushed face of Mrs. L—... While my own lady, and Comrade Esther smiled on with contemplative amusement...

S. A. de Witt.

Men who could cover the earth with missionaries, sent forth to disturb the ancestral faiths of other people, have proved the most sensitive to any attacks against their own.—Thomas Scott.

'Yoshivara', Japanese Film Triumph, at the 55th

The Stage

The Movies

Music

'Slums of Tokyo' Premier At the 55th St. Playhouse

The 55th Street Playhouse is proud to announce that it has secured for the premiere showing in New York, the sensational Japanese film: "Slums of Tokyo" ("Yoshivara") produced in Japan by the Shochiku Film Company and directed by Teinosuke Kinogasa with an all-Japanese cast, including A. Tachihaya, J. Bandoh, Y. Ogawa and I. Sohmnow.

"Slums of Tokyo" ("Yoshivara," great amusement center of Tokyo) received its world premiere recently at the Gloria-Palast Theatre in Berlin, created a storm of discussion. The critics called it "the Japanese Caligari," because of its stylized settings which were the Japanese adaptation of the principles used in "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," that famous expressionistic film.

It was agreed that this was Japan's outstanding contribution to the art of the motion picture and the most serious effort in films to come out of the East.

"Slums of Tokyo" ("Yoshivara") is a tragedy laid in and about a house of amusement and the four principle characters are a girl, her brother, a geisha girl and a policeman.

On the same program will be the world-premiere of the first talking film in Japanese language. It is a short film, "The Golden Kikyo," which Paramount produced in Astoria and which stars the famous Japanese operatic singer, Tamaki Miura.

At the Palace Theatre

Patriotism pays peculiarly as well as morally as far as the Palace is concerned for "Patriotic Week" kept the well away from our doors. Miss Ruth Etting will postpone her visit to her Nebraska farm in order to be at the Palace another week; new songs will be added to her sweet sounding repertoire. Lou Holtz is another hold-over this week in the capacity of comper to the whole show, and it is a delight to see him work once again with Miss Etting, as he did when they both appeared here on a previous visit. Foremost among the new arrivals are Joe Smith and Charles Dale, comedians of that most amusing of all quartets, "The Avon Comedy Four," with them will appear: Mario and Lou Lazarin, in that comedy of Glee, "A Hungarian Phonydy." These boys recently closed with "Mendel, Inc.," where as two bickering business partners they rivalled even the immortal "Potash and Perlmutter." More comedy of a different nature is offered by those two falling fools, from "A Night in Venice," Joe and Pete Michon, who have literally fallen up the ladder of success and bumped their way to a top of the bill standing. Gloria Foy, Sam Cricherson and Alan Davis, who between them, have appeared in sixteen Broadway shows, offer "A Movie Musical," in which they perform many impressions of flicker favorites in a hodge podge of smiles, songs and steps.

At the Beacon



Betty Compson has been one of the busiest persons in pictures. At the Beacon this week, she is seen in "Those Who Dance" the new Vitaphone melodrama.

"The Fall Guy" Is Hip Screen Feature; Alexandria And Olsen State Attractions

"The Fall Guy," with Jack Mulhall, will be the Hippodrome screen feature for the week commencing Saturday, July 5th. In this film version of the stage success of the same name are Mae Clarke, Ned Sparks, and Pat O'Malley. The RKO vaudeville bill includes Deno and Rochelle, dance stars; Eddie Alexandria and Ole Olsen, the kings of hokum comedy; Chevalier Brother, ace athletes and Ralph Rogers, with Elsie Donnelly, popular funsters.

Helen Kane, Buddy Rogers At RKO's 58th Street Theatre

"Dangerous Nan McGrew" with Helen Kane, Victor Moore, James Hall, Stuart Erwin and Frank Morgan is the musical comedy screen feature at RKO's 58th Street Theatre this Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Clifford Wayne brings a half dozen Sioux Braves on the amusement war path to the vaudeville stage in a highly entertaining novelty in which Karl Wayne, the boy violinist is featured. Others on the program are Joe Freed with his comedy company; Al Belasco; Carr Brothers and Betty, and Merrick and Allen.

Charles "Buddy" Rogers will do some heavy lifting at RKO's 58th Street Theatre when on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday he will be seen in "Safety in Numbers" with Carol Lombard, Josephine Dunn and Kathryn Crawford.

Healy and Cross, popular songsters will top the vaudeville half of the show which includes Mitzi's Royal Dancers; Tom Smith and Eddie Parks and Rodney and Gould.

Leo Ornstein has incorporated his special music for "Lysistrata" into a "Lysistrata" suite, which will be played this Summer by the Philadelphia Orchestra, under the direction of Alexander Smallens.

Some Interesting Facts About The Earl Carroll Vanities At The New Amsterdam Theatre

The eighth edition of Earl Carroll Vanities opened Tuesday night, July 1st, at the New Amsterdam Theatre, the first to be presented in New York outside of the Earl Carroll Theatre, and the first time other than a lessee of the New Amsterdam Theatre or associate of a lessee has presented an attraction in that house.

"Herb" Williams, Jimmie Savoy and Jack Benny head a cast of more than thirty principals in the Vanities, including Patsy Kelly, Naomi Ray, Edward Harrison, Harry Stockwell, John Hale, Thelma White, the Collette Sisters, Dorothy Britton, Vivian Fay, Betty Veronica, Murray Bernie, Frank and Harry Condos, Clabone Bryson, Billy Rolls, Ronald Fielder, Mildred and Maurice, Faith Bacon, and two full bands on the stage in addition to Ray Kavanagh's Vanities Band in the orchestra pit. There are 150 in all in the company, including a corps of prize-winning beauties headed by Eileen Wenzel, Irene Ahlberg, Marion Carewe, Kay Carroll, Constance Trevor and Frances Joyce.

There are 56 scenes in the revue. The ensembles and musical numbers were staged by LeRoy Prinz and the dialogue was staged by Priestly Morrison. The dialogue was prepared by Eddie Welch and Eugene Conrad. The music is by Jay Gorney, Harold Arlen and Ted Koehler, with lyrics by E. Y. Harburg. The costumes were designed by Charles LeMaire and made by Mme. Arlington, with additional costumes from Paris. The settings were designed by High Willoughby and the art and technical direction is by Bernard Lohmuller.

The production is considered the most elaborate of Mr. Carroll's career, comprising seven caravans of scenic effects. The New Amsterdam Theatre has been completely redecorated, and there have been a half dozen extra light bridges installed backstage and in front of the balcony for light effects. The cost of the eighth Vanities is said to have been nearly twice that of any previous edition, and the greatest care in his career was exercised by Mr. Carroll in the selection of the beauties for the chorus.

Belasco's First Production Of New Season To Be Comedy

David Belasco's first production of the new season is now in rehearsals.

It has required months of persistent labor by Mr. Belasco to engage his players and make revisions on the manuscript. And it is estimated that he interviewed several hundred artists before finally engaging a cast that met all his requirements.

Following his custom of the past, Mr. Belasco will open his season with a comedy. It is the collaborative effort of Alexander Engel and Alfred Grunwald and has been adapted by Frederick and Fanny Hatton.

The new play is distinctive in theme and plot and from a humorous viewpoint should prove a worthy successor to the play just departed from the Belasco after almost a year's run.

Featured in the cast will be Lynne Overman, Irene Purcell, Henry Stephenson and Charlotte Granville. And they will receive the able and artistic support of Suzanne Caubaye, Jules Epailly, Gustave Rolland, Claudia Morgan, Maurice Ducret, Germaine de Renty, Patricia Gridier, Ivan Servais and Claire St. Clair.

