

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Tragic Plight of the Farmers—Elements of A Constructive Agricultural Program—The Deserved Defeat of General Jadin—The Indian Scene

NEW LEADER

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WHEAT, AND THE FARMER'S PLIGHT

THE greatest tragedy in America is unemployment. That is a tragedy second only to war. But very close to unemployment comes the plight of the farmers. Wheat continues on the down grade and is selling in Kansas producing centers from 10 to 20 cents below the cost of production and about fifty cents below last year's price at this same time. Think what it means to put in the labor of the wheat farmer, to watch for the miracle of growth, to hazard one's toil against drought or other natural misfortunes, to win against natural hazard, to see the fields grow first green and then golden, then ripe with food for the hungry, only to find that for all this work the market pays less than the cost of production. No wonder the farmers are bitter and angry. No wonder they listen impatiently to advice to curtail their acreage as the only cure.

Now I am inclined to think that probably the world production for wheat is running ahead of effective world demand for wheat. I do not believe the trouble is temporary or that it will be helped if the Government Farm Board will buy grain at an artificial price to hold off the market. (If Congress had authorized the purchase of grain to relieve the Chinese famine that would have been a different matter.) To buy and hold is simply to postpone the evil day.

Neither do I believe in making food permanently high by the artificial device of debentures even though the farmer may be as much entitled to debentures as Andy Mellon is to a tariff. I should rather see a straight subsidy to the farmers this year to meet an emergency than the introduction of an unsound economic policy.

But it is both cruel and stupid to emulate Hoover and his Farm Board and say that nothing more can be done except by an agreement of farmers from the Atlantic to the Pacific to restrict wheat acreage. I should like to discuss some elements of a constructive farm program, acknowledging my debt to various correspondents for certain of these suggestions.

1. All possible costs of transportation which increase the spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays should be reduced. Certainly wages cannot be reduced. Some of them should be raised. A scientific merger or mergers of railroads, owned by the Government and administered by representatives of the workers and the public could reduce the costs of capital and the wastes of the profit system. The economies of internal water ways, owned and operated by the Government also should be carefully examined.

2. The profits and the wastes of competitive middlemen should be eliminated. This means the further encouraging of cooperatives. I think it will also mean that flour mills and bakeries must be owned and operated socially either by cooperatives or the Government. Even more than flour mills I think the big bakers are villains in the plot. They are strong enough to establish a buyers' market and get preferential terms over housewives and small bakers. Mr. McKelvie, of the Farm Board, is right that they do not pass along with any rapidity, if at all, reductions in the price of wheat and flour to the city buyers of bread.

3. There should be better and more direct educational service to farmers on crop rotation, possible crops to substitute for wheat, the condition of the world wheat market, etc.

4. To help reduce wheat acreage the Government might buy from farmers land which could be more satisfactorily used for forests than for grain. In time a proper policy for national reforestation would pay in dollars and cents.

5. The tariff which has been raised should have been lowered in the interest of world trade for the farmers.

6. Undoubtedly the farmer pays today an unfair share of the taxes. He is partly to blame himself for speculating in land values and for a system in which land values are out of all proportion to the productive worth of the land. It is a system under which the farming increases, under which each generation has to pay over again for its land, tenant farming increases and the lot of tenant farmers is peculiarly bad. The principle that the rental value of land belongs to society applies to farm as to city lands but owing to the chaotic condition of farm values it is a principle which will have to be worked out with great care.

There remains a very important question whether the nature of wheat farming does not call for large scale farming under some form of collectivization. I confess I feel very modest about this and other matters which I have raised and I invite discussion.

GENERAL JADIN OUT

WHATEVER helps restore general prosperity, whatever reduces the wastes of the capitalist system and brings about a better distribution of the national income will help the farmers and city workers alike. Cheap electric power especially will help the farmers. We shall not get cheap electric power from the power trust which, according to H. S. Raushenbush, pays an extra quarter of a billion annually on capital over what the Government would pay. All this is a preface to, and explanation of, a statement that we owe a great debt to those Senators whose opposition led to the withdrawal of the name of General Jadin as member of the reorganized Power Commission. This gentleman was firmly committed to private operation and had blocked the sale of Muscle Shoals power to municipalities. The President could hardly have made a worse choice.

