

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

THE MOONEY-BILLINGS VERDICT

THE chief news and the worst news of the last few days in America was the refusal of the California Supreme Court to recommend a pardon for Billings followed by the refusal of Governor Young to pardon Mooney. Morally the case against Mooney and Billings is the same, as Governor Young agrees. Legally there were some differences. The men had separate trials before separate judges. The proof of the perjury of the witnesses against Mooney is even more complete than the same proof in the Billings case. Mooney's judge now champions his innocence. Billings' judge remained hardboiled. Billings had, moreover, been previously convicted, or framed, on a charge of carrying dynamite and so under California law the court had to pass upon his eligibility for a pardon before the Governor could act. The Governor passed the buck on Mooney by referring the Billings case to the Supreme Court and virtually promised him to follow the Court's lead which he has done, saving his conscience with some talk to encourage further proof of perjury already well established.

The Supreme Court, as reported in the New York Times, took the amazing position that Billings was a bad man, kept bad company and probably knew who planted the bomb if he did not do it himself. Apparently the Court ignored or skimmed over proof of perjury of the principal witnesses against Billings. That is to say, the Court acted wholly contrary to the presumption of innocence unless guilt is proved which theoretically lies at the basis of our criminal law. It clearly showed its class bias against the labor agitators. In so doing the Court and the weak-kneed Governor have gone contrary to the recommendation of Judge Griffin before whom Mooney was tried, all the living jurors in the Mooney case and a great majority of police and prosecutors involved in the two cases, but they have pleased powerful individuals and corporations who are determined to keep Mooney and Billings in jail because they are labor "agitators." They have pleased all those who want to save California's face at the price of crucifying justice.

Around the naked cruelty, the stark prostitution of justice in behalf of class interests in these decisions the Court and the Governor of California have been able to throw an even less plausible screen than the corresponding officials in the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts.

It is no defense against this crime of a dominant class in California sorrowfully to admit that it would have been impossible if the workers and progressive forces generally had made their moral and political influence felt as they might. Perhaps the most tragic lesson of the Mooney-Billings case is the new proof it gives of the weakness of those who love justice even when it is labor "agitators" who suffer from injustice. It is a weakness from which we can recover. I hope all over the country meetings will be held such as those planned in New York City for the 15th, 16th and 17th.

LET THERE be no mistake about it. The fight against the London Treaty in the United States, Great Britain and Japan is not a fight on details. In each country the jingoes and big navy professionals have seized upon certain details which they think put their country at disadvantage. They have fooled certain honest men. Some of them may be fooling themselves. But it is fantastic nonsense to suppose that Hiram Johnson, or the Hearst papers, or the admirals are putting up all this row about some 30,000 tons of cruisers. Whichever nation won on details—and most of the admirals in all nations claim to have lost—no nation by the London Treaty gets a big enough navy safely to wage aggressive war. For purposes of defense exact parity is unimportant. For purposes of attack parity is not enough.

Those who fight the London Treaty in every country are fighting the principle of international agreement on armaments. We who do not like the London Treaty because it did not go far enough must fight for it because of its enemies and because we do believe in international agreement even if international agreement is as tentative and illogical as the London Treaty. Of course, the logic both of the Kellogg Pact and the principle of parity is parity at zero. But nothing is clearer than that those who fight the London Treaty in all three countries do not do it in the general interest of disarmament.

MONTANA LABOR MOVES AHEAD

MY HAT is off to the Montana State Federation of Labor. Its recent convention went on record for nationalization of railroads, state fire insurance on public buildings, and the 6 hour day. It instructed its officers to consult with officers of the Farmers Union and, otherwise to investigate the advisability of a Farmer Labor Party, not necessarily to be called by that name. The Convention also excluded from holding any office or being a delegate to a convention for a period of five years any union man hired by a corporation to solicit withdrawals of signatures to labor's initiative position for a better workmen's compensation act. Thereby hangs a tale.

In Montana the state, including the newspapers, is owned by the Anaconda Copper Company and its twin the Montana Power Company. Not content with the usual advertising and false propaganda against Labor's compensation act, one to liberalize compensation and the other to put private companies out of the game by making the state fund the sole source of compensation, the companies saw to it that Labor was refused the use of the radio to talk compensation and that false news was published in the papers. The companies and their allies and agents tried to bribe labor canvassers to quit. But Labor is standing pat or rather, under our good friend President James D. Graham, it is pushing ahead as the convention proceedings show. More power to it in the Anaconda state.

CONGRESS GOES HOME

CONGRESS adjourned without honor. It and the President had to their discredit the most inexcusable tariff bill in our history, a reduction in taxation for the well-to-do and the rich when funds were imperatively needed for a proper unemployment program, and a general failure to meet any situation adequately. The President has to his discredit the burial of two of the three Wagner bills all three of which were an inadequate program for unemployment. The Democrats did some good criticizing but had no constructive program for the Party. The tariff could not have been passed without them.

ONE BY one judges, magistrates and other high officials of New York City are being indicted and yet only a little of the truth is coming out. District Attorney Crain, who has been rather clever at putting up a show of action in which nothing worth while is done, sets forth in his first report as his chief claim to public applause that the Appellate Division sustained the conviction of Foster and his fellow Communists without trial by jury for inciting to riot when what they did was to call for an unauthorized parade. Meanwhile Mayor Walker's friends say that he personally is untouched by those scandals. The same thing has been said of President Harding. And that would-be liberal, Governor Roosevelt, has not yet dared to investigate.

BY ALL means read Nathan Fine's article on Unemployment Insurance in the current Labor Age. He raises questions of method of raising the fund, the difficulties of varying premiums for employers based on their ratio of employment which we must consider.

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Mooney, Billings Must Die in Jail, Is Verdict of California Authorities

Young Edict 'Vengeance,' Hillquit Says

Ruling Class Brutal and
Reckless, Socialist
Chairman Declares—
Meetings Next Week

THE action of Governor C. C. Young, of California in refusing to pardon Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings was denounced by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, as a "thinly disguised act of vengeance."

Mr. Hillquit issued his statement yesterday following a conference of Socialist Party leaders at his office, 19 West 44th street. When Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party, Norman Thomas, James O'Neal and Algernon Lee discussed the party's plans for prosecuting a campaign to stir up a popular demand for freeing the two labor leaders who were convicted for complicity in the bomb outrage in San Francisco in 1916. The campaign is to open next Tuesday evening, July 15, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, where Mr. Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dudley Field Malone, E. C. Viadeck and Heywood Brown are to speak. It will be continued in the Bronx on Wednesday evening, and in Union Square Thursday evening.

Mr. Hillquit said: "The action of Governor Young in refusing to pardon Mooney and Billings on the ground that they have not established their innocence to his satisfaction is a travesty of all established legal principles. It is a thinly disguised act of vengeance of a representative of the ruling classes against enemies of their rule and is on a par with the frightened and defiant conduct of Governor Fuller in the Sacco-Vanzetti case."

"When a ruling class becomes brutal and reckless in dealing with its opponents it is always an infallible symptom of weakness and of an approaching fall. The cases of Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings may yet serve to stimulate a powerful movement of revolt against the powers of oppression and injustice which hold this country and its people in their tyrannous grip."

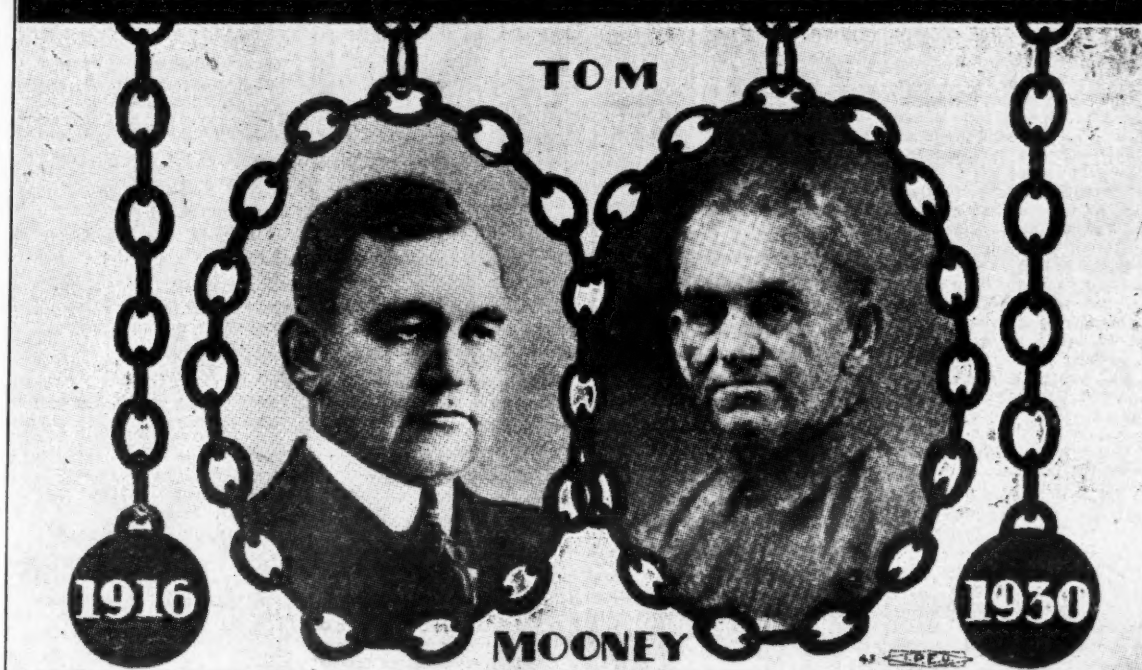
Lee Calls Labor to Fight
Commenting on the case Algernon, president of the Rand School, said:

"The continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings has for years been a standing disgrace to California and to the American people. It is known and admitted that they were convicted by the testimony of paid perjurers. No one any longer pretends that they were guilty of the crimes for which they were sentenced. If their alleged misdeeds had been like those of Doherty and Fall and Sinclair, they never would have served a day in jail on such evidence. If they had been common crooks and gangsters, they would have been pardoned as soon as the state's false witnesses were exposed. They remain in prison for no other reason than that the capitalistic plunderers of California first railroaded them there and now insist that they be held there till they die."

"No other reason? Yes, there is another reason—and that is, that our movement, industrial and political, is so weak in numbers and in public influence. The case against Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone was to outward appearances far stronger than was ever the case against Mooney and Billings. Yet in that historical fight, almost twenty-five years ago, we were able to save the men whom capitalism had doomed. These two

(Continued on Page Two)

THE HORROR OF FOURTEEN YEARS UNJUST AND CRUEL CALIFORNIA IMPRISONMENT



A Contemptible Court Cal. Judges Hold Mooney and Billings For Life On "Inference" They Committed Outrage

WARREN K. BILLINGS and Tom Mooney are to remain in prison! This is the shocking news that came from California on the Fourth of July. So far as the State Supreme Court is concerned, these two labor men are to end their days behind prison walls.

Governor Young has said that he would be guided by the court's recommendation in the Billings case. The court's decision is against Billings. As the Governor said that the two cases are identical it appears that there is little hope of executive action in favor of Mooney or Billings.

The court declared that Billings made no attempt to "make an affirmative showing" regarding his innocence of the Preparedness Day explosion. This is the court's interpretation of Billings' letter to the court but it is not supplemented by any quotation from the letter.

Be that as it may, the reasoning of the court is the most amazing that has come from a judicial body in many years. This is contained in the following important paragraph:

"It is fairly inferable from his past and present affiliations that Warren K. Billings was familiar with the plots and plans of this group of his most intimate associates, and this being so it is an almost irresistible conclusion that if Warren K. Billings did not himself prepare and plant the deadly time bomb of the Preparedness Day disaster he and his intimate associate and co-defendant, Mooney, know, and have always, both before and since the occurrence of that tragedy, known who did prepare and plant that bomb, and the deadly purpose for which it was prepared and planted."

The Court Forfeits Respect

WE submit that a court that is capable of such reasoning has forfeited the respect of intelligent men and women. Since when has it become a legal principle to "fairly infer" that a man is guilty of a crime? Billings and Mooney were not convicted of knowing that the crime was to be committed or of knowing the men who did commit it. They were convicted as the men

who actually committed the crime. And that is the sole question at issue.

To obtain that conviction testimony was taken and evidence submitted. All of that testimony and all of that evidence have been completely discredited since the two men were placed behind prison bars. The fact that the court fell back upon "inference" instead of considering the false testimony and perjured evidence indicates an unwillingness of the judges, except one, to face the shocking evidence of railroadings two men to prison for life because they were "labor agitators."

Nearly twenty years ago Brooks Adams, of the famous Adams family, wrote a book the theme of which was that a ruling class inevitably takes refuge within the courts. Its judicial agents become so impervious to the justice they are supposed to guard that they contribute more to the coming of social revolutions than any other group in society. Of this type Adams wrote:

"Quite honestly, the American lawyer has come to believe that a sheet of paper soiled with printers' ink and interpreted by half-a-dozen elderly gentlemen snugly dozing in armchairs, has some inherent and marvelous virtue by which it can arrest the march of omnipotent Nature. And capital gladly accepts this view of American civilization, since hitherto capitalists have usually been able to select the magistrates who decide their causes."

California's Black Record

CALIFORNIA has produced the same type of "justice" that has appeared in Massachusetts. Mooney and Billings may be paired by Sacco and Vanzetti.

California capitalism has a black record of wholesale piracy in its origins which has colored its politics, its ruling parties, and its governing organs to the present hour. Its railroads were spawned in swindle and through a whole era the capital at Sacramento was known as a bureau of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Its capitalist employers have been notorious for their brutal treatment

of workers in the hop fields and lumber camps. "Filthy bunk-houses were provided for harvest hands. Bedding that swarmed with lice was the best that the lumberjack got. . . . The notion of medical supervision for rural and back-country laborers had not yet been born," declares one writer. Then to penalize revolt against intolerable labor conditions, California has the most savage anti-syndicalist laws of any state.

The rule of grafters serving powerful utility companies in California's larger cities has been notorious. When prosecuted by an honest lawyer, Francis Heeney, he was shot in a San Francisco court.

The rulers of California capitalism have a feudal outlook on the world that has influenced the psychology of its political agents. Some years ago Walter B. Pitkin declared that "one-half of all the land in California which has water sufficient for farming is in the hands of a dozen or two men and companies." We may add that the more important land titles were obtained by methods that would shame a modern Chicago gunman.

The "Times" Leads the Pack

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES is the leading organ of this ruling class. Pitkin wrote that it is owned by a family "whose record of land dealings in California and Mexico and whose attitude toward the working classes make the Junkers of East Prussia seem more or less benign philanthropists. These people have strongly advocated the importation of Chinese coolies for the blessed purpose of operating their estates."

Indeed, this leading organ of California capitalism carried on a crusade for the mass importation of coolies. The model type of social order it had in mind was the old system of Mexican peon labor, a modified system of serfdom to serve the masters of great California estates. Its feudal philosophy is also that of the "Better America Federation," an organization of Babbits, exploiters, reactionaries and patrioters who believe that the world was created especially as a

(Continued on Page Three)

Young Won't Open Prison For Martyrs

Mooney Gagged by
Warden, but Urges
Workers to Fight on

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Governor C. C. Young has followed the lead of the Supreme Court of California which refused to recommend a pardon for Warren K. Billings by a refusal to act favorably on the case of Tom Mooney. This is the third governor to refuse to do justice in the Mooney-Billings cases.

This notorious frame-up case has been a football of capitalist politics for at least ten years and in his statement accompanying the refusal to pardon Mooney, Governor Young makes a suggestion that recalls the "cat and mice" tactics used against woman suffragists years ago in England.

"I would respectfully suggest to the members of the Supreme Court," the Governor said, "should John McDonald or any other material witness who has repudiated his former testimony, appear before them for the purpose of proving such repudiations as trustworthy and that their former testimony was perjured, it may be only just and right to consider the propriety of giving hearing to such witnesses in the case of Billings, just as I should desire to do in the case of Mooney."

Warden Silences Mooney
This statement is declared to hold out some hope of more favorable action later. What it really means is an attempt of the Governor, who is a candidate for reelection, to take the curse off his action in refusing pardon. It continues the case as a football of California politics, insures the continued torture of the two innocent men, with the practical certainty now that little is to be expected of any conservative governor. In the meantime, Mooney and Billings appear to face the prospect of ending their lives in prison.

Mooney, when informed at San Quentin prison of the Governor's action, launched into an attack against Governor Young which ended only when Warden James D. Holohan "stopped him" with the statement he would not have prisoners issuing "political proclamations."

Earlier in the day, Mooney said of the Pardon Board's decision: "The coming fight will eventually bring freedom. Both Warren Billings and myself are absolutely innocent of this crime and the decision of the Governor and the Supreme Court does not make us guilty."

"Now our friends can proceed to the task of bringing about our final and ultimate vindication. The Mooney-Billings case will immediately assume an international aspect and it will not down until both of us are free men."

"Again I repeat, fate has once more smiled upon me kindly. I feel highly honored in the greater service to which I have been called for the establishment of the principles involved in our case."

Irish Workers to Hold Rally For Mooney

The Irish Workers Republican Alliance will hold a Mooney Billings Protest meeting on Saturday, July 12, 8:30 p.m., at Lexington Hall Annex, 109-111 East 116 St. Several Irish and Irish-American Trade Unionists are interested in the promotion of this meeting which is intended to rouse up sentiment on behalf of Mooney and Billings among Irish workers in Greater New York.

WORKERS! RALLY FOR MOONEY AND BILLINGS AT THESE MEETINGS

BROOKLYN

July 15th

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Speakers:—Norman Thomas, Stephen S. Wise, Dudley Field Malone, Heywood Brown, B. C. Viadeck

THE BRONX

July 16th

at

PROSPECT and LONGWOOD AVES.