"Docks of Hamburg" At 8th St. Playhouse

"Docks of Hamburg," UFA's drama of waterfront life, will be the feature of the Eighth Street Playhouse, 52 West 8th Street, this current week.

Co-featured with this will be "Evolution," a scientific film directed by Raymond L. Ditmars, curator of the New York Zoo.

"Docks of Hamburg" has a cast of many prominent German actors, including: Jenny Jugo, star of "Looping the Loop"; Willy Fritsch, stars of "The Water Dream"; Fritz Rasp, star of "Loves of Jeanne Ney"; and "The Mystic Mirror" and Wolfgang Zilner, star of "Therese Raquin."

A Mickey Mouse cartoon, "Fiddling Around," and a Laurel and Hardy comedy on the program.

Interesting Vitaphone Concert at Beacon Sunday

Tschaikowsky and Victor Herbert will share audience applause in the Vitaphone concert this Sunday, from 4 to 4 P. M., at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th Street. It opens with the "1812 Overture" by Tschaikowsky and closes with Herbert's "American Fantasy."

The concert will be given by the Beacon Theatre Symphony orchestra (formerly the Vitaphone Orchestra), with Harold Levey conducting. Noted soloists will assist.

The concert will be broadcast by radio station WGBS.

Director of Advertising and Publicity of World's Largest Theatre



Martha Wilchinsky, chief aid to S. L. Rothafel (Roxy) World Famous Showman

Some believe that this is the day of woman in business. If that be so, we are not unimpressed of the story of a young lady who has gone to the top of the ladder in her profession, a profession that will always be interesting, glamorous, and often heart-breaking.

We beg to introduce Miss Martha Wilchinsky, chief aid to Roxy, and director of advertising, publicity, radio, and all press relation work for the largest theatre in the world, The Roxy, in New York City.

Miss Wilchinsky's newspaper experience began on the San Francisco Examiner and Call. Here she manifested a decided liking for her work, and found time to contribute various articles to national periodicals and humorous magazines. She came to New York some eight years ago and began her theatrical work for the Capitol Theatre. She mastered her job so thoroughly that when Roxy severed his connections with the Capitol Theatre and built his Cathedral of Motion Pictures, he brought with him Martha Wilchinsky to assist him in his tremendous task. The rest is history. The Roxy Theatre today is perhaps the outstanding motion picture palace in the world.

Miss Wilchinsky, to the countless people who know or have heard of her, is not only charming and likeable, but in business is quiet and unassuming. In spite of her many tasks and duties, she is known as an indefatigable worker and gets things done. She has been quoted as saying that: "when one is reasonable and sympathetic, no door is closed and by these means good results are secured in the field of publicity as well as other branches of industry."

Miss Wilchinsky sincerely believes in what she says, for in her various dealings with newspaper men, she has never been known to be arbitrary or demand space in a paper. She comes in contact with newspaper editors, artists, music and radio editors, special feature editors and photo-gravure departments. Her tact and her keen understanding of human nature serve her mightily well. She believes that modesty and an imaginative grasp of what the editor wants are the chief factors in securing the publicity sought; and she generally places her publicity because she caters to the individual policy of the newspaper she sends her material to. Incidentally, she seldom goes to newspaper offices, but makes her contacts chiefly by telephone.

Miss Wilchinsky's work in radio publicity is national in character. Roxy's voice and Roxy's programmes are known to millions of radio fans throughout the country. And it is she who often participates personally in the announcements and make-up of the well-known programmes.

In her department there is a staff of men, and she finds no ill feeling because they have a woman to supervise them. Though there are times when it is necessary to work at great pressure, it is a known fact that she finds her work pleasant, easy and interesting.

Notwithstanding her manifold duties, Martha Wilchinsky finds time to write for columns in the New York dailies; is a composer of lyrics for many songs, her best known number being "When Love Is All," written together with Dr. Billy Axt. She takes a keen delight in outdoor sports, and her hobbies are golf and horseback riding.

B. F.

"Sweethearts and Wives" to Continue at the Strand

"Sweethearts and Wives," which came quite modestly last week into the Strand Theatre as an ordinary program picture, did the unexpected and has achieved the distinction of being held over for a second week. It is the current attraction at the Strand, and continues to attract exceptional business considering the season's hot weather, business depression and various and sundry other drawbacks.

Billy Dove is starred in the production, which is a mystery-melodrama-romance with its locale in a deserted inn on a road to Le Touquet, near Paris. Clive Brook, Leila Hyams and Sidney Blackmer have featured roles. Albert Gran, Fletcher Norton, John Loder and Crauford Kent are also in the cast. Clarence Badger directed this Vitaphone production of "Other Men's Wives," a stage play by Walter Hackett.

Miss Dove plays a triple role in "Sweethearts and Wives"—as a French maid, a detective and an English society girl. Critics have voted this her outstanding picture to date.

Also on the Strand program this week is Eddie Buzzell, diminutive star of stage and screen, in a two-act Vitaphone comedy called "The Royal Fourflusher." Blonnie Doris Dawson, Wampus Baby star, is featured in this picture.

Victor McLaglen in "On The Level" at the Roxy

Victor McLaglen, star of "What Price Glory" and "The Cock Eyed World," comes to the Roxy Theatre on Friday, July 4, in the stellar role of "On the Level," a new Movietone comedy of rivets and romance. The story is by William K. Wells, author of "The Cock Eyed World," with the adaptation by Dudley Nichols and dialogue by Andrew Bessillon.

The story of the film concerns itself with the activities of a structural iron worker, after he has fallen victim to a band of real estate sharks, and almost loses \$50,000 of his fellow-workers' money in a fake realty scheme. Lilian Tashman plays the role of decoy for the racketeers. Fifi Dorsay, as McLaglen's "Love from New Orleans," provides a large part of the comedy. The film moves in locale from the heights of steel construction and Palisades Park, to fashionable apartments and night clubs, permitting McLaglen a wide latitude for his talents.

"Cannibal Capers," the Disney Animated Cartoon with symphonic synchronization, postponed from last week's screen program, will complete the program of film features.

Fox Movietone and Hearst Metrotone newsreels will offer the news of the day in sight and sound reproduction.

"Those Who Dance" At the Beacon Theatre

Lila is a brunet and plays heroines, and Betty is a blonde and plays "heavies."

This sums up the only important differences in the film careers of Lila Lee and Betty Compson, who are both riding to new successes on the crest of the talkie wave.

Lila and Betty, who are both in "Those Who Dance" the Warner Bros. and Vitaphone melodrama at the Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th Street, have had talking picture careers that might be carbon copies of each other.

Even their best friends told the actresses they were through as far as pictures were concerned in 1927. Still young, both had not found suitable roles that would keep them in public favor. They had been on the screen for years before. Lila started when she was fourteen and Betty when sixteen.

It was a tough break. Too youthful for character parts, they were nevertheless barred from playing leads. The public forgets quickly. It forgot the remarkable portrayals of Lila in "Blood and Sand" and "Male and Female" and of Betty in "The Miracle Man."

Then talkies came and producers sought eagerly for players with stage training. Lila and Betty had both served an apprenticeship on the stage, and had good voices.

In "Those Who Dance" Miss Lee appears as the sister of a condemned man, while Miss Compson is an underworld habitue.