MANHATTAN

July 17th, 5 P. M.

at

UNION SQUARE

NEWARK

July 19th

at

MILITARY PARK

N. Y. Socialist Convention Saturday

150 Delegates Are Expected—Interest Centers on Platform and Candidates

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LEAHY, N. Y.—All indications are that when the state convention of the N. Y. Socialist Party meets in Schenectady on Saturday, July 19, about 150 delegates will be on hand. The sessions of the convention will be held in the main parlors on the ground floor of the Hotel Van Curler beginning at 10 a. m., daylight saving time. Morris Hillquit of New York City, national chairman of the party, has been invited to preside as temporary chairman and to deliver the opening address.

Aside from the party delegates who will come from all parts of the state, other organizations will send fraternal representatives. The League for Independent Political Action will send assistant secretary Norman Studer and the Erie County Independent Labor Party will send Mrs. Hazel V. Bowers and Edward M. Weiss. Other friendly organizations are expected to be represented.

Hotel reservation for the delegates are being made through State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill who is also in charge of reservation for the banquet which will be held in the Hotel Van Curler Saturday night. Speakers of national prominence will speak at the banquet and a musical program will also be provided. Reservations are being made by mail with Secretary Merrill at 467 Broadway, Albany.

A general invitation has been extended to the delegates to visit the great plant of the General Electric Company which employs 24,000 workers. The delegates will be in charge of plant users. It was in this great firm that the late Charles Steinmetz, Socialist and electrical wizard, acquired his world wide fame.

The state platform and the party constitution will constitute the principal items on the convention agenda which is being prepared by the State Executive Committee. Morris Hillquit will report for the platform committee. A session of the State Executive Committee will also be held at the state office in Albany on Friday evening preceding the convention.

Socialists of Oregon Call State Parley

Portland, Ore.—A call has gone out signed by Charles Kolb, state secretary of the Socialist Party, for a state convention of the party to meet in the Labor Temple at Portland on Saturday, July 19th, beginning at 7:30 p. m. All Socialists and sympathizers in the state have been notified of the convention.

The Socialist Party of Oregon maintains a very friendly relationship with the labor movement of Portland. Headquarters in the Labor Temple, claimed by those who know, to be one of the finest buildings occupied by organized labor anywhere in the United States gives opportunity for close association and contact. Most of the active members of Local Portland are members of organized labor, the State secretary belonging to the Carpenters' Union, and served as delegate to the recent State convention of Carpenters and Building Trades Union.

An efficient corps of street speakers led by Albert Streiff, has enabled Local Portland to hold some very effective meetings and new members nearly every week are the result.

CAMP TAMIMENT FOREST PARK, PA.

10th Anniversary Celebration All July

COMPINSKY TRIO

"AROUND THE SAMOVAR" DRAMATIC HITS

MUSICAL REVUES LECTURE COURSES ALL SPORTS

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

Mass. Socialists Nominate Lewis For Governor

Edith Williams for Lieut.-Gov.—Fighting Platform Is Drawn Up

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BOSTON, Mass.—In one of the most enthusiastic conventions held in years, the Massachusetts members of the Socialist Party met Sunday June 29th and nominated a strong ticket for the coming election. Alfred Baker Lewis was unanimously nominated for Governor, Edith M. Williams for Lieutenant Governor, Albert Sprague Coolidge for Secretary of State, Harry Fieldman for Treasurer, Harry Weaver Sherman for State Auditor, John Weaver Sherman for Attorney General and Sylvester J. McBride for United States Senator.

One of the features of the convention was the presence of a large number of young comrades, members of the Y.P.S.L. who did their part in livening up the proceedings. In fact one of the old-timers entertained the convention by making a number of spirited speeches urging a reorganization of the Boston branch because the old members have been shoved into the background by the younger element. This member did not even get a second to his motion since the other old-timers were overjoyed to hear that at last new blood was coming into the movement. Judge Jacob Panken made a vigorous speech which put the convention into a fine fighting mood, determined to wage the finest campaign in years.

Platform Drawn Up
Lewis, the standard bearer of the party in this campaign, is the energetic State Secretary of the party and a member of the National Committee. Miss Williams has been a devoted party worker for years and among the older members on the ticket who went through the days of the war terror are Hutchins, Sherman and McBride.

The platform adopted at the convention declares that the state "is controlled by industrial capitalists and financiers" and that the

Giant Picnic To Open N. Y. Party Drive

25,000 Or More Expected at Rally In Ulmer Park, Brooklyn

ESTIMATES based on the fact that 160 organizations, among them 52 branches of the Workmen's Circle, 45 trade unions, 48 Socialist Party branches, 5 branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, and about 10 miscellaneous labor groups among them the Poale Zion party indicate the greatest turnout at the Socialist Picnic scheduled to take place at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, on Saturday, July 25th.

The arrangements committee is now preparing a most interesting as well as entertaining program for the occasion. The committee is already prepared to announce that a variety sports program will be headed by an all-star soccer game. The world famous Hakoah team will play a full game against a line up of the Vienna Football Club. Other sports will include a baseball game between the Y. P. S. L. and the Young Circle League. Track and field events for which Norman Thomas will present the winners with medals, will round out the program. A gala concert will take place in which the combined chorus of all the Jewish theatres, conducted by the well known composer, J. Rumshinsky, as well as a number of prominent soloists will sing.

The chorus is being presented by their union. Other features include two jazz bands, for the dancing in the afternoon and evening, as well as other amusements. Of course there will be plenty of good eats and drinks at popular prices to round out a perfect day of pleasure and entertainment. Tickets which are sold at 50 cents are available at the various organizations participating as well as at the Rand School, 7 E. 15th st., The Jewish Daily Forward, 175 E. Broadway, and at other advertised stations.

Other speakers are Henry Green of Newark, prominent Socialist worker, and Samuel Feldman of New York City, a brilliant and popular outdoor speaker.

The meeting is one of many to be held throughout the nation the week of July 14-19, as a nationwide protest against the 14 years imprisonment of Mooney and Billings.

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—Futility of craft union policies was exhibited when iron molders and cement finishers' unions fell into a fight as to whether street lighting standards should be made of cast iron or cement.

Johnson Still Mum On Mooney

'Progressive' Continues Shameful Record of Silence On Notorious Frame-up

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Sen. Hiram Johnson, voicing a sharp scorn of the London naval limitation treaty to a Senate which refused to take seriously his heroics concerning the blow to the liberties of the American people involved in the agreement to save money on naval construction, remained mum as an oyster, over the July 4 week-end on the declaration of the California Supreme Court that Mooney and Billings should remain for the rest of their lives in prison.

Although Johnson had privately expressed belief that Judge Griffin, his former secretary in the governor's office, was right in concluding that the famous labor prisoners were framed by a corrupt combination of employers and prosecutors in San Francisco, the one-time prosecutor of San Francisco grafters would not permit a word of his views to be quoted. His excuse for continued silence—for he was governor when the victims were first sentenced—is said to be a letter Mooney wrote him, long before the Preparedness Day tragedy, in which Mooney denounced Johnson as governor for refusing to raise a finger in defense of the prisoners Ford and Suhr who were given savage sentences in connection with the fight which accompanied a hop pickers' strike.

Swing Talks of Fight.

How much Hiram Johnson could have done, years ago, to free the victims of the San Francisco frame-up is well understood when it is remembered that he has been a political power in the state ever since 1910. Gov. Young was Johnson's faithful lieutenant for many years. Friend Richardson, governor before Young, had also followed Johnson. Had he understood to bury his anger due to the rough words which Mooney was said to have written him in connection with the imprisonment of the leaders of the hop pickers' strike, Johnson could have created such a public sentiment in California as would have assured Mooney and Billings their liberty and vindication. He chose instead to take advantage of the fact that the prisoners were radicals, and that the conservative officials of organized labor were not anxious to have them at liberty in San Francisco, to wash his hands of all responsibility.

Now that the blow has fallen, and that the corporation lawyers making up the state supreme court have recommended against pardon, insofar as the regularity of the trial was concerned, Rep. Swing of Los Angeles has declared that he will take up a study of possible relief for California's moral plight. He will study the case to find some new route to pardons. It is likely that he will urge that the legislature repeal two laws—one enacted last year—which impeded the pardoning power. But Johnson, once progressive leader, won't say a word.

Union Health Center Adds Friday Sessions

The steady growth of the number of men, women and children who are being treated at the Health Center made it possible to engage additional physicians who will take care of those who come on Fridays. The session will last from 11:30 A.M. until 1:30 P.M. There will be no evening session on Friday. Readers of The New Leader are requested to announce the above in their shops and at their meetings.

The cost of medical care and its relation to Labor is now claiming the attention of all concerned. The Union Health Center is now making preparations for a conference to be held in October at which the above questions will be discussed by men and women prominent both in the labor movement and in the medical world. It is hoped that Prof. Alice Hamilton of Harvard University, William Green, President of A. F. of L., Dr. Geo. M. Price, Director of the Union Health Center, Haven Emerson and others will participate in the discussion. A local Union of the Truck Drivers International has affiliated with the U. H. C., while the Stereotypers, Federal employees and Employers Service employees are having the question under consideration.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is still busy, in spite of the hot weather. At every meeting of the various Unions, the members relate their satisfactory experiences with the Dental Department. The reasonable rates for the finest work, the personal attention given to each patient, the interest the patients need—all this and more, made the Dental Department the success it is.

Dr. Geo. M. Price, Director of the Union Health Center has left for Battle Creek Sanatorium, where he will spend the rest of this month.

Montana for Labor Party, Unions Vote

State Federation Moves for Political Alliance With Farmers' Union

GREAT FALLS, Mont.—(FP)—Organization of a Farmer-Labor Party was recommended by the Great Falls convention of the Montana Federation of Labor and officers instructed to investigate the possibility of a political alliance with the Farmers Union. They will report to the next convention. Both Republican and Democratic parties were denounced as hopeless from labor's viewpoint, and abject tools of Montana Power Co. and Anaconda Mining Co.

Nationalization of the railroads, to "relieve the mass from the autocratic rule of railroad magnates and millionaires" was an outstanding demand of the convention, attended by many railway delegates. "Consolidation of railroads means that less men will be employed and those that are employed will have to work harder and produce more, and vast profits will accrue to the owners of railroad watered stock," the resolution read.

Delegates were thoroughly angered by reports that a handful of union men had sold out to Anaconda and had circulated petitions for withdrawal of signatures from the workmen's compensation initiative backed by the entire Montana labor movement. They were barred from being delegates to Federation conventions or holding Federation office for five years, in amendments to the constitution. The Judases were denounced as "political scabs" and as unworthy of the labor movement as men who scab in strikes.

"A. P." Is Attacked

Prostitution of Associated Press to Anaconda and Montana Power was vividly demonstrated again in A. P.'s handling of the story of a few renegades fighting the amendments to the workmen's compensation act, sought by initiatives. In the Montana Standard, leading copper collar daily of Butte, the head read: "Labor Opposes Initiative Bill on Compensation." Delegates to State Federation Meeting Are Dissatisfied with Measure."

But when the convention unanimously voted enthusiastic approval of the initiatives and barred the renegades from future conventions and office, the Standard conveniently buried the action in an obscure position. The Standard's stories were Associated Press wires from Great Falls. One Great Falls paper went so far as to state that a battle was staged on the convention floor against the compensation measure, and played up the lie in a headline.

"There is no dissension in the Montana Federation of Labor," reported Pres. James D. Graham. "Not a single word has come into the state office in any way censuring the measure."

The Federation has started a back fire against the insurance companies, who are active in fighting the initiatives, by demanding that the state carry its own insurance on its buildings. Pres. Graham charged that the insurance companies were shaking the state down for easy graft in high premiums, part of which goes to old party politicians. A former secretary of state was impeached for this graft.

"Vengeance," Hillquit Terms Young Edict

(Continued from Page One)
brothers would not be in San Quentin prison today, if the organization and morale of the American working class had not been so frightfully demoralized by the war and its aftermath.

"We must rebuild our movement, on the firm foundations of class consciousness and economic knowledge. Every effort we make to free Mooney and Billings is a part of that rebuilding; and every effort we make to arouse and educate and organize the working people is a part of the campaign to save these two victims and to prevent similar state crimes in years to come."

Urges Fight Go On

Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, expressed deep disappointment over the decision of the court. "Our union has done all that it could for Mooney and Billings through the years since they have been in prison," said Schlesinger, "and we are disappointed. We believe that these men are innocent of the crime of which they are accused."

Schlesinger expressed the hope that the two men would not get discouraged and declared that efforts should continue to obtain their release. "We will do our part in helping in the general work to get justice for these two labor men," said Schlesinger. "It is difficult to understand the reasoning of the court which is employed to keep Mooney and Billings in prison."

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Upton Sinclair Heads Ticket of Calif. Socialists

Organization Spurt Promises Vigorous Campaign—Platform Is Completed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—California Socialists are facing one of the most important and promising state campaigns that they have waged in years. With Upton Sinclair, the famous novelist, the party's candidate for Governor, and the collapse of "prosperity" in this state as in all others, masses of the people are in a mood to listen to the Socialist message.

With Sinclair, Chiam Shapiro, a well known attorney of Los Angeles, has been selected for Lieutenant Governor. Shapiro has had long experience before the California courts and he joins Sinclair in declaring his belief in the innocence of Mooney and Billings whose continued imprisonment will be made one of the issues in the campaign. For months in preparation for the campaign some important organization work has been done in southern California. William H. Henry, former national secretary of the party, has been in the field helping in the work of organization. In addition to new branches formed at San Bernardino, San Diego and other cities in recent months, two more branches have been recently organized, one at Redlands and the other at Riverside.

Organization Advancing
The expansion of organization has so extended that the State Executive Committee at a recent session advised locals in counties where there is more than one local organization to change their charters for branch charters. This is intended to foster cooperation between branches in counties.

California Socialists have adopted a platform which begins with an important introduction that reviews the general possibilities for

economic security and well-being for the workers of the state and contrasting these with the mass made of these opportunities by the agents of capitalism in office.

Of the intellectual fruits of capitalist politics the platform declares: "Legislatures have been corrupted, pulpits polluted, newspapers muzzled, educators purchased, and the school books rewritten in order to insure a complaisant attitude on the part of the rising generation."

Considering the concentration of wealth which has been accompanied by a concentration of political power in the hands of the possessing classes, the platform proposes the extension of "those principles of public ownership which have already proved their worth and to recover for the people the ownership of the great natural resources which are their rightful heritage. It proposes, furthermore, the cooperative ownership and democratic control of all those things which are socially used."

New Constitution Sought
The measures of immediate relief and for the extension of democracy include unemployment insurance and old age pensions; the shortening of the work-day and work-week by legislation; taxation of land values and increase of the income tax on large incomes; opposition to the registration of aliens, to the Cline plan of using convict labor and to mass imprisonment of immigrant labor on public works. One clause demands the outlawing of the yellow dog contract.

Other sections defend civil rights, condemn capital punishment and urge prison reform. Another demands the pardon of Mooney and Billings. Public ownership of power systems is demanded. One section favors the adoption of a new constitution for the state which includes demands for a legislature of one house, proportional representation, and extension of the powers of cities to engage in public enterprises.

Laureldale Socialist Gain In Vote Count

Banquet Marks Enthusiasm of Berks Socialists Over Election Triumph

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
READING, Pa.—A recount of the votes in the recent election of the newly incorporated borough of Laureldale failed to change anything so far as the winners are concerned. It did, however, result in swelling the total number of votes received by the Socialist candidates.

The recount was ordered by Judge Shanahan as a result of obvious errors in the return sheets and required 18 hours for completion. The entry of Reading's near neighbor into the ranks of Socialist communities is now definitely established. Socialists throughout the entire country of Berks are enthused by the victory of their Laureldale comrades, which is all the more remarkable because of the combination of republicans and democrats which the Socialists had to overcome.

The Laureldale election demonstrates the popularity of the Socialist administration of Reading in a convincing manner and presages victory for the city ticket when the old parties of Reading are finally driven into one camp against the Socialists.

The new Council of Laureldale was organized on Monday night of this week. Preceding the organization there was a public banquet, beginning at 7 o'clock.

Tamiment Celebrates Its 10th Birthday

Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.—Camp Tamiment celebrates its tenth year of active life with a reunion festival this coming week end. Capacity crowds are expected and all old timers are focusing their attentions toward the reunion celebration at Forest Park. Many of the leaders in the camp's activities have been invited personally to attend.

Listed in the group of entertainment features, summoned by the camp for this occasion, is a gala Russian night of colorful and Slavic costumes, the reunion banquet on which old timers will make three minute addresses on "What Tamiment Has Done To Me". This ten year review which is a Musical Comedy History of the Camp's Life will be put on by the staff. The celebrations will be topped off on Sunday by a good old camp fire with hot dogs.

Chief among the social items on Tamiment's current scroll is the marriage of Charles Wagner, poet and editor of The Tamiment Times, and Eva Bernstein, sister-in-law of Louis Waldman, one of the Sandvill colonists. Miss Bernstein and Wagner were married Tuesday in New York City.

Wis. Socialists Expect Gain In Assembly Seats

Ticket Will Be More Complete Than In Recent Years, Reports Show

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The line-up of Socialist legislative candidates in Wisconsin for the fall election promises to be much more complete than in former election years. Reports from various localities show that there is going to be such a big jump in the vote that the party representatives in next year's legislature will be so numerous that they will probably wield the balance of power.

They expect to be in a position not only to initiate much labor legislation and legislation in the interests of the despoiled farmers, but also able to prevent the passage of many vicious corporation bills.

In the state office of the Socialist party telegrams arrived from various points showing that Socialist legislative candidates are about to be placed in nomination. One of these from Two Rivers said that a candidate for the assembly will in all likelihood be nominated within a day or two.

District Organizer W. R. Snow has also written the office telling of big mass meetings in Manitowoc, Two Rivers and adjacent cities.

He reports a brisk sale of Socialist books and other literature as well as an eagerness to obtain the campaign literature which is being printed for general distribution. Eugene V. Debs' book, written just before his death, Walls and Bars, is also in demand.

Organizer Snow wired from Sheboygan that two party meetings have been arranged there and that a complete ticket will be placed in the field. Manitowoc and Sheboygan counties can be carried this fall by the Socialist candidates if an intensive campaign is carried out. Snow has gone to Manitowoc where complete county and legislative tickets will be nominated.

The state platform of the party is going rapidly and each mail brings requests for copies from various counties.

A second edition is being prepared, in the anticipation that the first run, which was made for advance purposes and propaganda tours, will soon be exhausted. The second edition will contain the portraits of the state candidates of the Socialist party among other added features.

Tailors To Picnic

The New York Local Union No. 1, Journeymen Tailors Union of America will hold a Picnic, Sunday, July 13, 1930, at Martin Kane's Park, Clason Point, New York City. Directions: Local (Pelham Park) Subway to Sound View Ave. or Express to Simpson St. Station. From either station take Sound View Ave. (Clason Point) Trolley Car to the Park.

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regarding equalization of work among collieries remained a leading issue in negotiations under way in New York. The present anthracite contract, signed after the long strike of 1925-26, expires at the end of August, but it seems certain that a new contract will have been signed long before then.

Although the recent triadist intervention at Hazleton would seem to have put the issue of equalization of work among collieries back on the agenda, the miners' representatives were finally bound only to resist wage reductions.

1. No reduction in wages.
2. Equal division of working time among mine workers of various collieries.
3. Seniority rights based on length of employment.
4. Abolition of the individual contract system, by which a miner contracts with the company for digging a section of a mine, himself employing laborers.
5. No replacement of miners by "monthly men" from office and supervisory staffs during slack periods.
6. No charging of fines and safety appliances.
7. Checkoff of union dues to assure paid up union membership of all miners.

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The GRUNDY TARIFF OF ABOMINATION

CHIEF among the legitimized rackets discussed at the recent conference of the League for Industrial Democracy was the tariff. The following article is based on a paper presented to the conference by Clair Wilcox, associate professor of economics at Swarthmore University.

Of particular interest is Prof. Wilcox's analysis of the flexible tariff clause in what he terms "The Grundy Tariff of Abominations." This clause has been hailed by apologists for the tariff bill as a saving clause. Prof. Wilcox points out that amendment of the tariff bill through this clause would take 800 years,—and then the revision of the rates would be upward and not downward!

By Clair Wilcox

CONGRESS has passed and President Hoover has signed the Grundy Tariff of Abominations.

As a result of this measure, we will have to pay higher prices for nearly everything we buy. The higher rates will prevent foreign goods from entering the country. The reduced supply of goods will sell for a higher price. Where competition prevails, the higher price will encourage new and inefficient concerns with high operating costs to undertake additional production. Because their costs of production are high, these concerns will not make big profits. But they will consistently oppose any future reduction of duties, because foreign competition would drive them out of business. Meantime, the higher prices will give the old and successful concerns increased profit which they do not earn. And where an industry is monopolized, the higher prices will merely increase monopoly profits.

Very few of our people can hope to gain anything from the tariff boost. No tariff can protect the coal miner, the railroad worker, the telephone and telegraph worker, the bus, truck and trolley worker, the building and engineering trades. All those who work in retail stores, wholesale houses, garages and hotels get nothing from the tariff but higher prices for the goods they buy. Bankers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, ministers, actors, artists, barbers, nurses, waiters, newspaper men and government employees are all in the same position. There are roughly 42,000,000 persons in the United States who are listed as gainfully employed. Fully 34,000,000 of them are in fields which cannot conceivably gain from restrictive tariffs. These people are taxed by the government in order to subsidize the 8,000,000 or less the tariff favors.

Farmers, Export Trade Hit

The vast majority of farmers will lose. Their major crops are export crops, sold in the world market: wheat, cotton, pork, lard. They have no important competition in home market. The imports which will be excluded by duties on such goods are purely imaginary. These duties are nothing more than gold bricks. On the less important commodities where the tariff is effective, it benefits only 12% of our farmers. These people may get some \$90,000,000 a year in increased income. But to give it to them, it will cost the consumer some \$130,000,000 a year in the higher prices he will have to pay for their goods.

All the farmers will lose through the increased duties on manufactured goods because the things they will buy will cost them more. The producers of crops, for export, moreover, will find it increasingly difficult to sell abroad because of the barriers placed in the way of foreigners who wish to sell manufactured goods to us.

All export trade will suffer in this way. Countries cannot buy from us unless they are permitted to sell to us. The increased restrictions on imports will make it more difficult for our producers to export. This is as true of the manufacturers of agricultural machinery, automobiles, typewriters and the like as it is of the farmers. When the conference committee reduced the Senate duties on French laces, Detroit rejoiced, because it knew that more American lace manufacture would mean less American automobile manufacture. Our export trade has a rough road ahead. Already other countries are beginning to pay us back in kind by levying retaliatory duties against our goods. When the President signed the Grundy tariff he fired the first gun in a tariff war which seriously threatens the peace of the world.

No one can say that the Grundy Tariff is a popular measure. Every important leader in the automobile industry has denounced it. Exporting and importing firms and associations have protested it. Bankers have decried it. Farm groups have fought it. Associations of retailers demanded its veto. The press was overwhelmingly against it. Washington has been flooded with protests from foreign governments and business groups. Some 1,200 American economists sent a letter to President Hoover which roundly denounced it. Even its leading proponents have publicly crossed their fingers as they voted for it.

How the Racket Works

If all this is true, then, why did Congress pass the bill? Why did the President sign it? The answer is easy.

It's a racket!

This is the way it works: Mr. Lawyer of Zenith runs for Congress. The principal industry of Zenith is the manufacture of widgets. The local widget king contributes several thousand dollars to Mr. Lawyer's campaign fund. Mr. Lawyer is elected, and re-elected for several terms. He is made a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. The Ways and Means Committee writes the tariff bills. Each Republican member is made the head of a subcommittee to work on specific schedules. Since Mr. Lawyer is interested in widget

ets, he is given the widget schedules. His subcommittee goes to work. It boosts the rate on widgets and boosts them plenty. Then the subcommittee report back to the main committee. Here Mr. Lawyer discovers that the Pennsylvania member has boosted the rates on pig iron; that the Wyom-

How 34,000,000 American Consumers Are To Be Penalized, The Fraudulent Character of the Flexible Clause

ing member has boosted the rates on wool; that every member has raised the rates in which he is interested. Mr. Lawyer is grieved to discover this. The widget plant in Zenith won't want to pay more for its iron. The people of Zenith won't relish paying more for their clothes. Mr. Lawyer is pained, moreover, to discover that his worthy colleagues have no enthusiasm for the increased rates on widgets. What is to be done?

Conversations are undertaken. The wool representative, it is discovered, will vote for the widget rate if Lawyer will vote for the higher rate on wool. The bargain is made. The pig iron representative will vote for prohibitive widget duties if Lawyer will come along on the pig iron rate. Another deal is accomplished. And so the logs are rolled about until a majority of the committee can agree on a bill which it can report to the House. Here it is discovered that the interests of the great gadget industry have been neglected, that

the whizzit growers of Gopher Prairie have been overlooked. More conversations are held. More deals are made. Enough votes are mustered to shoot the bill through the House under rules which stringently limit debate.

Now it goes to the Senate, where debate is free. A howl goes up at the mountainous duties which it would impose. It is roundly denounced and as fulsomely praised. Here Senator Standpat of Zenith takes the interests of the widget industry in hand, arranges deals with the pig iron men, the wool men, the gadget men and the whizzit men, as each hog crowds the other to get his feet into the trough. The House Bill gave the widget people an ad valorem duty of 55%. The Senate bill grants them a duty of 45%. The bills go to conference and emerge at last from conference committee carrying a 50% duty on widgets.

The widget king is pleased. The duty means higher widget prices. This means higher profits. From

the higher profits he contributes several thousand to the party fund to re-elect Lawyer and Standpat to get him higher widget duties, to get him higher prices, to enable him to contribute to campaign funds to re-elect Lawyer and Standpat to get him higher duties to give him bigger profits—and so on.

Where do you and I get in on this ring-around-the-rose? That is a painful subject. Why bring that up now?

The Heavy Sugar Duty

This is the way every tariff bill is written. It is the way the Grundy bill was written. Favor was shamelessly swapped for favor. Licenses to rob the consumer were brazenly handed out in payment for campaign contributions.

Five Democratic Senators deserted their party to vote for the Grundy bill. They were paid for their votes with special favors given to the districts they represent. Fletcher and Trammel of Florida got raises on fruits and vegetables.

Kendrick of Wyoming got a boost in the duty on wool. If this duty fosters sheep-raising, it will increase the supply of mutton and thousands of farmers will find that they will have to sell their mutton for lower prices. The duty will increase the difficulties of the textile industry by increasing the cost of one of its raw materials. It will saddle a heavy burden on everyone who wears woollen clothes, merely for the benefit of a few poorly located sheep ranchers.

Randall and Broussard of Louisiana were rewarded with a higher duty on sugar. Now the average family of five will pay an extra \$10 a year for sugar. Why? So that the farmers in Michigan and Utah may raise beets instead of potatoes. The duty will bring economic prostration to Cuba, one of our best customers. It will shift sugar production from areas where it is carried on cheaply to places where it can be continued only at great cost. Where five farmers will gain by the tariff on sugar, 995 others

will lose in the higher prices they will have to pay. Even under the old sugar rate, the consumer was paying \$165,000,000 a year in higher prices for the purpose of giving a subsidy to sugar growers which amounted to less than \$20,000,000.

The increased sugar duty was first defeated in the Senate by a vote of 48 to 38. It passed finally by a vote of 47 to 39. Ten Senators who had opposed the duty on the first vote were swung in line on the second. Dill and Jones of Washington sought a duty on lumber. Pine and Thomas of Oklahoma were out for a duty on oil. Ashurst and Hayden of Arizona were after duties on hides, and so on. Such trading is the very essence of tariff legislation and will continue to be so as long as we continue to interfere with our trade.

Prosperity and Tariffs

This is the tariff racket. This is the way it works. Why do the people stand for it? The plain fact is that they are ignorant.

apathetic, inert. They have been hypnotized by the steady flow of high tariff propaganda. Repetition is reputation. If a thing is repeated often enough, people will finally come to believe it. So we have been told, again and again, that high tariffs make for prosperity. "If this bill is passed," cried Senator Watson the other day, "this country will be on the upgrade financially and economically within thirty days, and within a year we shall again resume our position as the first and foremost of all the peoples of history in all the essential elements of individual and national greatness." "With its enactment," proclaimed, Rep. Crowther, "the country again will blossom out in the full sunshine of prosperity."

We have had tariffs, the argument runs. We have been prosperous. Therefore the tariffs have caused prosperity. The sun rises because the crows caw. America has been prosperous, it is true, but not because it has raised barriers to international trade. We have great resources in coal, gas and water power, minerals and fertile soil. Low birth rates and laws restricting immigration have made labor scarce and wages high, giving to consumers the purchasing power which has stimulated our industry. Our mechanical equipment is the best in the world. We have surpassed all other peoples in substituting power resources for human labor in industry. Free public education has given us a skilled working force. American factory management in recent years has increased amazingly in its efficiency. Deliberate inventions, industrial research, improvement in budgeting, accounting and statistical control, in short, science in management has increased factory output and reduced unit costs. More than any other nation we have built our industry on the principle of standardization. We have been able to standardize materials and methods only because we have been able to standardize the finished product. We have been able to produce uniform products in large quantities only because we have been able to sell them in a wide market. This market, three million square miles in area, is the greatest free trade market in the world. In it, we carry on more than nine-tenths of our trade. Our federal constitution has wisely provided that this great market must remain a free market. In so far as our industrial supremacy is to be attributed to our trade policy, it must be credited to our wise policy of freedom in domestic exchanges, not to the impertinent restrictions which have been placed upon our trade with other nations.

Flexible—But One Way

Perhaps it would be impertinent to inquire why depression overtook us under the high rates of the Fordney-McCumber Act. But the protectionists would have their answer ready. If business is bad under a high tariff, the depression is due to other causes entirely beyond the control of the party. If business is good, however, the tariff caused it. You can prove anything you set out to prove if you can keep your face straight. The truth of the matter is that tariffs are of little importance as causes either of general prosperity or of general business depression. Cyclical fluctuations of business activity are matters of price levels, money and credit, purchasing power, overcapitalization and innumerable other factors. To explain them simply in terms of tariffs is to confess to a superstitious belief in magic. The prosperity propaganda of the high tariff crowd is intended not to enlighten, but to deceive. It is likely that business will revive in the course of the next year. Such a revival when it comes, will come in spite of the tariff, not because of it. But the protectionists will inevitably claim the credit.

The President himself, in his apology for signing the Grundy Bill revealed that he was not above the practice of a little political legerdemain. The bill, he admitted, contains "inequalities and inequitable compromises. There are some duties which will prove too high." But he continues, the flexible provision which it contains "should render it possible to secure prompt and scientific adjustment of serious inequities and inequalities." This he offers as his alibi. But it will not hold.

The President, under the law, cannot touch a single rate until the Tariff Commission has made an investigation. These investigations are time-consuming. The Tariff Commission took two years. The Tariff law covers some 2,000 items. In eight years the Tariff Commission has made only 80 investigations. There have been only 36 changes in rates. At such a speed it would take the president 800 years to overhaul the rates of the Grundy Bill. A geologist might regard this as relative flexibility. But it offers consumers now living scant prospect of substantial relief. In the meantime, Americans must continue to bear the burden which the law imposes on them.

India, British Labor And Socialist Policy

By James Oneal

THE discussion in The New Leader regarding events in India and the relation of the Labor Government of Great Britain to them, has been unrestricted and two fundamental views are evident in the discussion. Each is in contradiction to the other yet both sides to the dispute claim to reason from Socialist premises.

On its face the weight of reasoning in my opinion, lies on one side. The Labor Government has inherited a situation in India not of its own making. Great Britain rules India. It is an imperialist power in India. While the Labor Party is in power the Indians become more active in opposing British rule. Conflicts follow. Indians are jailed and some are killed.

What is the conclusion? The repression in India cannot be reconciled with the Socialist opposition to imperialism. Agreed. The case appears to be complete.

But it is interesting to note that there are British Socialists like Mosely, Lansbury and others who represent the "left section" of the Labor Party, who admit the above facts and who concede that the Labor Party is in a bad way on this issue, who do not insist that the only alternative is for the Labor Government to resign, as some of our American Socialists suggest.

On the other hand those writers in The New Leader who defend what is happening in India on the basis of facts which both sides agree to be facts, are painful in their pleas and not convincing. They can no more explain away these facts than the other side can explain away the fact that certain prominent "lefts" in the Labor Party do not draw the same conclusions that American Socialists critics do. And these Labor Party men, remember, are critical not only of the Labor Government's policy in India but also of other policies.

Before attempting to analyze this welter of views and conclusions let us consider another aspect of the Labor Party. It is the only party of the working class which, since the end of the World War, had the courage to use the most hazardous weapon that a working class movement can use. This is the general strike. Four years ago it ventured to use this dangerous weapon in behalf of one section of the working class. The important thing to remember is not whether the workers were successful in their objective but that they had so matured in class consciousness that they could undertake this struggle. A movement and its leaders who are capable of such an inspiring venture in the face of important hazards are certainly not lost to the working class movement.

I have spoken of certain facts which both sides have been considering. I do not think that a proper and complete perspective can be obtained on the basis of these facts alone. They are limited. They ignore certain factors that are essential to a mature judgment.

To illustrate. The other night the movie houses exhibited a film pageant of certain events leading up to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. These events were faithfully depicted. There was the issue of self-government, taxation, and other political aspects of the struggle leading up to the signing of the document. They form the basis of the popular conception of the American Revolution as a rising of the people in general against intolerable grievances.

Facts were presented but only a few. There are other facts which considerably alter the alluring picture of embattled patriots march and seeking to establish a political heaven in the colonies. To get a proper perspective of the American Revolution we have to consider other evidence and when

we search for more we find smugglers cheating the imperial customs; land speculators violating the laws and swindling settlers and Indians; slave owners who prevented a clause going into the Declaration denouncing slavery, and so on. The complete story was not displayed on the screen.

I also believe that the complete situation regarding the Labor Party and India has not been considered in the discussion. Only contemporary events that are vivid were presented in the screen version of the Declaration and only contemporary events in India have been considered. The result is not satisfactory.

For example, if I am to consider only contemporary incidents I will be a one-hundred per cent American and accept the screen version of the Declaration of Independence. In the case of India I will have to line up with the Communists and conclude that the Labor Party is hopelessly capitalist and imperialist and that it has "betrayed" the workers of India, of Britain, and of the world. Or I will ignore the logic of even the contemporary facts and try to explain them away, as some others try to do. I do not think that these alternatives are consistent with a Socialist view of all the facts.

Moreover, I do not think that a sentimental attitude is helpful. In The New Leader discussion we have had what is largely a sentimental reaction against what has happened in India and also a sentimental reaction in favor of the Labor Party.

One more consideration. The Executive of the Labor and Socialist International considered the Indian question at its sessions in Berlin last May. Its resolution and the discussions leading up to it do not agree with either side of the discussion. If those who unreservedly condemn the Labor Government are correct the condemnation should also apply to the Labor and Socialist parties who are represented in the L. S. I.