THEATRE GUILD Presents THE NEW GARRICK GAITIES

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A Universal Picture presented by Carl Laemmle—Directed by Lewis Milestone
"A notable achievement, sincere, earnest, vivid and graphic. Better than anything so far done."—Morning Post, N. Y. Times
"A tremendously compelling motion picture. As a show something to get definitely excited about. A very fine motion picture."—Howard Barnes, Herald Tribune
CENTRAL Theatre, Broadway and 47th Street.
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COOL CAPITOL Broadway and 51st Street Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir. MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30

Lon CHANEY TALKS IN THE UNHOLY THREE with Lila Lee, Elliott Nugent
Based on the novel by TOD ROBBINS
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
ENGAGEMENT EXTRAORDINARY
Fred Waring's PENNSYLVANIANS
America's Music Masters
Yasha Neushtuk, Traveling Picture
Hearst Metrotone News



After a lengthy battle with the censors, "Slums of Tokyo" ("Yoshivara"), will be shown for the first time in America at the 55th St. Playhouse. Pictured above are Tachihaya and Bandoh, two famous Japanese film stars who have the featured roles.

"With Byrd at the South Pole," Gripping and Real, Has Appeal to Women

"With Byrd at the South Pole," Paramount's motion picture camera study of the great adventure, has been honored by the greatest outburst of enthusiasm bestowed upon it by the press and public alike.

Contrary to the general belief, excepting of course those who have witnessed its unfolding on the Rialto screen, it is a profoundly human, moving and gripping story, absolutely real in every respect. Rear Admiral Byrd's trek, with his brave, hardy companions into the unknown wastes of the South Polar regions, was primarily a scientific and patriotic expedition, designed to further advance the knowledge of humanity. The trials and experiences of this group of explorers were fortunately caught by the camera's searching eye and the result is one of the finest entertainments that the public can ever hope to witness and enjoy.

A surprising feature is its powerful appeal to women who are thrilled and impressed. There is much natural spontaneous humor unconsciously furnished by the animals and birds of that region. The important part played by the courageous dogs is one of its outstanding features. Without them the expedition could not have carried on.

Willard Van der Veer and Joseph Ruckner, Paramount's ace cameramen, have brought back to civilization a personal and professional triumph, nothing short of heroic.

The musical score recorded from a thirty piece orchestra of selected musical artists, is a splendid achievement.

COOL
55th STREET PLAYHOUSE
Just East of 5th Ave.
POPULAR PRICES
Continues from 1:30—Midnight
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Has the Distinguished Honor to Present One of the Five Greatest Pictures of All Time:

"SLUMS OF TOKYO"
A story of YOSHIKAWA, great amusement center of Tokyo
Japan's Contribution to the Art of the Motion Picture
Not since "SHIRAZ" and "THE PASSION OF JOAN OF ARC" has such praise been accorded a film!
ALSO
The first talking picture in the Japanese language:
"The Golden Kimono"

SCANDAL Behind Hotel Doors!
BILLIE DOVE
CLIVE BROOK
LEILA HYAMS in
"SWEETHEARTS and WIVES"
You Can't Get Away With BOTH! Warner Bros. REFRIGERATED
BROOKLYN STRAND — COURAGE — with BELLE BENNET

The BIG HOUSE
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's Cosmopolitan Production with
Chester Morris, Wallace Berry, Leila Hyams, Robt. Montgomery, Lewis Stone, George F. Marion
REFRIGERATED
Astor Broadway and 47th St.
Twice Daily: 2:30-8:30
Seats Selling in Advance
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AMERICAN PREMIERE
Thrilling all-talking picture of the amazing discoveries unearthed in explorations of ancient cities in Libya
LOST GODS
Revealing lost civilization of antiquity.

NUMBERED MEN
ON THEIR WAY TO...
DEATH! or FREEDOM?
"Numbered Men" is the INSIDE story of the hidden thoughts and strange secrets which drive LOVE-STARVED FORGOTTEN MEN to JAILBREAK!
WARNER BROS. REFRIGERATED
WINTER GARDEN
Broadway & 50th St.
Continues at POPULAR PRICES

ROXY
7th Ave. and 50th St.
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)
THE ALL TALKING MOVIE-TONE COMEDY
"ON THE LEVEL"
Victor Langlen
Fifi Dorsay
A Fox Picture
— ON THE STAGE —
"Dance of the Hours" from "La Gioconda," "Mimmet," "Andante Cantabile," "Limehouse Blues" sung, danced, played in their irrefragable fashion by the Roxy Symphony Orchestra, Chorus, Ballet, 23 Roxyettes and cast of brilliant entertainers.
MIDNIGHT PICTURES

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2nd Big Week
BROOKLYN STRAND — COURAGE — with BELLE BENNET

HIPPODROME 6th Av. & 43 St.
RADIO PICTURES GALE OF LAUGHS AND HEART THROBS
"THE FALL GUY"
with
Jack Mulhall
THE KINGS OF COMEDY!
Alexandria & Olsen
Deno & Rochell
Other R K O ACTS
—CONTINUOUS—
10:30 to 1 p. m., 2:30; Mat. Orch., 3:30; Eve. Orch., 8:00, except Sat. and Sun.

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

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

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND WORKERS UNION DIRECTORY

Colorado

A NEW LOCAL
State Secretary William Stone reports the organization of a new local at Colorado Springs. The organization starts with eleven members and several more have promised to join. The local secretary is James Stevenson, 1607 North Platte street, Colorado Springs. Two subscriptions were also obtained for The New Leader and seven for the Labor World of San Francisco.

Leaflet distribution is being undertaken by Colorado members. This includes the branches at Colorado Springs, the Jewish Branch in Denver and the Canon City Branch.

Ohio

CLEVELAND
Unemployment and the Negro in politics were the main topics in the speech of Clarence Senior at the St. James Forum, before an audience of two hundred. Last Sunday, Yipels passed out literature at the door, were besieged for copies of leaflets on unemployment insurance, Negroes and Socialism, and old age pensions. At a youth rally, under the auspices of the Junior Yipels.

Pennsylvania

Yipels working or vacationing at Unity House, of the I. L. G. W. U. and Camp Tamm, owned by the Rand School, are organizing work and forming a temporary propaganda circle for the summer season. Hy Flah, Cleveland organizer, Jack Kaufman, of the Youth Publication Association, and David George, former Southern district organizer, are the promoters.

Connecticut

STATE CONVENTION
Connecticut held one of the largest conventions in years. A full state ticket was nominated headed by Jasper McLevy for Governor, Fred Holdsworth for Norwalk for Lieut. Governor, Mrs. Ada B. Krali, Meriden, Treasurer, and Karl C. Jursek, Greenwich, for Attorney General. All convention activities and the state platform were released the night of the convention to be carried in all newspapers throughout the state the next day which gave us more publicity than ever before.

The state held the national executive committee farewell Friday night. The meeting was held in the near future we would again have the pleasure of inviting them here. The committee was taken out on a sightseeing trip and the next day tendered a luncheon in their honor in New Haven. The meetings that were arranged were very successful and were the means of organizing Hartford and Waterbury, quite a good amount of literature was sold and in every city where the meetings were held we met from the comrades. Comrade Hillquit was unable to attend the meeting in Hartford but has promised to return anytime in September or October. Although the comrades were disappointed in not having Comrade Hillquit they are looking forward with much pleasure to have him at some later date.

New York State

UP-STATE DELEGATES
Local Albany delegates Robert H. Ritchey and Philip Elter as delegates, and Isabella Stewart, Elizabeth Jacobson, Sol Lavish, Samuel Kaplan, Nathan Axelrod, William W. Gray, William Wensler, M. C. Moser, and Arthur Jacobson as associate and alternate delegates to the state convention, held in Schenectady during the convention. The Social Finnish Branch of Schenectady County has elected Victor I. Pelton and John Maki to represent it.

CONVENTION BANQUET
State Secretary Merrill announces that tickets for the state convention banquet on the evening of July 19 are ready, and that reservations may be made through the state office at \$2.50 per plate. A bulletin has been issued setting forth the program of the banquet in Schenectady during the convention. Mr. Charles M. Ripley of the Publication Department of the General Electric Company has advised State Secretary Merrill that convention delegates can be shown through the great General Electric plant at Schenectady on Saturday afternoon preceding the opening of the state convention.