Now for a few important matters that have not been considered. Great Britain is an island and its geographical position has for generations influenced the thinking of the people of all parties. It is a

part of the European system. England depends upon her dominions, crown colonies and other possessions for her continued existence. Her people can be starved to death if they do not have access to these possessions. It is for this reason that in a world of capitalism and imperialism volves the British people acquiesce in the largest naval establishment in the world. It isn't a matter of theory or sentiment with the British but one of grim reality. No party can hope for success in Great Britain, whether it be capitalist or labor, that does not squarely face this situation.

In this respect Great Britain occupies an exceptional position among the capitalist nations. But within the nation, as in other capitalist countries, the working class faces exploitation. That class has produced a powerful Labor and Socialist movement which now governs by a tenuous mandate. In common with other Socialist movements the Labor Party favors the freedom of all colonial peoples and affirms this as a principle in its program. But in carrying out this principle it is compelled to act cautiously and slowly because of the apprehension of the masses that the economic and political with overseas peoples may be endangered. It is a matter of life and death for all who live in England.

The situation is entirely different in the United States. We are a self-sufficient nation. A labor government at Washington could proceed immediately to release the Philippines and abandon every measure of American control and coercion in every area of American domination without causing any apprehension on the part of the masses. We do not have the psychology of an island people who for centuries have feared being cut off from our raw materials and much of our foodstuffs. Allowance must be made for the two big differences between the two nations in judging the Labor Party.

This psychology and the Indian problem are inherited by the Labor Party. The imperialist relation of England and India is the creation of British capitalism. The psychology of British fear is due to the geographical situation of

Great Britain. Admitting all this, is the Labor Party solely responsible for what has happened in India? I think not, but neither is it immune from criticism.

Why was the situation permitted to drift in India? Frankly, I do not know. I surmise that the Labor Government was so preoccupied with the naval conference and unemployment that it failed to appreciate the seriousness of the Indian situation till it was too late. Then two courses were before it, either leave office or stay and govern. If the first, it would be a confession of incompetency; if the second, it had to use coercion as the Indian masses were engaged in an attempt at peaceful violation of law. It chose to govern. The result was the embarrassing situation in which the Government finds itself. To denounce the party or the government as though it is doing does not appear to me to be justified by all the facts.

My opinion is that the Labor Government missed an opportunity months ago to make some concessions to Nationalist views which would have eased the situation and given promise of more to expect from it than any other government of the political prisoners which it inherited from the Tory Government, excepting, possibly, the few who are Communist inspired. The failure of the government to so act, however, was not due to malicious intent or to imperialist impulses as some of our writers have implied. This answer is too simple and it does not square with the history of the British Labor movement, a movement that could venture on a general strike.

I think that the Labor Government muddled into this situation. In fact, Miss Jessie Stephen in letters to the Milwaukee Leader admits this. So did Ernest Thurtle, M.P., in The New Leader of June 7. His article bears evidence of humiliation that this situation had been permitted to develop.

Let us pause here to briefly consider an action of our own party. We did not muddle into it. It was the result of hours of deliberation. In the convention of 1928 we had the prohibition issue before us.

The Socialist movement of the world had taken a position regarding alcoholism. Our party had taken a similar position. Two years ago we "dodged" for opportunist reasons. Instead of acting courageously we let each state say what it pleased. The result was that the party was wet in one state, dry in a second, for a referendum in a third, and for modification in a fourth! We couldn't possibly have been more ridiculous on any question.

Rather than face the enemy of the prohibition bloc we retreated. As one who reluctantly acquiesced in this "dodging" I assert that it would be well for us to have a consistent record before indulging in sweeping condemnation of a sister party. I am certain that no other Labor or Socialist party has ever had this record of four or five positions on a live issue in an electoral contest. Let us hope that our British comrades will not take us to task because of our questionable orthodoxy.

There is still another aspect of the situation which the writer has mentioned on two occasions in The New Leader, the first time in the issue of June 28. I had not yet seen the article of Comrade Abramovitch of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International which appeared in our issue of July 5 and which revealed the deliberations of the Executive relating to the Indian problem. In the issue of June 28 I pointed out the dangerous and menacing intrigues of Fascists, Clericals and Monarchists on the Continent, all in the interests of medieval reaction and against the whole working class of Europe. When the Abramovitch article came through it supplemented and verified the editorial mentioned. Comrade Abramovitch wrote:

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 very large measure due to the fact that in England rules not

Churchill, but MacDonald.

My interpretation of the continental situation and the conclusion as well in the editorial of June 28 were the same as Abramovitch's and subsequent events have verified them. That these are factors in the working class movement abroad is known to few of us as it is difficult to get American Socialists to take an interest in what is happening abroad. Mention is made of the continental situation for this reason: if our British comrades have muddled into a bad Indian situation let us not forget the fact that a Labor Government in England makes the blackest forces in Europe hesitate in drowning Socialist Vienna in blood, linking up the European dictators for a united drive to establish Fascist rule throughout Europe, and to crush the Labor and Socialist movement across the Atlantic.

Of course, the Labor Government may be voted out of office within the next few months and our fears may not be realized but the fact remains that the Fascist, Clerical and Monarchist elements are more likely to run amuck with Churchill in office than with MacDonald in office. Churchill when in office was the ally of Mussolini and it was during his period in power that Vienna Socialists had to beat off attacks of Fascists.

Considering this situation, suppose the Labor Party should take the advice of some writers and resign because of the unfortunate situation in India. Suppose the worst fears of European workers were realized and reaction realized its aims on the Continent. I do not think that the Labor Party would improve its own position or help the Indian people to realize their aims. Decades of bloody struggle would be before the working class on the Continent and reaction would also seek to strangle the movement of the British working class. That aftermath of a Labor Government resignation certainly would not be relished by any Socialist whatever may be his view of the Indian question.

It seems to me that our violent reactions to such issues as they arise is evidence of an unhealthy state of the American Socialist movement. I think that they are due to two things. The United States is isolated from the movement abroad and it is difficult for American Socialists to appreciate the complex problems which our comrades abroad have to face. To us situations appear much more simple than they really are. We cut through a maze of complexities with ease. European Socialists do not find them so easy and certainly they do not have less knowledge and ability than we have. The more complex the situation the more likely are mistakes to be made and the less likely are we to appreciate what the working class abroad face.

Possibly a second reason for our members reacting violently to such issues is that a new group of Socialists has appeared since the end of the war. They are of all ages but there does not appear to be that eagerness to take up a study of our Socialist classics which was once evident in the party and which help to stabilize our thinking. I believe that it would be helpful to the movement and the members and help us to formulate more considered and mature views if these classics were brought more often within the range of our study. They are not considered out of date abroad. I am confident they would be helpful here. (Postscript: Since this was written the New York Times of July 6 has carried an article by P. J. Philip, sent by wireless from Paris, which supplements what is said above regarding intrigues and dangers in Europe.)

I AND MY JOB, PARTNER AND I

By Adam Coaldigger

I AM a human being. The parsons say I am made in the image of God. The politicians say I am sovereign, and the text-books of my children call me a free and independent American citizen.

I live by work. The ground I work on does not belong to me. The tools I work with are the property of my boss. The fruits of my toil belong to others. I have nothing to sell but labor. The only thing that stands between me and poverty is my job.

But even my job is not mine in the sense that it is my property—to sell, barter, to use or dispose of at my will. And yet my job is all that separates me from the social outcast. My job is more than that. My job is my bread and butter—my salt and meat—my clothes and shelter—my bodily comfort—my soul's salvation, for jobless men rot in body and soul.

Just now there are millions of jobless men, and I am one of them. I was handed the sack four months ago. Since then I have tramped many weary miles in search of my job. I have stood with many of my kind before factory gates, excavations, and rising buildings, silently begging for my job. I have risen before daybreak to catch the morning paper damp from off the

press. I have scanned the "Men Wanted" columns with a pounding heart. I have raced with many companions in joblessness for distant addresses, trying to run down my job. And still I have no job. My little savings are gone. The cupboard is empty. The rent is overdue. My credit is no more. The installment house is threatening to come for the furniture. I leave the house in the morning with ever-sinking hope. I return in the evening with ever-deepening despair. The questioning looks in the eyes of wife and children on my return are driving the wedge of madness in my brain. What shall it be, starving, begging, or stealing?

Hardened criminals are condemned to hard labor. Unruly criminals in jails and penitentiaries are punished with a diet of bread and water. I, who am not a hardened criminal, am begging for hard labor. I, who have obeyed every rule of the game, am praying for bread. I, who seek for nothing but work to feed myself and hungry brood, am condemned to forced idleness on a diet of air and water, without my day in court. I am condemned to starvation and despair by a judge I never saw, by a jury I never faced.

Some say it's Hoover that cost me the loss of my job. Some say it was the crash of the stock market that took my job. Perhaps, perhaps. But even unlearned workman that I am, I know that there were millions of jobless men before Herbert Hoover saw the light of day or Wall Street gamblers were born.

I also know that the slaves and serfs of old never pounded bricks on empty bellies in search of jobs. Poor and exploited as they were, they had at least the consolation of security of employment. Work or no work, job or no job, they were housed, clothed, and fed by their masters—even as beasts of burden as horses and asses are sheltered and fed by their owners in times of idleness.

But I, the image of God, in the words of my parson; I, the sovereign voting king, in the currency of the politician; I, the free-born independent citizen of this great republic, according to the school books of my children, am not even owned. I am mine. The strength of my muscles is mine. The skill of my fingers is mine. The cunning of my brain is mine. The only things that are not mine are the tools with which I work when they let me work. I am a pump-

handle without a pump. I am a bow without a fiddle. I am a gas-line without a fliver. I am a self-starter without a motor. I am the soul that animates the body of industry and being separated from my body, am but a homeless spook haunting my erstwhile abode in search of substance.

I am an unowned freeman. I wear no man's collar. I am free to hike on public roads. I am free to cross on public bridges. I am free to sit in public parks. I am free to drink from public fountains. I am free to read in public libraries. What is the public's still mine. But I am barred from the plants I erected, the goods I have made, the tools I have shaped, the shafts I have sunk, the railroads I have built—for they are capital—private capital.

But are not Capital and Labor partners? Oh yes, oh sure! When times are good, Capital and Labor smoke the cigar of prosperity together. Capital smokes the cigar; Labor smokes the snipe. But when hard times come, partner Capital smokes both cigar and snipe, while partner Labor spits.

In good times, partner Capital sets aside money for depreciation.

(Continued on Page Five)

Mrs. Robin and the Philanthropist

JUST at the moment our mood is that of tenderness which quite transcends our usual dyspeptic attitude towards life.

We are touched to the quick by a piece which we have just read in the editorial columns of "The Peoria Star." According to the modest announcement on its masthead, "The Peoria Star" is "The Newspaper People Believe In."

It's just swell to know there is such an old-line paper extant. Apparently the readers of "The Star" will believe almost anything. That is if they believe the following which appeared in the paper a short while back.

"It used to be a stock phrase in referring to corporations to say that they were 'soulless' with no thought of consideration of the human element. That may have been more or less true in the distant past but of late years there has been a noticeable and growing change that bodes well for the future. Corporations are recognizing the human side of life more and more. This is shown in a closer union between the corporation and its employees and more consideration for the general public. The humanizing process that is slowly but surely going on is recognized in a little incident which occurred in the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in making his rounds discovered a robin's nest in a car. It contained three eggs. Word was sent to Charles E. Devin, superintendent, who immediately issued a peremptory order that that particular car was under no circumstances to be moved not only until the eggs are hatched but until the young robins can fly. Commerce may thunder all about but the family of robins who appropriated a railroad car for their home will be undisturbed. The incident is a testimonial to the finer attributes and sensibilities, the human element—if you please—of the head of a great railroad corporation."

So you see, boys and girls, how wrong it is ever to think that the great, big, tender-hearted men in charge of our public utilities would ever dream of doing anything that wasn't just right by all of us.

There they are, sitting by the side of the tracks, clerical workers, Division Superintendents, Traffic Supervisors, Vice-Presidents in charge of Public Relations, all waiting for one robin to hatch out three eggs. Until that happy event, no wheel shall turn beneath the car of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad while Mrs. Robin has chosen for her lying-in hospital. There have been other scenes which have held up before our amazed eyes the spectacle of great-hearted businessmen in their more humane moments. The skilled pens of Bruce Barton and other writers for "The American Magazine" have depicted them for us in thrilling manner. There was the time that Charlie Schwab broke into tears on the witness stand at the very thought that a rude Congressional investigating committee should question his patriotism in selling steel to his government during the War at the time when he was running up and down the country posing as a dollar a year man.

There is John D. giving away one shiny dime after another.

There is Andy Mellon, whose heart is always softened by the sight of a fellow-millionaire being forced to pay an income tax.

But none of these touching scenes quite so affects us as does the robin in the railroad car.

Railroad workers may be fired by the thousands, seniority rights may be thrown to the winds, wages may be mercilessly slashed, but "who touches a feather of yon red robin, dies like a dog, lay off," says Charles E. Devin, Superintendent of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.

Drying off the sentimental tears that well from our eyes at the thought of the unstrained quality of mercy that now drops like the gentle rain from Heaven from the offices of our more enlightened corporations, we note that Henry Ford celebrated Independence Day by canning a whole lot more of his help on the Monday following the Fourth of July, thereby giving to these workers their complete freedom to pursue happiness all around the factory gates of Detroit and points East.

Well might the workers of America repeat the famous stanza to their big-hearted bosses: "I know that you wish to dissemble your love, But why do you kick me down-stairs?"

In the meantime, Socialism and things Socialistic loom larger and larger in the public's consciousness. There is recognition of this fact in the enormous amount of publicity which our movement has been receiving of late in the old-line papers. There is proof of the vitality and fire and go that is in Socialism in the increased activity all along the line.

Especially among our youngsters. They played a prominent part in the lively discussions at the I. D. conference at Tammany. Now they are all set for a field day of their own at Reading, Pa., on July 12th and 13th, at the Socialist Youth Conference. From every section of the country Yipels will gather for two full days of thoughtful discussion as well as fun and frolic. They will tour through the Socialist city, listen to some of the most brilliant speakers in the movement and go home full of renewed enthusiasm. We hope to get down to Reading, if possible, but we've been to so many conferences and so we're late that we will have to pose as a robin and get the elementary railroad to lug us down there for nothing, if we hope to hit Reading this week-end.

Of a grimmer nature but surely one of the most important of all this summer's undertakings is the coming protest meeting to help free Tom Mooney and Billings to be held under Socialist auspices at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Tuesday, July 13th. You, like ourselves, have no doubt raged at the injustice of the latest decision of the Supreme Court on the Mooney and Billings case. If you are anywhere around New York on the Fifteenth it is your Socialist duty to be in the Academy of Music on Tuesday evening there to join with your comrades in a thundering condemnation of such rank hypocrisy and heartless brutality as has been shown by the capitalist persecutors of these two innocent men.

See you at that meeting, next Tuesday.
McAlister Coleman.

At the present rate of the discovery of Tammany grafters in high office it may be necessary to hold a special election to fill vacancies of those who are compelled to resign.

That thief caught entering a millionaire's home must be rather dull of wit to be taking such risks. He should join Tammany Hall and get an upper berth in its heaven where pickings are fine and immunity is sure.

Our Weekly Foreign Letter

Roumania's Change of King

New Regime Represents Tendency Toward Capitalization; Socialists Re-affirm Demand for Democracy

By Jacob Pistiner, M.P.

BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA.

A WEEK full of excitement lies behind us. It had been known for months that the banished Prince Carol would return; the agencies and preparations were known. There was doubt on two points only, namely, on the time and on whether a "putsch" would be combined with his return. It was people in military circles who pressed for Carol's return, and as is known today, it was particularly officers of the former Austro-Hungarian army who managed the return.

This is no accident, for the higher officers of the Old Empire are mostly Liberal. It is well-established that the fight of the new provinces against the Old Empire was carried on behind the fight concerning Carol. At the moment when the National Peasant Party came into power the question was decided. Manu should have brought back the Crown Prince as long ago as February, 1929, under an obligation, or if you will, an agreement, but he allowed himself time, and the Regency was also not in favor. In the meantime, however, things became more and more untenable for the Government; the Liberals did not allow them to breathe, and in addition intrigues were being carried on both at the Court and in the Regency.

The preparations for the return of Carol, with the intention of dealing a decisive blow at the Liberals, increased to the extent to which Queen Marie became more and more opposed to the National Peasant Party. But the matter did not go forward rapidly until the Zarankist who the Government Party took the initiative. It became known that all the military

proposals were being sent to the Prince in exile and that M. Junian, Minister of Government, was attempting to persuade him to return. The rumors that the return was imminent increased in the last few days. It was known on the Friday that Carol was in the country. Then the troubles began.

Too many adventures had attached themselves to him, the military circles carried on propaganda for him, the Peasant Party set him upon their shield; in the National Peasant Party also there are many Fascists. What therefore was more obvious than the fear of a military "putsch" or even an open Fascist Government.

It is undoubtedly a merit on the part of the Zarankists in the Manu Government, and also of the Prime Minister himself, that this danger was obviated through their initiative. Through their having brought the Prince into the country and placing the great majority in Parliament at his disposal, every pretext for a Fascist Government fell to the ground, and Parliament as the National Assembly elected Prince Carol as King. This was not a compulsory election, rather did a delegation of the majority demand his election as King and not as a member of the Council of Regency, as Manu originally desired. The situation had already become unbearable, and a way out at any price was sought.

But in spite of this the cares were not banished. The King presumably declared at once that he wanted to govern in a constitutional manner, but Manu did not make it easy for him. By his rejecting the request for a Government, the possibility of the formation of a military Government

was created. In fact, Prezan, the former chief of the General Staff, was already entrusted with the formation of the Government. But his mission broke down, because he would have had to work with the existing Parliament, if only for a short time. Thus Manu was entrusted with the task for the second time, and this time he formed the Government. He refused the first time because he had difficulties in his Party, and thought that his authority was in danger.

The second Manu Government, however, is not the first. Presumably the danger of a military Government does not now exist, but the Manu Government will be very strongly militarized. For the first time a strong dynastic factor will be brought into the Government in Roumania also. The Government will keep within the laws, but these laws will by no means even be approximately democratic. In spite of this, this solution was the best possible, for it leaves the way clear for development, does not restrict propaganda and freedom of association, and is above all a civil Government.

The Social-Democrats made a declaration in Parliament that they had expressed their basic attitude in favor of a Republic at the last election for the Council of Regency, and that they regard the present proceedings as a change of persons, in which they are only interested to see that the modest beginnings of a democracy shall not be checked. They believe that they can expect a political amnesty to follow. But this must not allow any illusions to arise about the fact that a responsible time is being gained for the working class in Roumania, in which they will have to fight against the strengthening of the military cast and against an

increase in the military expenditure, but also against attempts to strengthen the capitalist forces, which will be represented by the newly-appointed Minister for Commerce alongside the Finance Minister. The new Minister for Commerce, who is known for having wanted to bring back the Prince alone two years ago, has been until now the President of the Federation of Industrialists and the Union of Chambers of Commerce.

No working class is spared the fight which is before us, and only in this fight does it become properly strengthened. A new epoch is beginning in Roumania, not because a change has taken place in the person of the King, but because this change has finally deprived the strong feudal Party of the Liberals of its special position and thereby cleared the way for capitalist development. The National Peasant Party is still petty-bourgeois, but those who are now coming to the surface are precisely the people who represent the tendency towards the capitalization of Roumania.

Declaration of the Social-Democrats

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUCHAREST.—Comrade Radacanu made the following declaration on behalf of the Social-Democratic Party in the debate in the Roumanian National Assembly on the laws under which Prince Carol was made King of Roumania:—

"The Social-Democratic Parliamentary group expressed its basic point of view at the meeting of the combined legislative bodies on the 9th of October, 1929. In view of the present events, the group now regards it as its duty to emphasize most

vigorously that, apart from all changes of persons in the Monarchist regime, the well-understood national and international interests of the country imperatively demand that all the conditions for democratic development be ensured, and developed in the rhythm of civilized Europe. Accordingly, the working class, whose interests are one with the great interests of the country, will continue to fight with all its strength for the final establishment of democracy as the only guarantee for the normal development of Roumania."

The point of view of the Social-Democrats was primarily determined by the consideration that the return of Carol certainly clears up a political question which has occupied the country more and more in recent months, but that it might have dangerous consequences for the hard-earned and maintained political liberties which have made perceptible progress on the part of the Social-Democratic Labor movement in the last 18 months. The fear that the re-establishment of Carol might be undertaken by a military "putsch," was, however, not realized, and would only have needed to be considered if the National Peasant Party had not supported the proclamation of Carol as King. This support was given, so that complications are not probable for the present, even if all danger cannot be described as ruled out for the future.

In this situation, and in view of the uncritical enthusiasm of public opinion, it was imperative to emphasize that the greatest necessity is to secure the possibilities for democratic development. This was done in the declaration given above.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

Fascist Spy Given Two Years in France; Frame-Up Collapses

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The trial in relation to the alleged terrorist plot of Italian anti-fascists living in Paris ended with honor to Alberto Cianca, the Italian journalist at whose house the explosives had been seized, and to the confusion and shame of Menapace, the agent provocateur, and of the Fascist Government who paid him. At the Seine Tribunal, on the 4th June, Cianca—while admitting having received the explosives from someone who wanted to get rid of them—denounced the role of the agent provocateur. Fascism, said Cianca, having the greatest interest in discrediting its democratic opponents in the eyes of public opinion, made itself the organizer of a real plot which was only a trap against the anti-Fascists. It was necessary to make it believed that the Anti-Fascists—particularly the less extreme—were preparing a whole series of plots in Belgium, Italy and Switzerland.

An anarchist called Bernierli fell into the trap in Belgium, and in France, Cianca was the victim in Paris—because of his generosity. But now, and on two occasions, the agent provocateur has been unmasked and condemned. At Brussels Menapace quite recently reaped six months' imprisonment. In Paris, the Seine Tribunal sentenced him to two years' imprisonment, while Alberto Cianca was only punished by three months' postponed imprisonment.

And the different measure of the two sentences is only the application of the request of the public prosecutor, who recognized Cianca as the "man of honor" that he is, and bestowed "all his scorn" upon Menapace. Only one witness was heard—the former Italian Foreign Minister, Count Sforza—who uttered a veritable indictment of the Fascist activities.

Yugoslavia Jails Two Young Socialist Leaders

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—Comrades Anton Schmidt and Peter Rojkovic, the Chairman and Secretary of the dissolved Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, were accused by the Public Prosecutor's Department in Sarajevo for not registering the Youth Federation, and for having carried on propaganda against the army and against social and political order in the State. The "crime" of these comrades was that they published a bulletin of the Federation in 1928, in which they included two contributions—a poem entitled "We are young Socialists," and a dialogue entitled "Two Crows," which were directed against war and the warlike education of young people, and against social injustice.

The two comrades were found guilty under the Law for the Protection of the State, and were both sentenced to one year's strict imprisonment and to loss of their civic rights for two years.

Torture of Prisoners in Lithuanian Prisons

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RIGA.—The Riga Socialist paper "Socialdemokrata" has published shocking reports on the ill-treatment of Musiluis, a Lithuanian political prisoner in the prison in Schaulen. Musiluis, who had fled to Latvia, was secretly handed over to the Lithuanian authorities by the Latvian reactionaries. The Lithuanian police attempted to find out from him who had helped him to fly to Latvia. In spite of the ill-treatment which he had to suffer, Musiluis remained firm and betrayed nobody. The protest raised by the Lithuanian Labor press succeeded in securing that Musiluis will not be handed over to the infamous court-martial, but will come before the ordinary district court of Schaulen.

I And My Job, Partner And I

(Continued from Page Four)

depletion, and reserves to take care of rainy days. In good times partner Labor buys flippers on the installment plan, and loses them in hard times on the American plan.

The rain of adversity falls on Capital and Labor alike. But partner Capital owning the partnership umbrella, walks in the dry, while partner Labor gets wet all over.

Some day a society that is truly social will elevate labor to the dignity of horses, mules, and machines by setting aside funds to take care of involuntary employment.

Some day, a really civilized civilization will bring about partnership between Capital and Labor that can not be dissolved the very moment partner Capital ceases to make profit out of partner Labor. And until that is done, all the pious phrases about the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and all the high-fluting talk about equality, sovereign voting kings, and free men, is so much bunk. What are brothers that will not bear each other's burdens? What are kings without kane, and free men without feed?

Oh well, it took mankind a thousand years to abolish involuntary servitude. So let's hope that in another thousand years, it will abolish compulsory vacations without pay. In the meantime, let's thank God for Coolidge when jobs are plenty, or God-damn a Hoover when jobs are scarce. The one is asinine as the other is imbecile, and both are human, for humanity has always praised some golden calf for blessings bestowed by lady luck, or blamed some hairy goat for bumps and butts earned by stupidity.

Existence would be intolerable if we were never to dream.—Anastole France.

The fatal man, he is not always the unthinking, the man who cannot think and see?—Carlyle.

No improvement in the condition of mankind is impossible if only the reason, the heart, have room and opportunity to do their appointed work.—Rev. High Price Hughes.

Misery of Mussolini Grandeur Is Exposed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

"Demonstrations" During Tour Were Organized—Dictator Fears for His Life

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—Particulars arriving from Italy have made it possible to get a clear view of the celebrated tour recently made by Mussolini in Tuscany and Milan.

It is easy to see that bluff and Bismarck-like advertisement counted for a great deal in the figures estimating the innumerable crowds—always filled with the "greatest enthusiasm"—who heard the speeches of the great man. It will suffice to say, in this connection, that many papers have printed that the Milan speech was applauded in the Place du Dome by 300,000 listeners, although, even if packed full, this square could not materially hold one-third, and perhaps not even one-quarter of this number.

Nevertheless there was never any lack of a crowd for the warlike words of Mussolini. But where did they come from? The correspondent of the Daily Herald in Florence has told us: Florence was seething with "black-shirts" collected from all corners of Tuscany and poured into the capital by trains which brought them free of charge. But we can give particulars: The special free trains exceeded a dozen in number on the day of Mussolini's speech in Florence. And the industrialists of the district had received circulars (published by the anti-fascist papers in Paris) giving the regulations for the suspension of work in the factories, and for sending "their" workers to Florence en masse. The list of special trains was given on the back of the circular. And it goes without saying that in Florence, as in Livorno and Milan, specially mobilized Fascist militia men surrounded the workers from each factory and brought them—always surrounded in a military manner—to show their enthusiasm for the words of the Great Chief.

Crowds Paid For

For the meeting in Florence alone, the expenses of conveyed and militarized enthusiasm are said to reach 20 million Lire!

But in spite of the conveyed and militarized enthusiasm the Fascist authorities were not able to dispense with really exceptional measures of safety. Between the Duke and the crowd there was always, either very close ranks of officers of the militia, or a space rigorously maintained by the lines of gendarmes and militia men. And the Duke very rarely arrived at the various places at the time and from the direction announced in advance. He nearly always arrived late, and from the direction from which he was not expected. And, as always, the Duke was not allowed to arrive at Milan by railway as far as the station. In or-

der not to expose the great man too much to the explosions of the real popular sentiment of the great industrial town that Milan is, it was thought well to have the "President's" train stopped at the little station at Stradella (about 100 kilometers from Milan) from which Mussolini went incognito to "his" Milan in the uncertain light of a misty dawn, in a very swift motor-car well guarded by a swarm of police.

One never knows. . . !

That is to say, one knows only too well that it is difficult to count upon the spontaneous enthusiasm of the Italians for the chief of Fascism. For there are rumblings of revolt in the Mid of Italy; and in the North there is worse than revolts: for the first of May had its faithful followers in many printing works in Milan (and very probably not only in Milan and on the eve of the first of May the people of Milan were able to see with their own eyes rapidly driven motor cars distributing thousands of leaflets inviting the workers to respect the day of international solidarity. And that is not all: at Livorno, on the very day of the arrival of the Duke, other leaflets which were not exactly Fascist, were posted up in hundreds.

Precautions Taken

This explains the precautions taken for the journeys of the Great Benito and the "preventive" arrests made in the towns which were to have the honor of a visit from him. Official communiques have admitted the fact of these "preventive" arrests, while attempting to reduce the number. A half lie in order to conceal the truth which we are in a position to establish. At Livorno the "preventive" arrests were so numerous that the prisons of the town were full and dozens of arrested persons were sent to neighboring towns—a free journey, even in this case! And in Milan, after the ordinary prisons had been filled, the persons arrested for "preventive" reasons were sent into the subterranean dungeons of the castle of the Sforzas in which some of the ceremonies of the official enthusiasm took place on the upper floors.

What revelations and what symbolism in this poignant truth! It is as good as any number of commentaries.

The Swiss Police Also Confiscates

Zurich.—The chief of police of Bellinzona, in the Swiss canton of Ticino, ordered the confiscation of the manifesto in memory of Matteotti issued by the Italian workers' colony, in the canton of Ticino. The same manifesto was distributed without hindrance in Lugano, Locarno and other places in the canton.

Argentine Releases Radical After 20 Years Of Imprisonment

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Buenos Aires.—In 1910 a man called S. Radowitzky, 19 years of age, was sentenced to imprisonment for life for an attempt on the life of Colonel Falcon, chief of police of Buenos Aires—the infamous persecutor of Socialist organizations, who was responsible for the bloody suppression of the May Day demonstration in 1909. The Argentine working class regarded Radowitzky as a martyr for their cause, and repeatedly attempted to secure his release.

Radowitzky has now been released by a pardon granted by President Irigoyen after 20 years' imprisonment—the last years of which were spent in the Argentine penal colony in Ushia on Tierra del Fuego. At the same time a deportation order was served upon him, with which he has already complied. Radowitzky has attempted to secure permission to enter the United States, where his parents live in Milwaukee. His pardon creates a precedent, and is principally to be attributed to the efforts of the trade unions and Labor organizations of numerous countries, extending over many years. The Mexican Trade Union Federation has been especially vigorous in its efforts for the release of Radowitzky.

INT'L DEMONSTRATION

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Berlin.—The Upper Rhine Socialist Federation, the joint organization of the working class movement in the regions of the Upper Rhine, organized a great demonstration in Mulhouse on the 1st June, which was attended by many thousands of German, French and Swiss men, women and young workers. After a great procession, speeches were made in the market place to a crowd of ten thousand by Wicki, Burgomaster of Mulhouse; Jacques Schmid (Switzerland); Melauri, for the Italian Anti-Fascist Concentration, Jean Longuet and S. Grumbach (France); Paul Loebe (Germany) and Schneider (Switzerland). The magnificent demonstration ended with the singing of the International and three cheers for the Labor and Socialist International.

Monster Labor Day At Louisville, Ky.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Louisville, Ky.—Tentative plans have been made by the joint lodges of the Big Railroad Brotherhoods known as the Labor Day Association of the Tri-State-Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee—to bring together on Labor Day the largest gathering of railroad brotherhood members ever held in Louisville. All railroads running into Louisville have agreed to grant special reductions in rates on that date and have so notified the Tri-State Association, of which J. L. Stark is Chairman.

The Chatter Box

Another Open Letter to Joseph Stalin

DEAR COMRADE YOSSEL,

Please pardon my apparent neglect. I haven't written you in the last four months . . . hoping against hope that Grover Whalen would bust up the whole show of the four and one half dozen "active comrades" with his secret documents.

But just as luck would have it, Jimmy Walker, executive secretary of the Tammany Soviet, gets peeved at Gardena Grover, and exiles him to Wansmaker-on-the-B. M. T. And worse luck yet, Jimmy appoints one Mulrooney right out of our own Cheka. This baby is just a plain, hard-boiled "guardavoy" who doesn't know the material conception from the immaculate, and Yaroslav sounds just like an insult to his ungeographic ears.

There have been sundry funerals of comrades fallen in the class struggle somewhere in Harlem, posters have been raised, "Down with This, That and Everything" flaunted on the monoxed air, and the "tens of thousands" stronging the walls. Truth is, Yossel, the tens of thousands up there in the black belt are crowding the sidewalks . . . but they're all in front of the radio stores listening in on Amos 'n' Andy . . .

But what hurts worse than the deuce is that Tovarish Whalen, the grandest publicity agent the C. P. of America ever had is doing window dressing in Astor Place at a hundred grand per annum . . . Mulrooney doesn't go in for front page stuff much, and even when the funeral procession had every bit of three hundred sweaty marchers there wasn't one cop on hand . . .

So the hundred thousand leaflets predicting the end of the system in these states were just so much trouble for the street cleaners and a hole in the treasury of the state.

Now I'm not passing on the lurid tale of how "the Cossack police shot down a class conscious worker in cold blood." There'll be much more of that anon, what with the economic system shivering a bit right now over general business depression, Wall Street smash-ups and the like.

And I suppose, when the political experts of Union Square sent in their exhaustive report of the subject, all the corresponding politico-magicians who buzz around the Third International and the editorial offices of the Pravda started to shake their wise heads and push their pretty pates . . .

And that was a swell piece on how to start the revolution here your paper got out last week. It sounded so easy, that I just resigned from the Socialist Party, subscribed to the Daily Worker, and went up to Camp Wolcolona to join the rest of the class conscious working class, who are there reeling up from last year's revolution. "Comrades," I cried, no sooner than I arrived at the dining pavilion, "Pravda has issued a call to us here to get on the job at once and prepare the American workers for the impending Red Dawn . . ."

Joe, I assure you I used my best English accent and my most effective forensic talent in saying all this . . . Maybe my English was too good, or my intonations too dramatic . . . But not a soul budged from the orchestrations of soup and protease cutlets . . . "Ah, there's deWitt, I'll bet he's telling another joke . . ." someone ventured from the kitchen . . .

Well, to be conclusive, Joe, I found out that night that none of them could sing "Black Eyes . . . occhi chary-ooo" with anything like the proper Yalta accent . . . and in the morning when I discovered that not one in the whole crew could hit a tennis ball more than once over the net . . . I just cancelled my subscription to the Daily Worker, re-applied to membership in the S. F., and took the shortest road back to the bourgeoisie . . .

Why I tell you all this is because, I have half-a-sneaking notion that the demonstrations of last May have been properly photographed and sent on to your propaganda boxes . . . and on the strength of those multitudes of ball and light fans leaning on for a free show of head busting and kid-cripping . . . you are asked to shell out some of the moujik's dough . . . Take the advice of a real pal, Yossel, keep the money right in Russia where it is needed for tractors, material, machinery and the like . . .

And now to be a bit personal . . . It just wasn't like you to get up there in the congress and play cat and mouse with Rykoff, Tomski and the other timid lads. I had an idea you'd either sock them on the button with a round house right as you did with Leon the Magnificent, or that you have set yourself so solid with the game that you could afford a little honest-to-goodness democracy . . .

The most pitiful tale that has come out of the Soviets since 1919 is that of these fine intellectual and hardworking leaders being set up before the howling mob, and actually forced to recant in ugly self-humiliation their inward convictions . . .

That isn't a pleasant mark against your work, Joe. Of course, you were goddamnedly tight about it . . . But humiliation is the weakest link in your chain of bondage over the whole business . . . Oppression, exile, prison and even death are rugged if unseemly in any bond of dictatorship. But when intellectual debasement, then there is no security left for either the oppressor or the oppressed.

Rykoff and Tomski mean very little in my young life . . . except that they are getting up as much as you for an ideal . . . And to turn your horde of cohorts onto these men in a sort of ferocious gesture . . . threatening them all the while that if they do not conform to the letter of your ukase . . . there'll be hell to pay . . . isn't just my idea on how to make a big thing out of the U. S. S. R.