State Secretary Merrill is calling the attention of chairmen of official county committees to the necessity of filing with their election boards on or before July 29 a statement setting forth the party positions to be filed at the September 2nd primary. These positions include in all counties a member of state committee from each Assembly District, and a delegate and alternate to state committee from each Assembly District with the exception of the 2nd and 18th Districts of Kings County which are entitled to two delegates and two alternates each. Delegates and alternates to Judicial District convention have to be chosen in the counties situated in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th and 9th Judicial Districts. A number of events are six Assembly Districts in Kings County that elect more than one delegate and one alternate each to the Judicial District convention, and one Assembly District, the 23rd, in the County of New York that is scheduled

to elect two delegates and two alternates to the 1st Judicial District convention. Members of county committee except those that have adopted a rule for biennial elections of county committee on odd-numbered years.

New York City

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

State Convention Delegates
All branch organizers informed that the balloting for delegates to the state convention will close Monday, July 7, and a canvass of the vote of each branch must be sent to the city office the following day.

Transportation of Delegates

All comrades, delegates as well as visitors, going to the state convention of the Socialist Party in Schenectady, July 19 and 20, are urged to get in touch with Organizer August Claessens relative to transportation. An effort is being made to ascertain how many delegates are going up by automobiles and to arrange for others to accompany them. Arrangements are also being made with a bus company to convey all such delegates and visitors who prefer that method of traveling, and to charter as many buses as will be necessary. There are two types of buses and the fare is \$3 and \$7.50, round trip per person. As all such arrangements with respect to automobiles ought to be made in advance, such comrades who are going to Schenectady are urged to get in touch with the city office without delay.

MANHATTAN

A meeting will be held Thursday evening, July 10, in the clubrooms at 241 East 84th street.

21st A. D.

Branch meetings are held every Tuesday evening in room 4 of the building at 149 West 136th street.

BRONX

Comrades living in this district will please write to Sol Perrin, 1715 Bryant avenue, relative to organizing a local branch.

7th A. D.
At the last meeting quite an interesting discussion arose out of the talk by Comrade Leon R. Land on the Indian situation. The pros and cons were hotly discussed by many comrades though in a friendly manner. A pleasant surprise was the presence of Comrade Seidel, who was able to participate in the debate. Our alert financial secretary, Boris Kostinsky, seized the opportunity and secured the services of every effort we have made to get the largest possible results in district meeting. Thursday, July 8, he is to speak on the Socialist attitude toward the American Federation of Labor. Our branch has planned for an active summer, holding one or more district meetings a week. For the present, we are to carry out the platform, banner and flag every Thursday evening with the exception of the 16th and 17th of the Fourth of July. All comrades and sympathizers in our district are urged to attend our indoor and outdoor meetings.

8th A. D.

A meeting will be held Thursday evening, July 10, in the meeting place, the Tomaroff School, 2459 Davidson avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

Amalgamated Cooperative

A meeting will be held Monday evening, July 15, in the social hall of building 3. Members who have not voted for delegates to the state convention will have their last opportunity. The meeting was held to get the largest possible results in district meeting. Thursday, July 8, he is to speak on the Socialist attitude toward the American Federation of Labor. Our branch has planned for an active summer, holding one or more district meetings a week. For the present, we are to carry out the platform, banner and flag every Thursday evening with the exception of the 16th and 17th of the Fourth of July. All comrades and sympathizers in our district are urged to attend our indoor and outdoor meetings.

19th A. D.

Branch meetings are held every Monday evening in room 4 of the building at 149 West 136th street.

23rd A. D.

At the meeting last Monday, Simon Fraucht gave an interesting and informative lecture on "Ramsay MacDonald—The Man of Destiny." The branch donated \$10 to the sustaining fund of the city office. The next meeting will be held Monday, July 7, at 8:30 p. m. Election of branch officers will be on the order of business. Jack Altman was elected new central committee delegate.

19-20th A. D.

A meeting will be held Wednesday evening, July 10, in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Well, 88 Harmon street.

Midwood

At the meeting Monday evening, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Morris Rosenbaum, organizer; Max Franklin, treasurer and financial secretary; Roselle Frauman, recording secretary. The executive committee consisting of Comrades Cohen, Kronstadt, Sabloff, Frank and Raphael, was elected. It was decided to hold district meeting July and one in August. The next meeting was set for July 14.

RICHMOND

On Saturday evening, July 12, an outdoor mass meeting will be held to stimulate interest in the case of the Mooney-Billings case. A number of permanent settlement in demanding their release. This meeting will be widely advertised and will be held at the corner of Harrison and Richmond avenues, Fort Richmond. A number of well known party speakers have been invited to address this meeting.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Tuesday, July 8, 8:30 p. m., corner 180th street and St. Nicholas avenue. Speakers, Max Delson, Fred Hodgson, Robert Delson.

BRONX

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 95th street and Broadway. Speakers, August Claessens, A. Kuhn, A. Regal.

Friday, July 11, 8:30 p. m., corner 14th street and Avenue B, and 7th street and 2nd avenue. Speakers, August Claessens, Molly Weingart, Nathan Riesel, Richard Murdock.

2nd A. D.

Tuesday, July 8, 8:30 p. m., corner Walton avenue and 170th street. Speakers, Abraham Mollin, Sol Perrin, Spenation.

Wednesday, July 9, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

3rd A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner Tremont and Bathgate avenues. Speakers, Louis Hendin, Jacob Bernstein, I. M. Knobloch, S. Goodman.

Friday, July 11, 8:30 p. m., corner Claremont parkway and Fulton avenue. Speakers, Louis Hendin, David Kaplan, B. Salzman.

4th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

5th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

6th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

7th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

8th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

9th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

10th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

11th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

12th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

13th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

14th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

15th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

16th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

17th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

18th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

19th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

20th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

21st A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

22nd A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

23rd A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

24th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

25th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

26th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

27th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

28th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

29th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

30th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

31st A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

32nd A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

33rd A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

34th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

35th A. D.

Thursday, July 10, 8:30 p. m., corner 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Abraham Mollin, Andrew MacLean, Henry L. Layburn.

BROOKLYN

Saturday, July 5, 8:30 p. m., corner 68th street and Bay parkway. Speakers to be announced.

Friday, July 11, 8:30 p. m., corner Hindsale and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Molly Weingart, Jack Altman.

Friday, July 11, 8:30 p. m., corner Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Theodore Shapiro, William Halpern, Charles Schoushan.

Friday, July 11, 8:30 p. m., corner Bristol street and Pliska avenue. Speakers to be announced.

Saturday, July 12, 8:30 p. m., corner 68th street and Bay parkway. Speaker, August Claessens.

STATEN ISLAND

Saturday, July 12, 8 p. m., corner Harrison and Richmond avenues. (Mooney-Billings release meeting). Speakers, Sol Perrin, George Steinhardt, Walter Dearing and others.

CHARGES MISREPRESENTATION

Editor, The New Leader:
No one can object to Comrade Thomas's statement that "We are justified in expressing our concern with the Labor Government's success in domestic affairs and in dealing with India." If, however, that success doesn't proceed according to our desires or our suggestion, for one am willing to withhold criticism, but have to find out where the difficulty lies. Least of all should I resort to misrepresentation or poisoning of the atmosphere to plead my case.