I think it took a great deal of courage for men of that stamp to stand all that filth from your gang of howling yes-men. Like Trotsky, they are not afraid of exile. But unlike him they love the dream in which they are toiling, and even at the cost of self effacement, they have yielded self-respect and manhood to remain within the vast work that calls so greatly on their talents and abilities.

However, I intend to be neither hard on you nor even the delegates . . . It's a nerve-twisting and brain-battering job you folks have on hand over there. To skip a cycle in evolution and drag a nation of one hundred and forty million clods into the sunlight within two decades are unprecedented tasks. Suffering, injustice, and a great deal of brutality will be part of the price of this gigantic dream. I'm practical enough to understand that . . .

But all the more reason then to keep your energies hard to the work before you. Forget the rest of the world for a spell. All the storms of bluster and the blow-hardness of proclamations will avail little against the huddled figure of suffering humanity under capitalism. But let the sun of Russia's accomplished dream rise and pour down its warmth, and all the other nations shivering under the chill of capitalism will shed their illusory rags and come forth toward your example in universal surge.

Excuse the postscripting of the last few paragraphs . . . But I mean them just the same as I do my jiggling introduction . . . although one would hardly believe the same bimbo wrote the entire thing . . . But isn't that just like life . . . Fraternally as ever,
Your Chaaver,
S. A. de W.

MOLLY PICON — and Big Bill — at the Palace

The Stage

The Movies

Music

In New Play by the Satirists, a New Organization



Sibylla Bowhan is one reason why the new intimate revue "Who Cares" is catching the public fancy. Most of the numbers in this revue have already been tested at public and private Lambs Gambols. "Who Cares" is at the Channing 46th St. Theatre.

News Reel Theatre Presents Interesting, Varied Programs

Angkor Vat Temple, the world's greatest mystery buried in the dense tropical jungle of Cambodia, is the subject of a fascinating clip at the News Reel Theatre. These are the first tone pictures ever made of this amazing architectural masterpiece which has been described by archaeologists as the greatest undertaking by man since the laying of the cornerstone of the tower of Babel. It is bigger and more magnificent than St. Peter's in Rome and there isn't anything in New York City, famed for its architectural wonders, to compare with it—not even Al Smith's new Empire State Building will approach it in immensity.

Of local interest is the introduction

ON WEVD

(250.6 WEVD—New York City—1,300 KC)

SUNDAY, JULY 13
 8:00—9:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Chain Program.
 9:30—10:00—Jack, Tom, Dick and Harry.
 10:00—10:30—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia.
 10:30—11:00—Diets Black Diamonds.
 11:00—11:30—Real Estate Review.
 11:30—12:00—David's Time Signal.
 12:00—12:30—Stillwater Melodies.
 12:30—1:00—Jamaica Reed's Orchestra.
 1:00—1:30—Weissman's Entertainers.
 1:30—2:00—Weather Reports.
 2:00—2:30—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox.
 2:30—3:00—Judy's Ensemble.
 3:00—3:30—Midge Cavalliers.
 3:30—4:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 4:00—4:30—Tom McGovern, baritone.
 4:30—5:00—Cantor Isadore Schoen and company.
 5:00—5:30—Music and Discussion—David John Violin Quartette; Rev. Ethelred Brown, speaker.
MONDAY, JULY 14
 8:00—9:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Chain Program.
 9:30—10:00—Jack, Tom, Dick and Harry.
 10:00—10:30—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia.
 10:30—11:00—Symphony Singers.
 11:00—11:30—Marmola Program.
 11:30—12:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 12:00—12:30—"Art and Literature," Herendracht.
 12:30—1:00—Harlem Studio Program.
TUESDAY, JULY 15
 8:00—9:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Chain Program.
 9:30—10:00—Jack, Tom, Dick and Harry.
 10:00—10:30—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia.
 10:30—11:00—Symphony Singers.
 11:00—11:30—Marmola Program.
 11:30—12:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 12:00—12:30—"Art and Literature," Herendracht.
 12:30—1:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 1:00—1:30—Eulalia Brown, popular composer.
 1:30—2:00—"Art Review," R. L. Andrea.
 2:00—2:30—Weather Reports.
 2:30—3:00—Judy's Ensemble.
 3:00—3:30—"The Bug Weavers."
 3:30—4:00—Rev. David, Cory, "Mooney-Billings in Prison."
 4:00—4:30—Conference for Progressive Labor Action.
 4:30—5:00—Music.
 5:00—5:30—Jamaica Tabernacle.
 5:30—6:00—Jamaica Tabernacle Orchestra.
 6:00—6:30—H. B. Anderson, "Personal Liberty."
 6:30—7:00—Giuseppe and Giuseppina, La Puma Musicale, assisted by Arturo D'Amico, baritone; Glida D'Alcizio, soprano.
 7:00—7:30—Harlem Studio Program.
 7:30—8:00—Eulalia Brown and her Peter Pan Orchestra.
WEDNESDAY, JULY 16
 8:00—9:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Chain Program.
 9:30—10:00—Jack, Tom, Dick and Harry.
 10:00—10:30—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia.
 10:30—11:00—Symphony Singers.
 11:00—11:30—Marmola Program.
 11:30—12:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 12:00—12:30—"Art and Literature," Herendracht.
 12:30—1:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 1:00—1:30—Eulalia Brown, popular composer.
 1:30—2:00—"Art Review," R. L. Andrea.
 2:00—2:30—Weather Reports.
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 6:30—7:00—Giuseppe and Giuseppina, La Puma Musicale, assisted by Arturo D'Amico, baritone; Glida D'Alcizio, soprano.
 7:00—7:30—Harlem Studio Program.
 7:30—8:00—Eulalia Brown and her Peter Pan Orchestra.
THURSDAY, JULY 17
 8:00—9:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Chain Program.
 9:30—10:00—Jack, Tom, Dick and Harry.
 10:00—10:30—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia.
 10:30—11:00—Symphony Singers.
 11:00—11:30—Marmola Program.
 11:30—12:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 12:00—12:30—"Art and Literature," Herendracht.
 12:30—1:00—Harlem Studio Program.
 1:00—1:30—Eulalia Brown, popular composer.
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 7:00—7:30—Harlem Studio Program.
 7:30—8:00—Eulalia Brown and her Peter Pan Orchestra.

Molly Picon at the Palace—Strong Surrounding Bill

With the perfect cooling system in full operation and a distinguished list of favorite stars, the Palace as usual, is enjoying an unusually happy and successful Summer run. This week brings back after a year's absence, Molly Picon, who has been called "The Beatrice Lillie of the East Side." Popularly referred to as "Our Molly" over on the primal avenues, she also became "Our Molly" to Palace audiences during her engagement on Broadway last season. "The Yiddish 'Peter Pan,'" can charm many ways with all the art of the accomplished thespian. She has sung and danced, acted and cavorted her bright little self into the hearts of all her patrons of vaudeville as well as those of her own theatre. Miss Picon will present a cycle of new songs and character studies in English, written by the two men who have hitherto been responsible for so many of her musical successes. Jacob Kalich and Joseph Rumshinsky, the Viennese composer; Murray Rumshinsky will accompany her at the piano.

F. Ziegfeld's "Simple Simon" has already given us Ruth Etting and Bobbe Arnst, but still they come, this time it is Will and Gladys Ahern, with Brother Bill, who join the Broadway summer invasion of vaudeville through the Palace portals. Will Ahern, who all remember in "Good News," as well as "Simple Simon," has written a new act for himself and his sweet sister.

Other headlines on the big bill include the Diamond Boys, Hughie, Tom and Harold, Frank DeVoe offers a "Tidal Wave of Songs." A large ensemble will be presented by Anatole Friedlander, who introduces his latest production, "The Twentieth Century Revue."

Prohibition enforcement will be carried out in this district in a legal and orderly manner. It is not my policy to be sensational or spectacular but every effort will be expended to apprehend and convict the major violators of the law, such as manufacturers and wholesale distributors.

Sophie Tucker, in her best mood, makes her "talkie" debut on the eve of her departure for London, where she is a reigning stage favorite, with a humorous exposition of her rise and fall in poundage. "So fat, so good," says Sophie, who announces "par for a red hot mama is 185."

Very serious is the talk by V. J. Patel, Hindu leader, next in command to Gandhi in the revolt of India against British rule. Patel asks Americans to watch with interest and sympathy the struggle for Indian self-government and to use all their influence, no matter in what order it can be done, to see that India is set free.

Poutney Bigelow, just returned from a visit to ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, which he undertook in order to apologize for all the harsh things he had said about him during the war, says the former War Lord is an honorable, truthful and courageous gentleman who is perfectly willing to have his acts and words judged by a tribunal appointed by God or the world. He says the ex-Kaiser is willing "to stand or fall by the results."

Among the other interesting personalities presented at the News Reel Theatre this week are Amy Johnson, at Sydney, Australia, after her record-breaking solo flight; Gustaf, King of Sweden, 72 years old but still capable of a real snappy game of tennis; the Indian sage of Albuquerque, N. M., Pablo Albila, who doesn't think much of pale faces; Dr. Albert A. Michelson, famed physicist, in Pasadena, Cal., to measure light in a tube a mile long; Peter Arno, newest scorpion of human foibles, whose medium is caricature in black and white; and Billy Marsh, 11 year old author-publisher of the "Life of Hoover."

Naturally the foregoing are supplemented by Bobby Jones and the great reception accorded him by New Yorkers on his return from his conquering golf tour.

Looks Plenty Sweet to Us



Above is just one of the sweet poses in "Sweet Mama," which is now at the Strand Theatre. The Sweet Mama is none other than vivacious Alice White; and the gentleman she looks so sweetly at is David Manners.

Star of "The Dawn Patrol" at the Winter Garden



We have heard some interesting reports about "The Dawn Patrol" which is now playing an extended engagement at the Winter Garden Theatre. Richard Barthelmess, above is supported by a big cast including Doug, Fairbanks Jr. and Neil Hamilton. It is a thrilling story of fighting fliers.

"The Dawn Patrol," Picture Of the Air, With Specially Rebuilt War Scenes, First Time at the Winter Garden

Camouflaged airplane hangars—a row of Fokkers marked in black and white with the German cross—machine guns banked by sacks of sand—observation towers—trenches here and there zigzagging in a maze of barbed wire—

These are impressions of the German airbase used in "The Dawn Patrol," the first National Vitaphone production starring Richard Barthelmess, current at the Winter Garden Theatre.

Mechanics tinkering with motors, crippled wings being patched, machine guns being oiled, the hum of lofty planes and the roar of those landing—

Since the World War the air-plane has changed. It's a far cry from the wartime craft to Lindy's latest air-cruiser. A former ace stops short, looks at these old wrecks and wonders if he hasn't just awakened from a dream of progress, and isn't now back to reality.

Busy mechanics in fatigue caps and overalls, tinkering with little intricate steel things. How much tinkering those old planes must have needed!

One of them comes in, lands with a bounce as in the good old days, making the selfsame old sputter. And the very landscape looks like those glades of Picardy. The growl of guns greets the sunrise. It is time for observation planes and "sausage" balloons to be reporting the enemy's activity. There's an ominous feeling in the air; a general movement on the entire front is about to begin. Soon the Dawn Patrol will take off on a mission of death and destruction! Howard Hawks directed this air drama from the pen of John Monk Saunders. Richard Barthelmess plays the role of Capt. Courtney. R.A.F. squadron commander, while his support includes Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Neil Hamilton, and forty-six stunt flyers.

New Innovations at the Little Carnegie

Many patrons of Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th Street will be interested in an announcement of the management that seats are now reserved in that attractive cinema for those who care to smoke during the performance.

Extensive ventilating facilities have been provided, so the announcement states, to insure the inoffensiveness of this feature to those who do not indulge. Incidentally, Little Carnegie, with its comfortable air-cushion seats and attractive modernistic furnishings, is just as delightful a retreat as you can find anywhere these sultry summer days. It is equipped with a cooling system.

Harvey Officer to Deliver 8 Lectures on Eurythmics

Harvey Officer, composer, lecturer and member of the faculty of the Dalcroze Institute of Eurythmics, will resume his annual course of lectures before the musical colony at Rensselaerville, near Albany, this summer. Eight lecturers will be delivered from July 8 to Aug. 26, inclusive. The general subject will be: "Music and Eurythmics" and will cover rhythm, harmony, development of the orchestra.

A two-act folksong play, "On the Bridge at Avignon," by Susanah Myers, will be presented during the latter part of August. Mr. Officer has arranged the dances and staging, also the musical program. This will include a children's symphony, employing besides the orthodox background of piano, violin, drums and trumpets, two kazooes, sleighbells, triangle and sand blocks.

Guild's Saturday Night Prices to Be Same As on Week Nights

Although the action represents a departure from certain practices and traditions of the theatre, the Theatre Guild decided that the Saturday night admission prices for its production in New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia shall not be higher than on week-nights. Thus the \$3 scale which prevails for the Guild's productions will replace the customary \$3.85 which has been a standard Saturday night price in and out of New York. In brief, it means the abolition of any "titled" scale over the week-end.

The reasons for this are twofold: first, that any tickets selling for more than \$3 are assessed 10 per cent of their value as a war tax, which means that 35 cents of the \$3.85 went to the government. Thus the added revenue to the theatre was slight. The second, and most important reason, is that the Guild's extensive subscription lists are easier to handle if tickets for all nights are computed on the same basis.

This scale has been in effect on "Garrick Gaieties" since its opening and will be continued for productions made hereafter.

"Sweet Mama" With Alice White and Big Surrounding Program at the Strand

Thrills follow one another in rapid succession in "Sweet Mama," the current feature at Warner Bros. Strand Theatre. There is a drama of big city racketeers and their lady loves in which the "Sweet Mama" (Alice White) matches her smile and wits against gangsters' guns to save the life of her boy-friend, who is being "taken for a ride."

In the cast, in addition to Miss White, are David Manners, the young Lieutenant Raleigh of "Journey's End"; Kenneth Thomson, Rita Flynn, Lee Moran, Richard Cramer and Robert Elliott.

Also on the program at the Strand are the following Vitaphone Varieties: Ann Seymour, vaudeville and musical comedy headliner, in an original skit: "Evolution of the Dance," a Technicolor revue featuring Lupino Lane; "Yamekraw," a Rhapsody in Black, and "The Body Slam," with Eddie Lambert, Gene Iedoux and William Irving.

"Slums of Tokyo" Stays Second Week at 55th St.

"Slums of Tokyo" ("Yoshiwara") the first Japanese production to be shown in America, will be held over for a second week at the 55th Street Playhouse beginning Friday, July 11th.

Teinosuke Kinogasa who directed this film in the Schochiku studios of Tokyo, is a prominent director of Japan, having studied the German and Russian technique of film production in Moscow and Berlin in recent years.

"Yoshiwara" is the name applied to a sort of glorified amusement park. The chief characters of the film are a brother, in love with the queen of the park, and his sister, devoted to him and trying to shield him from the dangers he invites: a geisha girl and a policeman.

The cast is all-Japanese, headed by Tschihara, Bandoh, Ogawa and Sohma, all of whom are very popular with Japanese film audiences.

The same program also includes the first talking short-film in the Japanese language, "The Golden Kimono," produced by Paramount; Laurel and Hardy's talking comedy "Blotto"; the Disney Cartoon, "Springtime"; and the Japanese scenic "Cherry-Blooming in Japan."

"Mightiest War Drama Ever Seen"

—N. Y. American.
 "All Quiet ON THE Western Front"

A Universal Picture presented by Carl Laemmle—Directed by Lewis Milestone

"A notable achievement, sincere, earnest, vivid and graphic. Better than anything I've done."—Mortimer Hall, N. Y. Times.
 "Enormously compelling talking motion picture. As a show something to get definitely excited about."—Avery fine motion picture."—Howard Barnes, Herald Tribune.

CENTRAL THEATRE, Broadway and 47th Street.
 Twice Daily: 2:45-5:45
 3 Times Sat. — Sun.: 2:45-5:45-6:45

The Rivoli's New Tenant



It looks like something always happens when Women discuss Love. Robert Ames, Mary Astor and Ann Harding, pictured above, seem to take a fascinating interest in what looks like an absorbing discussion.

"Pamir," Record of Scientific Expedition, At 8th St. Playhouse

"Pamir," the first Russian-German film, a record of the Russian-German scientific expedition, which explored the unknown Pamir region at the boundaries of China and Afghanistan, will have its American premiere at the Eighth Street Playhouse commencing this Saturday, July 12.

Many travelers, including Sven Hedin have attempted to penetrate into this territory, but have been unable to pass the glaciers and rapid mountain streams. In 1913 Czar Nicholas forbade exploration into this territory.

This expedition was completely successful despite the fact that for more than a month they lived in an altitude of 15,000 feet, suffering from lack of oxygen and mountain sickness. They discovered the largest glacier in the world—the "Oshenko"; found many mountain peaks, discovered gold, copper and many other minerals. New forms of fauna were found and meteorological surveys were prepared. An exact map of this region was prepared for the first time.

The expedition finally climbed Mount Lenin, the highest peak in the U. S. S. R., 21,800 feet. On the same program will be shown a Mickey Mouse cartoon, a Harry Langdon comedy, Jules Elieco singing Negro Spirituals, Russian Chorus, and Fox Movie-tone News.



But just a racketeer's lady love.

"SWEET MAMA" At the Strand

The drama of a love that defied the law of the underworld. Warner Bros. NEW YORK
 REFRIGERATED — POPULAR PRICES
 COOL
CAPITOL
 Broadway and 51st Street
 Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
 MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30
NORMA SHEARER
 in
"Let Us Be Gay"
 Rachel Crother's stage hit with MARIE DRESSLER, Gilbert Emery, Rod La Rocque, Hedda Hopper.
 A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
HERMAN TIMBERG
 in sparkling sing song, with Barbara Blair, Chester Hale Girls, Capitolians, Bunchie, Hearst Metrophone News.
 Midnight Pictures Nightly, 11:30

ROXY
 7th AVE. and 50th ST.
 Pers. Direction of S. L. ROYAL (ROXY)
LAWRENCE TIBBETT
 in
"THE ROGUE SONG"
 A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer all talking production in Technicolor
 Catherine Dale Owen, Laurel & Hardy
 — ON THE STAGE —
HARRIET HOCTOR
 Production
 One of America's greatest dancing stars in elaborate ballet spectacle
"The Enchanted Lake"
 Dancing Ensemble of 25, Roxy Ballet Corps, The Roxyettes, Roxy Symphony Orchestra, Russian Cathedral Choir.
 MIDNIGHT PICTURES
 COOL . . . COMFORTABLE



The BIG House
 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's Cosmopolitan Production
 with CHESTER MORRIS, WALLACE BERRY, LEILA HYAMS, ROSE MONTGOMERY, LEWIS STONE, GEORGE F. MARION
 REFRIGERATED
ASTOR
 Broadway and 47th St.
 Twice Daily: 2:40-8:30
 Seats Selling in Advance
 All Seats Reserved

COOL
CAMEO
 42nd St. & 5th Ave.
 Unbelievable—Authentic—Thrilling
"At The Bottom Of The World"
 All Talk—All Sound record of the Coli-Larson American Museum of Natural History expeditions to the lower end of the world.
 Special Added Attraction
RUDDOLF VALENTINO
 "SON OF THE SHEIK"

NOW PLAYING
 American Premiere
 Motion Picture Record
 of the
 Russian-German Expedition to
PAMIR
 (Roof of the World)
 Showing the scaling of Mt. Lenin, highest peak in U. S. S. R.—21,800 feet.
 Expedition barred in 1913 by Czar.
8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE
 82 W. 8th STREET Spring 5095
 Dir. Joseph B. Freiler

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.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

NEW YORK

UNION DIRECTORY

National

PROPOSED REFERENDUM

The following proposed referendum is submitted for the consideration of the party branches:

By Local Oakland County, Mich. (Amendment to Art. I, Sec. 1, of the National Constitution).

That a conference be sent to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party requesting the submission to the various locals of the party for discussion and referendum of the question of changing the name of the party to the "Independent Labor Party."

Locals and Branches in seconding the above motion should send their second to the National Office of the Socialist Party and include information as to the number of good-standing members in the local or branch. The following constitution provisions govern the submission of referenda:

Art. XIV, Sec. 1 (a): Motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the Party shall be submitted by the Executive Secretary to a referendum vote of the membership upon the request of the local representing at least 20 per cent of the membership.

(b) The term "local" as herein used shall mean a local or branch of the party, but not a body composed of delegates from branches or locals. The term "membership" shall mean the entire membership of the local or branch as of the date of the referendum vote. If it has not then received the requisite number of second, it shall be abandoned. Closing date for second October 3, 1930.

Ohio

A Socialist local was organized in Toledo at a meeting in the Rot Club building Sunday afternoon. George Cole was designated as organizer, Leon Chosenbourn, secretary, and M. Plam, treasurer. The local group will make a campaign in the interest of the Socialist Party for the fall election. Sunday's meeting was addressed by Edward J. Goldstein, who is a graduate of the University of London, and who is making a national tour and Sidney Yellen, state secretary of the Socialist Party.

Michigan

The advisability of changing the name of the Socialist Party to "Independent Labor Party" was discussed at a meeting of the local in Detroit, Local June 27. It was decided to request the National Headquarters to submit the question to the party for discussion.

At an Oakland County convention held in Royal Oak county candidates were nominated and an active campaign is being planned. John Panzer of Hazel Park and Edward Bradshaw of Pontiac will be the Socialist candidates for the state legislature. William Healy is running for the school board in Hazel Park in a non-partisan election.

Edward J. Goldstein, on his way to California, spoke at three open air meetings in Detroit and forty persons gave their names to the party following an appeal to join the party.

Connecticut

Local New Haven will conduct several mass meetings on July 16th and 17th of this month. The principal speaker will be Lester Shuman, a member of the last graduating class of the New Haven University. The chief event of the three-day activity will be a mass meeting on the New Haven Green for the purpose of ac-

quainting Elm City citizens with the facts of the Mooney and Wills case.

New Jersey

The New Jersey State Committee meets Sunday, July 13, 2:30 p.m., at 105 Springfield Ave., Newark. The referendum vote on the state platform of the National and Congressional campaign closes on this date. All locals and branches are urged to report the vote of their organization to the committee in time to be tabulated for the meeting.

MOONEY MEETING

Local Essex County is making arrangements for a Mooney and Billings meeting at Military Park, Newark, on Saturday July 19. Henry Jager, candidate for United States Senator, and other prominent speakers will address the meeting.

State organizer Jager spent a week in Camden recently and met with very encouraging success. Street meetings were well attended and many new applications for membership were secured. Jager sees good prospects for the party everywhere in the state and expects to organize new branches in Camden, New Brunswick and Plainfield in an early date.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill again reminds delegates that hotel reservations may be made through him, as well as reservations for the Convention banquet on the evening of the 19th. Banquet tickets will be sent to delegates and prospective Convention visitors on receipt of the price of \$2.50 per plate. Address: Room 213-214, 467 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.

COMING EVENTS

Mooney-Billings Mass Meetings
Saturday, July 12, 8:00 P.M. Staten Island.

Saturday, July 12, 8:00 P.M., Long Island City.

Tuesday, July 15, 8:00 P.M., Academy Music Hall, Brooklyn.

Thursday, July 18, 8:00 P.M., Longwood & Prospect Aves., Bronx.

Thursday, July 17, 5:00 P.M., Union Square.

Saturday, July 19th and 20th, State Convention, Schenectady, N. Y.

Saturday, July 26, Annual Plenary, Union Square.

Delegates To State Convention

The balloting for the election of delegates to the State Convention is now complete. The Conveying Committee, William Hadd, Herman Siegel, Gottlieb Hoffman, Elias Thaw and August Claessens, has completed the tally in each of the five counties, Queens County, in Richmond County there was no contest and the three delegates were elected without opposition. These delegates are: Walter Dearing, Isidore Drogkin and Irvin Stenfeld.

Probably the largest group of members from the County of Cella met Tuesday evening for the July business meeting. We were glad to welcome new members and older members who have not been able to come to previous meetings. There was a short discussion of the anti-war movement, proposed in the Socialist Party. The discussion was led by Evelyn Hughes. Meetings are held on the Second Tuesday of every month. The New Leader, the official organ of the party, is published at the place of the next meeting. The Executive Committee meets Tuesday, July 23, at the residence of the Organizer, 218 West 10th Street. The party is at home Tuesday evenings for the transaction of branch business. The Speakers' Bureau meets every Thursday. Plans are being developed for the acquisition of a permanent headquarters, the organization of a Junior Socialist club, and the

preparation of fall campaign materials. An appeal for more workers is made.

BRONX COUNTY

A meeting will be held Tuesday, July 15, in the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, at 8:30 P.M.

A meeting will be held Thursday, July 17 at 8:30 P.M. in the Clockmakers' Union, 855 E. 18th St., New York. August Claessens has consented to lecture on "Hereditary vs. Environment."

KINGS COUNTY

A meeting will be held Friday, July 11, at 8:30 P.M., at 122 Pierpoint Street.

Williamsburg

Branch meetings are held every Monday in the headquarters, 167 Tompkins Avenue, at 8:30 P.M.

16th A.D. Branch 1

A meeting will be held Friday, July 11, in the home of Comrade Taubkin, 201-72nd Street, at 8:30 P.M.

18th A.D. Branch 1

Due to the week-end holiday, the membership attendance was not up to par and the installation of the new officers will take place at the following meeting. There will also be a discussion of the party program at the next meeting on the recent round-table discussion on "Racketeering" at Camp Tamiment under the auspices of the T. D. A. At the present meeting a discussion was held on general political possibilities, with Joe P. Viola leading the committee. The committee is actively engaged in preparing for the Automobile Outing, to be held August 3, place to be announced.

22nd A.D. Branch 3

The branch meets every Monday evening in the Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken Avenue. Street meetings are held every Wednesday and Saturday. Sutter Avenue has been changed from Friday to Saturday evening. These meetings will be held every week.

23rd A.D.

A well attended meeting was held last week at the residence of Celia Dearing. The T. D. A. at the present progress in raising money for the sustaining fund. The next meeting will be held on Monday, July 14, at 8:30 P.M. in the home of Comrade Viola. The committee is actively engaged in preparing for the "Independent Labor Party."

QUEENS COUNTY

The branch opened its Saturday evening out-door meetings on 47th Street and Greenpoint Avenue, on July 13, at 8:30 P.M. The speaker for Congressmen, was the speaker and Leonard B. Bright, chairman. A large crowd was attracted and much was said for the party. A Mooney-Billings protest meeting will be held on the same corner on Saturday evening, July 12th, at 8:00 P.M. The speakers will be Queens County speakers will attend.

Far Rockaway

A meeting will be held Friday, July 12, at 8:30 P.M., in the home of Comrade Taubkin, 201-72nd Street, at 8:30 P.M.

11, at 8:15 P.M., in the home of Comrades Friedman, 2422 Bayswater Ave. Far Rockaway.

Island

A Mooney-Billings protest meeting will be held in Island Saturday, July 12, at 8:00 P.M., at corner Richmond and Harrison Avenues, Fort Richmond. The speakers include Leonard C. Kaye, George Steinhardt, Sol Perrin, Walter Dearing.

Street Meetings

Friday, July 11, 8:30 P.M., Corner 12th St. and Lenox Ave. Speakers, Gaspere, Pore, Brown and Crosswalk.

Saturday, July 12, 8:30 P.M., Corner 13th St. and 7th Ave. Speakers, Smith, Brown, Pore, Gaspere, Crosswalk.

Tuesday, July 15, 8:30 P.M., Corner 14th St. and St. Nicholas Ave. Speakers, Gaspere, Pore, Brown and Crosswalk.

Wednesday, July 16, 8:30 P.M., Corner 12th St. and Lenox Ave. Speakers, Gaspere, Pore, Brown and Crosswalk.

Thursday, July 17, 8:30 P.M., Corner 14th St. and 7th Ave. Speakers, Smith, Brown and Crosswalk.

Friday, July 18, 8:30 P.M., Corner 13th St. and Lenox Ave. Speakers, Gaspere, Pore, Brown and Crosswalk.

Saturday, July 19, 8:30 P.M., Corner 14th St. and 7th Ave. Speakers, Smith, Brown, Gaspere, Pore and Crosswalk.

Sunday, July 20, 8:30 P.M., Corner 15th St. and 7th Ave. Speakers, Smith, Brown, Gaspere, Pore and Crosswalk.

Tuesday, July 23, 8:30 P.M., Corner 17th and Walton Ave. Speakers, Sol Perrin, Dr. A. Mollin, Louis Weil, and others.

Wednesday, July 24, 8:30 P.M., Corner Prospect and Lenoxwood Avenues. These meetings will be held every week.

Thursday, July 25, 8:30 P.M., Corner 18th St. and Daly Ave. Speaker, Irving Knobloch, Winston Danis.

Friday, July 26, 8:30 P.M., Corner 18th St. and Lenoxwood Avenues. Speakers, David Kaplan and Henry Fruchter.

Saturday, July 27, 8:30 P.M., Corner 19th St. and Washington Ave. Speakers, Saltzman, chairman; Dr. Louis Hendin, Louis Weil.

Sunday, July 28, 8:30 P.M., Corner Pennsylvania and Sutter Aves. Speakers, Theodore Shapiro, Wm. Plippen, Chas. Schoushan, M. Chan-sky.

Friday, July 31, 8:30 P.M., Corner Bristol and Pitkin Avenues. Speaker to be announced.

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ACTORS' UNION

Office 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Orchard 1923
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

BONNAR EMBROIDERS UNION

Local 14, 14 W. G. W. U., 7 E. 15th St. Algonquin 3657-8. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 14 E. 15th St., New York. President, Leon Jattah, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Bureau, 949 Williamsburg Ave. Phone Stags 4821. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Plam, Pres. Sec'y: Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Stett, Bus Agent; William Weinger, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Rec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Office and headquarters, 123 E. 12th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 6 p.m.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N. A. 175 E. B'way Orchard 7766. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY Secretary Business Agents

CAPMAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 133 Second

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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 12, 1930

Magistrates Courts

HARDLY a week passes that does not turn up some Tammany creature whose hands are reeking with loot. We feel like paraphrasing that old ditty: "Count that day lost whose low descending sun does not witness some Tammany grafter undone." Moreover, the magistrate courts have heaved more of these creatures into the limelight than any other department of the city government.

What is revealed regarding Magistrate Ewald is, we surmise, more or less true of the magistrates courts. That is, the "pull" which individuals, many of them party heelers, have with the courts when "friends" are brought before these august bodies on charges. A letter or a telephone and the matter is "fixed." Naturally, the man who is opposed to Tammany, who has no "pull," is "socked" by the noble magistrate. This transforms the courts into a gaming table where citizens are made chips in the game.

Ewald is also indicted with five others for fraud in a mining project in which, it is said, \$400,000 was lost in sales of Cotter Butte stock. It is reported that the company has no assets. One curious deal is said to have been transacted in Ewald's chambers.

Whatever further investigation or even prosecution may reveal every intelligent person in New York City knows that a magistrate's court is the last place an honest person will go to for justice. With few honorable exceptions these courts resemble a low dive. The "fixer" is always present, often a Tammany office holder. The smug braggadocio of the parasite heelers in these courts, the confident smirk of the "fixer" as he swaggers about the room, are all too obvious evidence of the prostitution of the courts. The workers in general, except those who serve this dirty thing, are the most acute sufferers.

Respect for this gang? We would as soon pay homage to the prowlers who get their living with a gat.

"Rugged Individualism"

A RECENT broadcast by Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, was quite frank in the assertion that the flexible provision of the tariff is intended as aid to changing business. What we do not understand is the frequent assertion of these gentlemen that in such matters they also legislate for "all the people." Most of us are not in business. Those who are will appreciate the help they get from their agents in Washington. Whether the rest of us appreciate the boloney about "all the people" will depend upon our understanding of our own interests.

It may be said that if business declines the rest of us will suffer. The answer is that when business is brisk workers often suffer from wage reductions, excessive strain at their jobs, and increasing subjection to the feudal control of those who own the business enterprises. It is just as logical to say that when slave owners prospered the slaves also prospered as to say that when a government legislates for the owners of capital it also represents "all the people."

The fact is that the new invention in tariff legislation which makes the President change rates as he gets signals from groups of capitalists is about the most glaring exhibition of class domination that we have in modern times. We remember that Cal Coolidge upon getting a distress signal from some pig iron cronies in Pittsburgh immediately adjusted the schedules to suit these gentlemen. Meantime the workers in this iron and steel province are held in feudal bondage by spies, intimidation, special police, and the rule that a union will not be tolerated. When Cal gave the Pittsburgh capitalists their plum we are to assume that "all the people" also got theirs.

How are we to reconcile this tender nursing of these fat interests by government power with the theory of "rugged individualism?"

Hiram of California

ONE outstanding phase of the Mooney-Billings case is its political implications. If there ever was a case where the evidence of a "frame up" was complete it is here. Absolutely nothing is left of the evidence and testimony that sent the two men to prison yet they are unable to obtain release. Their enemies and the enemies of the labor movement are in power and they have kept the men jailed.

In politics the unions of California have endeavored to obtain justice for the two men through nonpartisan action. Certainly no more effective test has been made of this form of action and it has completely broken down. With the clearest case imaginable the unions have been frustrated year after year and now the most painful blow has been struck by the supreme court of the state itself. Had the unions in the past thirteen years been building an independent political power their own party by this time might so threaten the rule of reaction that out of fear alone justice would be done to Mooney and Billings.

In this connection we cannot avoid reference to Senator Johnson of California. He was one of Roosevelt's "Army of the Lord" in 1912, the typical "progressive" in politics. A powerful figure in the state in all these tragic years, Johnson has said nothing and done nothing in behalf of the imprisoned men. He will wear a passion to tatters on other matters and at the present moment is playing the demagogue on the naval treaty. Such politicians are simply respectable flags which conceal as foul abuses as the pirate banners of the most conservative politicians conceal. Of the two we prefer the frank reactionary. The latter maintains a high ethical code in comparison with the Johnsons and their kind.

Capitalism

A SURVEY made by the Department of Commerce shows that the industrial depression affects many nations all over the world. Moreover, as tidewater backs up into inland streams so the sick capitalist system has affected even smaller nations that have scarcely entered the modern phase of the factory and machine system of production. Most of the little Latin-American nations are contaminated by the disease that afflicts the big capitalist countries.

Historians a few hundred years hence who write of the present period will record the absurdities of modern capitalism. They will probably wonder why the masses put up with it at all. It has gestated enormous productive powers only to bring misery to millions. To keep the thing going it requires the free flow of commodities and yet its agents in power build huge barriers in tariff walls as a means of helping the circulation of these commodities!

At the same time it is evident that we do not produce in excess of our wants and yet when we consult the folklore of the politicians we are often told that we face "overproduction." The breadlines do not teach these numbskulls anything. Then there is certainly no overproduction for bankers, capitalists, and corporation magnates whose enjoyment of material needs and luxuries surpasses that of any ruling class in all history.

The whole order of capitalism is shot full of such absurdities. It simply does not work. When it does muddle along fairly well its worshippers sing anthems in its praise. Then comes the collapse and a mournful dirge.

Socialist reorganization of the whole crazy thing cannot begin too soon.