There has been ample of this latter kind of presentation and argument indulged in, Comrade Coleman being a leading exponent, with Comrade Levinson following. "Nor is Comrade Coleman giving us a classic example of a well done piece of work, admirable and telling, but still without point. Levinson's quotation of the Labor Party's policy from "Labor and the Nation" was only a part quotation, and thus a misquotation. The Labor Party's policy on self-government and self-determination for India was qualified. Comrade Levinson ignored the qualification. Comrade Thomas in last week's New Leader repeats Coleman's general argument, only in a much milder form when he says "It is poor comfort to be clubbed by a policeman of a government which you believe to be free if you live long enough." There have been other variations of this theme. The one thing they have in common is that they are all a begging of the question. Once you undertake to break the law, the other things follow. "Civil disobedience" tells its own tale on the subject.

THE "LOST LEADER"

Editor, The New Leader:

It may well seem like "carrying coals to Newcastle" to offer further evidence of a public opinion question at the present moment. Comrade Eddie Levinson's disposal of Edmund Seidel's article has set forth the view of the few critical-minded so called "left" comrades who have to offer a few comments particularly in view of the article of one, Joseph N. Cohen of Brooklyn.

BETTER HOUSING

Editor, The New Leader:

As an architect and son of the East Side, I am deeply interested in the housing problem. I am glad to hear that a drive has been started to wipe out the slums, and that Comrades Thomas and Hillquit are members of the committee formed for this purpose.

WILLIAM BLOOM

It is true that The New Leader assumed no responsibility for the article mentioned yet at the same time we assume that contributors base their assertions upon reasonable evidence and that the public library has no desire to have its columns used for the purpose of airing rumors even though it does not assume responsibility for what is printed for publication from its contributors. Moreover, the more strictly contributors confine themselves to what is believed to be facts, the less danger will accompany discussion and the more informative will the discussion be.

BOOST COLEMAN'S BOOK

Editor, The New Leader:

Every admirer of Gene Debs can do three things to insure a large circulation for his new book, "The Social Regime." 1. Purchase a copy for their own library. 2. Make a written request to their public library to purchase a copy for public use. 3. Suggest to others that they either purchase this book or borrow it from their public library.

ROBERT A. HOFFMAN

Personally I managed to get the Buffalo Public Library and the Great Western Library to secure the Debs book.

THE Problem of Indian Freedom

(Continued from Page Five)
even within those confines on which something can be done, adopt a more energetic policy than has characterized it so far?

To express that feeling clearly and openly was the duty of the Socialist International. Taking into consideration the whole complicated situation, the International did not request that MacDonald should retire from the scene, but asked of him, relying on his good intentions, that he should through a series of compromises, and especially through a general amnesty for all political prisoners in India, create that atmosphere and psychology that will be most conducive to the success of the negotiations that are to be undertaken.

Whether the MacDonald Government understands the friendly spirit in which these proposals were made, and whether it will be possible for him to carry them through—that remains to be seen.

ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL

The Labor movement is like a social lifeboat going out on the ocean of life. It is the only lifeboat that is suffering humanity—George Hicks.

FREE YOUTH

Address: FREE YOUTH, 7 East 15th St., New York City

Baseball Game: Y. P. S. L. vs. Young Circle League

The New York Y. P. S. L. will play the Young Circle League baseball team at Ulmer Park. Last year the Y. P. S. L. team won the Norman Thomas silver trophy. An elaborate trophy and field meet has been arranged by the labor and Socialist Youth Sports Alliance of which the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York is a member. Events will start at 12:30 p. m. sharp at the picnic grounds. Entry fee will be 25 cents for one or more events. Yipels are requested to file their entrance blanks with Ben Kantor, athletic director at the city office. Entry blanks can be obtained at your circle headquarters.

Last Call for Jamboree Reservations

Reservations for the Yipels conference and jamboree to be held July 12 and 13 at Reading, Pa., will have to be in not later than Monday, July 10, to guarantee those wishing to go the proper accommodations.

Those going by private cars should notify Comrade Switches at 7 East 15th street, New York City. We are all to report to the committee at the Hotel American, at Penn and Fourth streets, Reading, Pa.

Circle Thirteen, St. Kings

Meetings are held every Tuesday evening at 482 Sutter avenue, at 8 p. m. A very large audience listened to Dr. William E. Bohn, educational director of the Rand School of Social Science, at our meeting last week. The circle is planning a boat ride in the latter part of July. Open air meetings are held in conjunction with the Socialist Party every Thursday night.

Circle Six, St. Kings

Elections were held last week and the following officers were elected: Phil Heller, organizer; August Claessens, financial secretary; Louis Gannell, social and athletic director; G. Oeller, recording secretary, and Reba Pustoroff, financial secretary. The circle is now organizing two more junior circles, one at the Y. M. H. A. headquarters in Williamsburg and one at 167 Tompkins avenue. This will make a total of one senior circle and four junior circles in Williamsburg. Plans for intensive work in lower Williamsburg are being formulated.

Circle Eight, St. Manhattan

Elections for new officers were held last Saturday by the members of Circle Eight. Louis Kammerman was re-elected organizer; Charles Weinert was appointed recording secretary; Julius Kuninsky, educational director and Elias Thaw, athletic and social director.

GARVEYITE ANTI-CLERICAL

Editor, The New Leader:
Since the early part of May, a very successful series of street meetings have been conducted in Harlem by the 21st A. D. branch of the Socialist Party.

Due to these meetings, the membership

ACTORS' UNION

Office 31 Seventh St. N. Y.
Phone Orchard 1923
RE

NEW LEADER

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

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

— SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1930

A Socialist Victory

THE extension of Socialist power from the city of Reading into the towns of Berks County in Pennsylvania, reported on another page of this issue, shows what persistent and intelligent agitation in working class communities can accomplish. The Socialist Party won every office where Republicans and Democrats nominated candidates, a total of nine. The fact that the capitalist parties had to fuse on a number of candidates to beat the Socialists is a tribute paid by the enemy to the increasing power of the Socialist Party.

Readers will observe that the Socialists gave special attention to the distribution of literature in this campaign, three issues of a weekly campaign leaflet being distributed to the voters to supplement the agitation meetings that were held. It was the persistent distribution of literature from house to house that brought Reading itself into the Socialist camp. Milwaukee also had a similar experience and similar results in the years of Socialist successes in that city.

The conclusions to be drawn are obvious. The National Executive committee at its recent session planned a literature campaign throughout the country for the coming elections and readers are referred to this program which is reported on another page. If this is carried out with some systematic effort by local organizations there should be a substantial general increase in the Socialist vote. Economic and political conditions today enforce the Socialist message where a few years ago they did not.

Our financial resources are not adequate to our opportunities and for this reason it should also be remembered that a literature campaign is also the most economical means of reaching the suffering workers.

Public Enterprise

WE note that *Globe*craft, house organ for the Globe Mail Service, Inc., gives some consideration to the failure of the postal department to be a going concern. It declares that one may "search the postoffice from top to bottom without finding one man with practical successful business experience in a large way."

Well, we hardly think that this is an explanation. If there were as many parasites sapping the substance of a private enterprise as there are the postoffice the enterprise would die of malnutrition.

The United States is the heaven of private property and private exploitation of resources and human beings. With this conception more dominant in American life than in any other nation it is a miracle that any collective enterprise survives at all. In the first place they are administered by fat politicians who accept the dominion of capital. Then in no other nation are public offices so multiplied to care for useless bums as in the United States.

Having loaded a publicly-owned enterprise with such useless baggage, corporate parasites also attach themselves to the enterprise and bleed it for all they can get. In the case of the postoffice, the railroads have been conceded juicy contracts for carrying the mails and providing cars. It is a wonder that this parasitism alone has not broken the back of the service but in addition to this is the erection of buildings beyond the needs of cities and towns and providing more soft berths for political bums who support the Congressman who gets the appropriation.

The trouble with publicly-owned enterprise in this country is not in itself but in the corporate and political parasitism that feeds upon it with the approval of office-holders.

Of all the authorities to which men can be called to submit, the wisdom of our ancestors is the most whimsically absurd.—Jeremy Taylor.

Unstable Europe

CONFIRMATION of what was said in this column last week regarding intrigues by fascists, monarchists and reactionaries in Europe may be observed in the recent conference of statesmen of the Little Entente. What is going on behind doors in the various capitals is unknown but it is certain that explosives are being accumulated that are dangerous and that may result in trouble.

The Little Entente consists of a number of small States that profited by the territorial provisions of the peace settlement. Mussolini is assuming the role of Big Uncle for those States that were disappointed by the peace settlement, which include Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and the Fascist-Clerical elements in Austria.

On the other hand France plays the role of Big Uncle to the Little Entente and the two Uncles are scowling at each other. A few weeks ago Mussolini arranged a little comedy by making some bristling speeches in which he declared that the Mussisites would mop the floor with any nation that did not pay due respect to the Fascist Heaven. The whole thing was arranged like a stage performance with thousands of Fascists shifted from place to place to serve as claqueurs for Mussolini at every meeting.

While the vaudeville phase is amusing enough there is the fact that France has decided to fortify the Alps while Mussolini has decided to spend \$25,000,000 for military preparations, evidently an answer to France. There is also the old quarrel between France and Mussolini over naval parity, Mussolini having grandiose visions of a revived Roman Empire and himself as a reincarnated Caesar. With a nut like Mussolini having so many fingers in the pie added to the complicated intrigues and ambitions of various cliques, Europe is far from being in a healthy state.

Unemployment

THE attitude of politicians at Washington regarding the distress of unemployed workingmen recalls the defense of slavery by agents of slave property in Congress. They admitted that one could find cases of mistreatment and neglect but on the whole, they declared, servitude was really a fine thing for the slave. He had no personal problems over which to worry and with food, shelter and work assured, what more could he desire?

Secretary Lamont, as one of the guardians of capitalist property, juggles figures like a magician tossing balls in the air. When he gets through with the performance he concludes that there is little to worry over regarding unemployment. Probably a couple of millions who are jobless and at the worst a few more than normal. Having passed out this soothing assurance he turned to his dinner which he no doubt enjoyed.

What is evident in this performance is that the workers of the nation need not look to the politicians at Washington for measures that will extend relief to the unemployed. The Republican majority are acting on this issue as the Democratic majority did in the fearful unemployment period of 1893-94 when jobless armies were marching to Washington.

Nobody knows for certain just how many workers are unemployed because neither Democratic nor Republican administrations have ever provided for the collection of accurate information. Unemployment is a ghastly phase of capitalist civilization, a grisly skeleton which the agents of both parties desire to conceal. Woodrow Wilson in 1913 brushed it aside with the remark that there was no real unemployment. It was a "psychological" condition the workers were then confronting.

A fighting Labor delegation at Washington would pillory these well fed gentlemen for their heartless indifference. What they fail to do is the penalty we must pay for wasting our votes in elections.

IN A NUTSHELL

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.—Eugene V. Debs.

If you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves the rigorous execution of justice in punishing thieves will be in vain.—Sir Thomas More.

General Dawes is being considered as the boy to cleave up the gangs in the city of Chicago. We believe with Will Rogers that it is important to know which side he is on.

The cry, "War Against War," must be carried into schools into lecture halls, into churches, into great meetings and parliaments, and into the press; it must go steadily forward until it shall at last have succeeded in casting the great Moloch down from his throne forever.—Karl Durr, secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions.

Unemployment Grows With New Machinery.—Headline. So does the dividends of the class who own the machinery.

It never rains roses; when we want more roses we must plant more trees.—George Eliot.

Vice-president Curtis is of the opinion that we should celebrate an Independence Week instead of an Independence Day. Well, if it was a matter of independence of politicians like Curtis we would be willing to celebrate for a month.

Mr. Woll says in the New York Times that under the leadership of Hoover, big capitalists, and labor men the business slump was prevented from developing into demoralization. Isn't that comforting to the millions of the jobless?

Capitalism is like the absentee owners of industry. Neither will work.

Size is not grandeur and territory does not make a nation.—Thomas Huxley.

Tom Mooney's Co-defendant

By Art Shields
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

PRISON has not broken Warren K. Billings. Tom Mooney's co-defendant looks virile and healthy after 14 years in one of the gloomiest pens in the land. His blue eyes sparkle. His ruddy skin is delightfully clear.

The ex-shoe cutter's day-dreaming turns to an athletic program that only a tough physique would tackle. When and if he gets out of jail he would like to take a transcontinental canoe trip from Portland, Ore., where he spent the winter of 1912-13 with the unemployed, to Portland, Me. Short portages over the divides would be all in the day's work.

"I don't know how I keep so healthy," he admitted to us. How Billings gets away with prison hash and stew is a biological mystery. How he survives the depressing atmosphere of his granite cell would be a riddle fit for a cave man of the old stone age if we did not know the hobbies which occupy his mind.

The men in our party went through the pen. Women are barred. I have never seen such dismal cells. Folsom is built of granite from its own quarries. The front of each cell in the old buildings which house Billings and half the prisoners is a thick wall of granite. Just a whitewashed stone wall, with a narrow door of boilerplate steel. Set in the door are little ventilating holes and a peep slit, eye high, for the guards to spy through.

Through this slit the prisoners get their only glimpses of the world from 4:45 p. m. to breakfast time at 6:45 a. m. The day they hang a man the cell inmates can see the condemned walking past along the corridor towards the gallows room that stands up a white block in one corner of the building.

Billings has a roommate. The narrow cell houses two cots close together, a tiny table and the bucket that serves as toilet. Here, till the lights go out at 9, Billings models figures from soap, paints with water colors, mends watches and clocks and plays chess. He has a big redwood board where he works out chess problems and 8 little pocket sets bound together in a booklet where he plays his correspondence tournament games. He is an ardent fan, knows the gambits and other trick moves and is using them now in a contest with a 93-year-old opponent who lives at the other end of Long Island, N. Y.

Our guide had a walking stick loaded at the end, but no gun. The guns are held by the men who patrol the walls and the runway under the rooms in the mess hall. By day Billings is a laundry checker. He has had many jobs, all without wages—seven years as a granite cutter in the quarry between the cell houses and the river, three years in the shoe shop, eight months with pick and shovel and nearly a year and a half gardening.

Detroit League Working For Job Insurance

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT, Mich.—The Unemployment Insurance League is making rapid progress in its work of securing 150,000 signatures necessary to get its plan for the assistance of unemployed workers on the ballot in the early Spring election to be held in 1931. The League's plan provides that employers shall contribute to the unemployment insurance fund for each employee who has been employed for one week. Contributions shall be in proportion to wages paid and based on statistics for regularity of employment. Partial or full refunds shall be given to employers who provide work throughout the year. Insured employees involuntarily out of work and unable to secure work in their occupations, shall receive benefits of forty per cent from the Unemployment Insurance Fund, commencing one week after they cease working, and to continue for a period of twelve weeks. Benefits shall not exceed \$20 per week.

Many of the labor unions are energetically behind the proposed measure. As was expected, the press of Detroit is not giving publicity to any news that has to do with unemployment solution. A few days ago, one hundred and twenty-five well known progressives met in the Hotel Wolverine and laid out plans for the pushing of the measure sponsored by the Unemployment Insurance League. Especially active in the organization are, Hallen M. Bell, Frank W. Roe, Harry Slavin and others who stand high in the esteem of the labor unionists and progressives of Michigan.