To Thomas Mooney

YOU have discovered in the depths of pain where freedom reigns,
From prison's darkness you can see where light begins, where truth obtains;
What man can do to man from fear's base urge, or gain's command,
What shallow loyalties men keep alive, you well can understand.

Your will to conquer your blind fate awakes the legion dead,
Who in your footsteps firmly pace with life's avenging tread,
If night or death should claim your hope before the victory is won,
Your loathsome prison cell will be the fruitful kingdom of the sun.

Will on and on and on, 'til misery and splendour both are one,
'Til your brave heart has ceased to beat, and your life's work is done;
When justice rises on the earth, and joyful peace with olive crown,
Your pulse will throb with timeless rhythm for all comrades who after come.

RAYMOND WHEELER.

IN A NUTSHELL

Secretary Lamont heaves a sigh of relief as he assumes that there are only about three million men out of work. This is the kind of relief that jobless workers always get from capitalist politicians.

The wealth of the land
Comes from the forge and the smithy and mine;
From hammer and chisel, and wheel and band,
And the thinking brain and the skillful hand.—
Dr. Walter Smith.

We hope that the tariff on coffins has not been made too high by the politicians at Washington as the low cost of dying will be part compensation for skinning us while alive.

Dwight Morrow is now being spoken of as a possible Republican candidate for President. Now if the Democrats will select the Crown Prince of the Oil Dynasty for their candidate everything will be lovely.

We need not prepare to resist anything by force of arms. Violence will only end in the starvation of workingmen's families, leaving every problem unsolved.—J. R. Clynes.

Southern Womanhood For Sale

OVER the signature of the Birmingham Industrial Board, whose slogan is "For the Industrial Development of the Birmingham District," there has been issued a folder entitled "A New Reservoir of Woman Labor—Birmingham, Alabama." Inasmuch as the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor's special organizing campaign in the backward South has been located in Birmingham, a copy of this document has found its way to President Green. The Industrial Board, it appears, has placed on the industrial auction block some 73,000 white women and girls in that region.

"There are 73,124 white females in the district, 10 years of age or over, without any employment," is the brutally frank way in which the situation is presented. "Although Birmingham's white population is primarily industrial, very few of the white women are employed at all. Of these few employed white women, a negligible number are engaged in industry."

So anxious is the Industrial Board that this reservoir of women and child labor shall not remain unused, that it has made a survey of the population and its economic and domestic condition. It presents a table showing that, whereas New Bedford and Fall River are blessed by the employment of 42.8% and 41.5% respectively, of their white women, Birmingham stands at the foot of a list of 17 cities with only 18.2% of its white women and girls going regularly to work for a boss. Even Reading has 30.7%, Worcester 28.9%, St. Louis 28.7% and Memphis 23.3% on the job. Negro women monopolize the domestic service industry in Birmingham. That brings Birmingham up to 8th place in the list, insofar as employment of Negro women and girls is concerned. The Industrial Board wants white supremacy in job-hunting for outside bosses to furnish the jobs.

If Southern white women and girls are too proud to work in mills, they should get over it, is the Board's argument: "A certain resistance to the general employment of women may arise from the following causes—First, prejudice of a certain portion of men against having their women work, especially industrially; and secondly, prejudice among the women themselves against the idea of factory employment. Economic conditions, and necessities, will undoubtedly serve largely to overcome the first, and education, showing that not all industrial employment is of low grade, should break down the second."

But the real confession of pride in Birmingham's lure to bosses is contained in the report on wages: "The wage scale necessary to attract these unemployed women is far lower than that existent in centers specializing in woman labor." Thus, cotton mill operatives get \$10 to \$12 a week; packers of food products get \$8 to \$10 a week; bakery workers get \$4 to \$8 a week, and candy workers \$4 to \$8 a week. In short—"Should the professional and clerical classes be eliminated, the average pay for women, per week, would not exceed \$10."

Inquiry as to the basic facts was made through the cooperation of 10 big plants in Birmingham which are heavy employers of white male labor. This circumstance explains the reference to the sure way to break down the prejudice of white men against sending their wives and daughters into the mills—"economic conditions and necessities will undoubtedly serve largely to overcome" this resistance. The employers of the white men can cut wages, thereby driving the white women into the hands of the bosses, as soon as jobs are ready at cut rates for "white females 10 years of age or up."

No danger of early agitation or strikes, either, the Board is confident. "The white women of the Birmingham district are nearly all native born, a desirable class of labor." They live at home. The employer of female labor who locates at Birmingham will have no problems of housing. . . . These women at present lack a proper opportunity for industrial employment. They could be employed at reasonable rates."

In The Labor Press

ADOPT DEFINITE POLITICAL POLICY

Isn't it about time that a national labor party were set in motion so as to eliminate the necessity of the president of the American Federation of Labor appearing before the Senate committee on labor and urge that something be done to relieve the unemployment situation? The American Federation of Labor political policy of a labor party and electing men to public office to whom you will not have to go and beg to get a hearing on problems similar to the unemployment situation that is now facing the country.

The Independent (Hibbing, Minn.).

A humble slave I despise; a rebellious slave I respect.—Wendell Phillips.

Jimmie Higgins

National Office Contest Recalls Part Worker Ben Hanford Immortalized

By BEN HANFORD

A COMRADE who shall be called Jimmie Higgins because that is not his name, and who shall be styled a painter for the very good reason that he is not a painter, has perhaps had a greater influence in keeping me keyed up to my work in the labor movement than any other person.

Jimmie Higgins is neither broad-shouldered nor thick-chested. He is neither pretty nor strong. A little, thin, weak, pale-faced chap. A poor dyspeptic, asthmatic epileptic. But he is strong enough to support a mother with equal disabilities. Strong enough to put in ten years of unrecognized and unexcelled service to the cause of Socialism.

What did he do? Everything. He has made more Socialist speeches than any man in America. Not that he did the talking; but he carried the platform on his bent shoulders when the platform committee failed to be on hand.

Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for "the speaker." That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting.

Previously he had informed his branch as to "the best corner" in the district for drawing a crowd. Then he distributed leaflets at the meeting, and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters, and got subscribers for Socialist papers.

The next day the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another. When he had a job, which was none too often, for Jimmie was not an extra good workman and was always the first to be laid off, he would

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its recent sessions in Connecticut decided to arrange a contest among members of the party and also of the Young People's Socialist League to determine who is the best "Jimmie Higgins" worker for Socialism. Many of the present generation of Socialists know little of Ben Hanford, author of "Jimmie Higgins," or have read his famous little essay in which he depicted the character of "Jimmie" who has become a synonym for the inconspicuous and tireless worker for the Cause. We are here reprinting this notable little Socialist classic. Later we shall give something of the life of Hanford himself, a Socialist whose career was that of a "Jimmie Higgins" in his particular field of work in his union and in the Socialist Party.



Ben Hanford

distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour or take a run down to the gate of some factory and give out Socialist leaflets to the employees who came out to lunch.

What did he do? Jimmie Higgins did everything, anything. Whatever was to be done, THAT was Jimmie's job.

First to do his own work; then the work of those who had become wearied or negligent. Jimmie Higgins couldn't sing, nor dance, nor tell a story—but he could DO the thing to be done.

Be you, reader, ever so great, you nor any other shall ever do more than that. Jimmie Higgins had no riches, but out of his poverty he always gave something, his all; be you, reader, ever so wealthy and likewise generous, you shall never give more than that.

Jimmie Higgins never had a front seat on the platform; he never knew the tonic of applause nor the inspiration of opposition, he never was seen in the foreground of the picture.

But he had erected the platform and painted the picture; through his hard, disagreeable and thankless toil it had come to pass that liberty was brewing and things were doing.

Jimmie Higgins. How shall we pay, how reward this man? What gold, what laurels shall be his?

There's just one way, reader, that you and I can "make good" with Jimmie Higgins and the likes of him. That way is to be like him.

Take a fresh start and never let go. Think how great his work, and he has so little to do with. How little ours in proportion to our strength.

I know some grand men and women in the Socialist movement. But in high self-sacrifice, in matchless fidelity to truth, I shall never meet a greater man than Jimmie Higgins.

And many a branch has one of him. And may they have more of him.

Unemployment Insurance; Who Shall Pay?

By Nathan Fine

THE state convention of the Socialist Party will meet on July 19-20, 1930, at Schenectady. Its prime tasks will be to nominate candidates and adopt a platform for the coming campaign. One of the most important planks in that document will undoubtedly be the demand for unemployment insurance. Two of the mooted points involved in such a proposal are: (1) who shall contribute to the unemployment insurance fund, and (2) how large shall the benefits be and how shall they be fixed. The following brief statement is presented in an objective manner. My own position has been given in the July, 1930, number of Labor Age.

There are four sources of contributions: the federal government, the state government, the employer and the employee. The possibilities are: (1) the government, regardless of its form, should pay it all; (2) the employer should alone contribute; (3) the government and the employer should do all the paying; (4) the employer and the employee should foot the bill; and (5) the government, the employer, and the employee should all contribute. What is the practice abroad, where unemployment systems, whether on a compulsory or voluntary basis, exist?

In Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Poland, Austria, Irish Free State, Queensland, Australia, and Soviet Russia, there are state compulsory unemployment insurance systems. With the exception of Italy, where the workers and employers alone contribute, and Soviet Russia, where the employer (the state) bears the whole cost, in all the other countries there are tripartite arrangements, the government, the employers, and the employees all contribute. In Germany the government gives emergency allowances, besides additional sums for public works, while the employers and workers contribute a maximum of 1½ per cent. of wages each. In the other countries the government adds to anywhere from 16 per cent. up to one-half of the total contributions. Under the voluntary systems the government contributes to trade unions or insurance societies or funds from 20 to 100 per cent. in normal times, up to 200 per cent. in exceptional circumstances, of the total amount of benefits paid out. Thus in all countries, with the exception of Italy, the government contributes; in all, with the exception of Soviet Russia, the workers contribute; and in all, without exception, the employers contribute.

Prior to 1921 the only plan suggested in this country was the tripartite arrangement. In that year Professor John R. Commons came out for a plan in which the employer alone contributed. His argument was that the employer could control unemployment, that the rates fixed would offer him a financial incentive to do so, and that knowledge that the employer must pay for his own unemployed would

cause the banker to check the former in periods of inflation. The Wisconsin professor has been answered that cyclical unemployment is almost entirely outside the control of the individual employer; that seasonal shifts may also be; and that regularization of employment in the individual plant leads to unemployment, because fewer workers are taken on in rush seasons. It has also been stated that the benefits under this arrangement would be lower than if all three parties contributed—the government, the employer, and the worker—and that employers in sick industries or during depression seasons cannot foot the bill; and it has also been denied that the financial incentive will mean much in practice in reducing unemployment, as the experience of Great Britain has shown. There are more fundamental considerations, it has been pointed out, than the unemployment insurance rate, which determine the employer in the conduct of his business, and the hiring and firing of workers.

No bill that has been introduced in any state legislature carried the provision that the government alone should bear the whole cost. It has been urged, however, that unemployment is a product of capitalism. Not the individual employer, who may or may not be able to provide work or a decent out-of-work benefit, but the entire capitalist class, therefore, should be held strictly accountable for the livelihood of the worker. Hence, it is declared, the state must step in and provide either a decent income to the unemployed, or put them at productive work with prevailing wages. The necessary funds should be raised by taxing the higher income groups. Against this plan it is argued that the benefits will be very low and that the scheme may degenerate into a form of poor relief; that it is not insurance, therefore; that the raising of the necessary funds in normal and abnormal times will involve long, drawn-out struggles; that the administration of the plan will tend to be more one-sided, partisan, and graft-ridden than under a system where the worker and the employer alone contribute; and finally, that the advocacy of the plan will help to retard the progress of unemployment and other forms of social insurance.

For the tripartite arrangement, it is argued that this practice prevails everywhere; that it is insurance; that it gives the worker a stake in the scheme; that it provides larger benefits; that it is flexible, inasmuch as preferential rates may be fixed for certain employers and industries; and lastly, that it seems fairer to the average voter and wage worker, above a certain minimum level of existence. The arguments for the two other methods are urged against the tripartite arrangement; it is pointed out that many workers cannot afford to pay; that federal action is unlikely and when a work-er moves out of the state he loses

the advantage of the contributions of the government and the employer; and that it is complicated in practice. Let the employer alone pay or the government, and you have a simple method, it is claimed.

There are certain advantages to unemployment insurance, however the contributions come in. Obviously the moneys disbursed are the most important of these. These benefits ought to be large enough to keep the unemployed on a level not too far below the one they are accustomed to when at work, and yet not so attractive as to keep men from looking for jobs. For those above a certain minimum, it is urged that 40 per cent. of regular wages be paid, for as long as necessary. And those for whom no jobs can be secured should be retrained and relocated in industry at the expense of the insurance organization or government. In periods of prolonged depression the state and federal governments will have to add considerable sums, whatever the contributory system, because few if any insurance plans are likely to be able to stand the strain. Finally, it is proposed that rates of contributions be on a percentage and not a uniform flat basis, so as to make the burden lightest on those least able to bear it. In other words, those earning more, pay less. The poorest paid might also receive a larger percentage of their wages in benefits.

Eighty Austrian Socialists To Arrive Here On July 28th

Austrian Socialists to the number of eighty will arrive in New York on Monday, July 28, and German Socialists are preparing to make their arrival the occasion of a big celebration in which a number of organizations and institutions will participate. These will be representative of the general Socialist movement.

The organizations arranging the program include the Arbeiter-Sängerbund (Labor Singing Society), the Arbeiter-Turnbund Sportbund (German Gymnastics and Sport Alliance), the Naturfreunde, the New Yorker Volkszeitung, and the German branch of the Socialist Party.

For the first time in ten years it has been possible to get all German labor organizations together in support of a common enterprise. A fine program is being arranged for a reception to be held in Finnish Hall, Fifth Avenue and 127th Street.

The Austrian Socialists will arrive on the steamer Hamburg on the date mentioned and the reception will be held that evening. Socialists interested in this affair are urged to reserve July 28 for the reception. Tickets at 25 cents are available at the office of the Socialist Party in the Rand School. The income will be contributed to the Austrian Socialist Children's Welfare Society.

The Mob And the Individual

By BEN BLUMENBERG

TO those who refuse to be stampeded by passing fads and crazes, King Mob, (by Frank Notch Harcourt Brace \$2.00), comes as a calm, reasoned vindication of their independence of judgment and behavior. In a society which extols the ideals of bally-hoo advertising and salesmanship, in which there is a constant rush towards the spot light, the ideas of the herd dominate; the individual has no place.

King Mob is not the work of a mere wise-cracking journalist intent upon satirizing the stupidities of the crowd. On the contrary, it is a philosophical exposition of babbler in all its manifestations and a plea for the spiritual and intellectual freedom of the individual. "Ours is the most fascinating age in history," says the author. "No other age seems to have offered to the thinking man as much spiritual excitement as our own. But this aspect of our age is not representative of the spirit of the age; it is in profound contradiction to the general dynamic character of the time." Indeed, the author is inclined to believe with Spengler that Western culture has completed its life span and that petrification has set in. The machines gave birth to the mob, the mob to mob culture. Leaders like Henry Ford, "a typical specimen of the anti-cultural American," extol mass production because it will bring more leisure for the masses, so that there can be more "culture" to increase production so that there may be more culture and so on without end.

King Mob is a terrific arraignment of the panicking of the mass of people by means of high pressure salesmanship. Some of the most telling blows are in the chapters devoted to book merchandizing, book clubs and short cuts to culture via the fifteen-minutes-a-day route. "It is impossible," says Mr. Notch, "to think without horror of the millions of children being brought up in homes raised to new levels by the etiquette books. Among these children there must be many who, if properly neglected by their parents, would attain some distinction of character and bearing." A particularly provocative chapter deals with the course of the rationalist mob, and its striking contradiction in Russia with the deification of Lenin.

None know so well the antagonism between the mob and the individual as those who have spent years in radical movements. None are more aware of the forms that mob insanity takes than those who formed the tiny minority during the war years. The intellectuals were the most vicious members of the mob. "They had more to be beastly with," says the author of King Mob.

Mr. Viereck's Confession

By LAURENCE ROGIN

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK who in the period before the United States entered the war was on the German General Staff for propaganda in the United States, has attempted what his publisher calls "the true story of the part played by propaganda in the United States during the World War and afterwards." The attempt (Spreading Germs of Hate by George Sylvester Viereck, Horace Liveright \$3.00) is not too successful. The main section of original material in the book is that dealing with the German propaganda methods which appeared as a series of articles in the Saturday Evening Post. Otherwise the book adds very little to the already published material. It does however assemble a good deal of that for the benefit of those who cannot find the time to read the other books, such as the one by Arthur Ponsonby.

Unfortunately, Mr. Viereck's style is not as clear and concise as this type of book should have. He is quite vain about the part he played in the struggle and does not let the reader miss him a minute. He is also given to innumerable half statements such as for example the following: "One of the points demanded (of Mr. Harding by the German-American Citizens League) was a pardon for Mr. Debs. Mr. Debs was released shortly after the inauguration of President Harding."

The inference is obvious. Yet how untrue.

However the book does show to some extent how the public mind is made up. And Mr. Viereck, who has aided in the job, gives us a panacea. Education is not enough. However, common sense will come to our rescue. Sales resistance must be built up. Propaganda must be brought out into the open and exposed. The author forgets that "common sense" may be made up of a collection of stereotypes and prejudices; that a great deal of the time propaganda only convinces us of what we want to believe and that what he suggests is only another form of education. For obviously education is the only antidote for propaganda in the bad sense, the sense in which Mr. Viereck uses it. With the spread of education those stereotypes and prejudices upon which the propagandist bases his material and which make possible belief in so much falsehood must be gotten rid of.