Elizabeth Gilman Sails For Tour of Europe
Elizabeth Gilman, Socialist Party candidate for governor of Maryland, left last week with the League For Industrial Democracy group for a tour of Russia, Germany, Austria and England. Miss Gilman will make a special study of municipal enterprises and of the labor movement while abroad. She stated that plans are under way in Maryland for the waging of an active campaign. Among those who have been invited to take part, are Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and Louis Waldman.

Help The Poor Millionaire

A Plea, by ADAM COALDIGGER

WELL, if that ain't just like our newspapers! If a stunt aviator had stunted once too often, or a good-looking chauffeur had absconded with a rattle-brained daughter of a tried golf player, or some gold-digging flapper was suing an elderly sugar daddy for a million dollar heart balm, the newspapers would tell us all about it, you bet, with a cross marking the spot where the body was found. But here is news! Epoch making news! News that proclaims the dawn of a new era and whose chuckle-headed journalists go and tuck it away among dogs lost and pile cures.

Well, here it is, boys. (Exchanges please copy.) "Springfield, Ill. Three Chicago men today banded together in 'The Disgusted Millionaires' Club.' They were given a charter by Secretary of State William J. Stratton to conduct their club at 2553 West Chicago Avenue for the general improvement of their social welfare."

I said epoch-making news, didn't I? And it is. Think of it, folks; here are three millionaires, disgusted with the sort of life they are leading. So, instead of taking their millions lying down and letting the jack rump all over them, they band themselves together to do something about it.

Talk about news. Why, for one hundred and fifty years every man, woman and child born or landing in this country has dreamed of becoming a millionaire. For one hundred and fifty years, or thereabouts, our education factories from kindergartens to universities have prepared their helpless victims for the millennium of millionairism. For one hundred and fifty years or more the parsons of the meek and lowly preached the godliness of the almighty dollar and the divine mission of mazzuma. And now along come three actual, sure enough, ready-made millionaires and say they are plumb disgusted with having what every other galoot in the United States wants to have.

Some of you fellows will dismiss these three disgusted millionaires with a shrug and the unkind comment that they are plain nuts. But take it from Adam, they are not nuts. They are, in fact, very much the same as the Three Wise Men from the East, who came with gifts of frankincense, myrrh and precious jewels to seek that savior whom everybody around Palestine said was a false alarm. Yes, and they travel under the star of Bethlehem, the star of hope, that brings the glad tidings that the dark age of money-making for the sake of money-making on behalf of money-making for the furtherance of money-making is coming to an end.

These three disgusted millionaires have learned at last what every great philosopher from Socrates to myself has known all the time. And that is that, while there may be some fun in getting money, there is no fun in having gotten it.

Think of what an awful time a millionaire has trying to find ways and means of preventing budding millionaires from getting their kale. Think of what misery a millionaire lives through figuring out how to spend enough of his money to keep his wife and children out of the booby hatch and still have enough on hand to keep himself out of the poor house.

Think of poor Henry Ford. They say he made 700 millions last year. All right, say he did. What good is it to him? Henry came out of a little red school house and sounds like it. Now all he can think of is to send some other poor kids to little red school houses and make them sound just as bad. Seven hundred millions per annum. And maybe

then some. And what does he do with it? He goes out and buys second-hand houses, fills them with second-hand furniture for the education of second-hand people who died in their heads before they could walk on their feet.

Seven hundred millions and he hires an Ancient Mariner with a four-dollar riddle string with baling wire to scratch "Pop Goes the Weasel" and "Turkey in the Straw" out of that implement of torture and he does it at a time when a magnificent symphony orchestra renders Beethoven's "Eroica" and Wagner's Good Friday music from Parsifal right in his own home town.

Then there is poor Rockefeller. They say he has accumulated a billion dollars along with indigestion and a wig that was made, for all we know, from the locks of a fellow who had 'em shaved off before he was tied down into the electric chair. Now at the ripe age of four-score and then some, Rocky is knocking fifty cent pills around a cow pasture and gives new dimes to the sort of people who keep money for souvenirs.

Think of that folks. John D. Rockefeller left his daddy's cow pasture to make his fortune. By which is meant the piling up of dollars. Then by the time he's piled up the biggest pile of dollars anybody ever piled up, he turns his back on the pile and goes back to the cow pasture. And all the while his poor boy is getting gray hair trying to find a way of reducing the pile without doing more harm than good. This is called "Getting on in the World."

Another case of misapplied fortune is Ruth Hanna McCormick. Ruth was born with a silver spoon-scoop in her mouth. On top of that she married a gold-plated steam dredge. Money? Why that gal could have bought out King Solomon with all his glory on the side and hired his harem for her private ballet and not missed a check. Then what does she do with all that kale?

Brethren and Sisters, she blows in two hundred and fifty thousand iron men to buy herself a \$12,000 a year job in Washington, D. C.

Of course Ruth came by it honestly. I don't mean the 250 grand. It's the old family custom of buying a United States senatorship I mean.

After her dad, Mark Hanna had made his pile, he also bought himself a senatorship. The job came cheaper then, because in those days a fellow only had to buy the majority of the State Legislature instead of having to buy a controlling interest in the firm of Vox Populi, Inc. So Mark only paid a little over one hundred thousand bucks for the high honor of serving his country for \$8,000 a year.

What I'm driving at is, that there is nothing as useless and dangerous as money in large piles. "Money," said one of the world's greatest thinkers, (I've forgotten just who it was—it may have been myself), "Money is like manure—only good when it's spread around. That's it. Manure on the pile is full of corruption. It breeds maggots, house-flies and bad smells. And the bigger the pile, the worse it smells. Whereas if manure is spread out on the land, it puts calories in wheat, vitamins in cabbage, kick in rye, laughter in grapes, fragrance in roses and rosy hues in the cheeks of children and maidens.

Therefore, Oh my fellow inmates of this democracy, the question is not how to accumulate still bigger piles of money—manure creating still more stench and corruption—but how to spread it out where the smiling sun and the rains of heaven will convert it into a thing of joy and beauty.

For Industrial Democracy
A Plan For Constitutional Reform

By Joseph W. Sharts

AT the New Haven session of the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party the secretary's report contained the following:

"In the opinion of the secretary, the party will not advance as it should until it presents to the American people a well-thought-out plan for an attack on the present system and a plan for the transition from capitalism to Socialism. Outside of our immediate demands we are still too hazy as to methods and objects that would unify our program. We must be more simple, more bold, and more practical than we have been—especially more bold."

In the letter and spirit of that statement I heartily concurred; and in furtherance of it I proposed we include in our congressional platform and program a direct criticism of and attack upon the antiquated machinery of government designed for the 18th century, and handtool and flatboat civilization, which has given us 48 separate state governments of all sizes and shapes and a 49th super-government on top of the rest, with interminable and innumerable checks and balances which paralyze political action and delay and defeat the will of the people as expressed at the polls.

So far the other members of the committee agreed.

But I offered further, as a practical method of constitutional amendment the following:

"The development of a system by which both private capital (while it continues in control of industry and commerce) and labor (while the present system of wage-labor shall continue) may directly through their own representative organized bodies introduce into the state legislatures and Congress such bills as they may see fit, whereupon in the event such bills are defeated in such legislatures or in Congress, the same shall be submitted to the people as by referendum."

This precipitated a lively discussion but the other members of the committee rejected it.

Comrade Oneal dubbed it "Industrial Initiative" and suggested I lay the plan before the readers of The New Leader for discussion.

Reasons for advocating this constitutional innovation are as follows:

1. We live under a form of political representation based on geographical location; a survival of Feudalism, which recognized land-holding alone as an economic

qualification for political recognition. The original land-holding proviso has been removed, leaving a manhood and womanhood suffrage geographically differentiated, and utterly meaningless for modern economic interests.

2. In consequence, we elect "representatives" who claim to represent all classes but in fact represent those dominant local interests whose financial and other support are essential to winning and holding office. It is the camouflaged or masked character of this "representation" that fools millions of voters even today and blinds them to the class-struggle in politics in America.

3. The true and necessary basis of political representation is economic interest. The great industrial and commercial organizations of Capital and Labor which have grown up under the American system during the 19th and 20th centuries find themselves disfranchised in effect by the ancient geographical plan. They overcome this by means of the Lobby. Ours is now a government by Lobbyism, state and national. Both organized Capital (chiefly through its chambers of commerce and various special associations) and organized Labor (chiefly through the A. F. of L.) besiege the numerous committees of the state legislatures and Congress, attending committee-sessions in support of and against the various measures affecting their special interests. The system is enormously expensive, so that the real cost of American government is many times greater than is ever reckoned by taxes, tariffs, and public pay-rolls. But it has more evil features: it puts the actual manipulation of government behind committee-room doors where public attention simply cannot be directed; it fills the public eye meanwhile with hocus-pocus on the floor of Congress that obscures the class struggle; it enables two-faced congressmen to introduce a mass of bills designed to win votes from various classes at home, which are never intended to become laws; in short, it makes American legislation a hollow sham, that has already driven millions away from political action, and unless ended will drive millions more.

4. To strip off this sham, to restore efficiency and honesty to political action, I suggest that the things which Capital and Labor are now doing in the dark and more or less by stealth through the Lobby in Committee-rooms, be done as a recognized public function. I claim that if the measures affecting Capital and Labor are introduced in Congress by the great

organizations of Capital (the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.), and of Labor (the A. F. of L.), it will eliminate the incoherent mass of individual bills that clutter up the hopper and confuse the public; will reveal the true source and class-origin of measures; will force the "representatives" to show their true colors. The referendum feature will enormously revivify political democracy.

The political governments of the world are groping more or less blindly towards industrial representation. Already timid discussions of the need of it appear in college circles. Pelatiah Webster suggested a primitive form of it even in the 18th century. It is either that next or the complete discrediting of so-called "political democracy."

Let the Socialist Party launch the program as a challenge to the conservative capitalist parties of the United States. We have nothing to lose by stripping off the mask that obscures the class-struggle.

Man is a curious animal. He will be found facing the most frightful forms of death and danger with calmness and courage, and the next moment will be found trembling before the frowning of an association of intellectual nobodies.—Chapman Cohen.

The Best Sellers

(As reported by the Rand Book Store, 7 East 50th street, New York City.)

Non-Fiction
Eugene V. Debs—McAllister Coleman\$3.50
My Life—Leon Trotsky.....\$5.00
Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, a debate between Seligman, Brockway, Nearring\$5.00
Paul Robeson—Ealand—Goode Robeson\$2.50
The Twilight of Empire—Scott Nearing\$2.50
Prosperity—Fact or Myth—Stuart Chase\$5.00
Fiction
Felle, the Conqueror—Martin Anderson Nexo\$3.50
complete in one volume
Return of the Hero—Darrell Figgis\$5.00
Jews Without Money—Michael Gold\$3.00
The Bystander—Maxim Gorki\$3.00
The Forty Second Parallel—John Dos Passos\$2.50
The Autocracy of Mr. Parham—H. G. Wells\$1.00

Far Journeys

I Real
By Joseph T. Shipley

R. B. CUNNINGHAM GRAMHAM'S "Mogreb-el-Aksha" (The Viking Press, \$3.50) is a tale of a journey in Morocco not only delightfully told but widely illuminating. The flashes of insight into human nature, the glimpses of social conditions—such as the peep over a precipice into a salt mine—open a world to most of us unknown. While some of his facts, such as the observations on the Shilluk language, sound like elaborate spoofs, most of his tales ring true. There is, for instance, that of the tribe Beni Sir, which commits various murders and thefts, not out of cruelty, open-heartedness, desire for sport, or greed, but because they didn't like their governor, and wanted to prove him incompetent to maintain order, and to have him removed. Page the Mayor of Chicago?

An even more venturesome journey is effectively made in Oswald Thomas' "Heaven and Earth" (W. W. Norton, \$2.75) which manages to combine gossip about heavenly superstitions (telling how a meteor once brought out the fire department!) with a guide to the heavens for amateur astronomers, and a clear scientific discussion of the origin and end of the universe—so far as we currently guess them. Whether Mars is inhabited—or any other planet or any other sun is infested by such as we; where to find the little bear at the end of the Platonic year; many more items the book contains; all I could not find yet wanted was an index. But anyone who wants to escape the summer heat will find many pleasant evening trips to take with Oswald Thomas.

II Imaginary

The first sentence of the book shows that the strike was a failure. Yet Anna Segher's "The Revolt of the Fishermen" (Longmans, Green, \$2) is as strong a picture of labor growing to self-consciousness as has come out of Europe since Nexo's "Pelle the Conqueror." The sense of drudgery, the inexorable daily round, the work that must be done, the sudden plodding of the great group of workers; the sense of awakening responsibility, of group concern, that the mere presence of the organizer Hull created; the faith of the young lad Andreas, whom the soldiers lay; these give body and significance to this simple story. Its firmness suggests rather a masculine hand; Miss Segher, for its writing, has won the Kleist Prize. To be noted in the fisherfolk, too, is the feeling that, now they have learned what to do, the present failure is, while perhaps the first of many, prelude to an ultimate success.

In "Clash of Angels" (Brewer and Warren, \$2.50) Jonathan Daniels takes us on a journey beyond creation, to the time when Jehovah and Lucifer were equal angels. Lucifer dwelt among the pleasures of the celestial paradise, but Jehovah dwelt rather upon the problems of the abyss. The result is that Jehovah creates a theology, and the career Lucifer is consequently dubbed blasphemer. But the celestial mechanics are complicated by the fact that the fair female angel (sex come to other, than Mohammed's paradise!) Lucretia, Jehovah's first convert, is loved by the ugly but clever Gabriel, who for her sake gives support to Jehovah's ideas. So in the heavens, with no great imaginative fire, the pearly human comedy is replayed—until even Gabriel considers "it is high time we angels got away from an anthropomorphic conception of God."

Rieve Heads Hosiery Workers Federation

PHILADELPHIA—(F.P.)—Emil Rieve, who left a full fashioned hosiery, knitting machine in Milwaukee a year ago to head the Hosiery Workers Federation has been unanimously elected president by the federation's convention in Philadelphia. Rieve succeeded Gustave Geiges when he resigned to become personnel manager of the Gotham Silk Hosiery Co.

Sec. William Smith, unanimously re-elected, begins his fourth consecutive 2-year term. Two new positions were created, first and second vice president, Carl Holderman, New Jersey, organizer, member of the national executive board of the United Textile Workers and a vice president of the New Jersey Federation of Labor, was elected first vice president. Harold E. Steele of Milwaukee was chosen for the second vice presidency.

Iron and Bronze Union Elects New Officers

The election were held by the New York Architectural, Iron, Bronze, and Structural Workers' Union at the Peoples House, on June 24. The new staff of officers consists of the following: president, M. Karasick (re-elected); vice-president, L. Slikin; secretary-treasurer, L. Smetana (re-elected); organizer, P. Mauger (re-elected); recording secretary, S. Blitsstein (re-elected); sergeant-at-arms, L. Klein, G. Goldin. Executive board: L. Davidson (re-elected), M. Einstein (re-elected), H. Jacobs (re-elected), H. Kaliner (re-elected), J. O'Connor (re-elected), W. Riebe, H. Shulcher (re-elected). Control committee: M. Lifschits (re-elected), S. Sacharoff,