PEACE PROSPECTS IN INDIA

RECENT speeches by the King, Ramsay MacDonald and especially the Viceroy of India have somewhat increased the chances of a decent settlement in India. The Viceroy has made it plain that other solutions than the hated proposals of the Simon Commission can be considered by the London conference. He reiterates that Dominion status is the ultimate goal. Nevertheless, it is hard to see how any conciliatory policy can be carried out which does not win the help of Gandhi. It is all very well for the Viceroy to say that civil disobedience is dangerous to government of any sort. So is violent revolt. And a government which cannot make terms with Gandhi is all too likely in a few years to face those who believe in and practice violent revolt.

Injunction Bill Buried For a Year

Slight Possibility Seen of Favorable Action in Next Winter's Session

WASHINGTON—(F.P.)—Anti-injunction legislation is dead for this year, and there appears only a slight chance that the American Federation of Labor will return to the attack during next winter's session with enough energy to drive the Norris measure through the Senate. That anything will be done in the House during this Congress to put an end to government by anti-labor judges is not anticipated by even the most hopeful.

Chairman Norris of the Senate judiciary committee was able, after much argument, and with the help of the more active element to agree to report adversely, June 20, his bill designed to restore trade union rights and to outlaw the yellow dog contract. The report made by the minority, consisting of Norris, Borah, Blaine, Dill, Walsh of Montana, Caraway and Ashurst, has been printed but has scarcely been read by more than a dozen senators outside the committee membership. Yet it should furnish a powerful argument for defeat of the hostile majority who come before the voters in this year's primary and general elections.

"The proposed bill," says the minority report, "is designed primarily to protect the interests of the employers." (Continued on Page Two)

S.C. Federation Defeats Foe of Textile Union

Brookshire Replaces Patterson for Presidency of State Labor Group

GREENVILLE, S. C.—(F.P.)—More active cooperation between the South Carolina Federation of Labor and United Textile Workers is foreseen in the defeat of Pres. Dowell Patterson for reelection at the federation's convention at Greenville. Pres. L. E. Brookshire of the Greenville Central Labor Union is the new state labor president, winning by a vote of 63 to 16.

Former Pres. Patterson, at the Rock Hill southern organizing conference last year, joined with Sec. Louis P. Marquardt of the Georgia Federation of Labor in asking the U. T. W. to stay out of the south until invited.

Francis J. Gorman of the U. T. W. and Paul J. Smith of the A. F. of L. assured delegates that the A. F. of L. is determined to stay in the south. There will be no peace in the textile industry, said Gorman, until employers recognize the right of workers to organize. More than 20 delegates were present from cotton mills.

Smith Hits Wall Street "The workers say they will keep the union even if the mills shut down altogether," Gorman declared. "They want organization and action." (Continued on Page Two)

20,000 Demand Mooney Release

N. Y. Socialists Meet In Convention

Schenectady Sessions Will Name Ticket

Delegates Will Also Draw Up Platform Outlining Party Program

(New Leader Correspondent) SCHENECTADY, N. Y., July 17. —Enjoying a degree of popular confidence which by common consent makes it one of the major parties of New York State, New York State Socialists will convene at the Hotel Van Curler in this city Saturday morning to draw the lines for what it is believed will be the most vigorous campaign conducted by the Socialist Party in this State.

Aware of the importance that their decisions will have in affecting the political destinies of the State, 150 delegates, drawn from every part of the State, and including fraternal delegates from labor and fraternal bodies numbering hundreds of thousands of members in the State, will hear Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and the choice of the State Executive Committee for keynote, define the issues upon which the Socialists will carry their case to the people during the next three months.

Following the keynote address of Hillquit, the delegates will plunge into the work of mapping out their campaign, drafting a State platform and nominating candidates who will carry the Socialist standards into every county of the State between now and Election Day.

State Secretary Merrill will present a report of the present state of the organization in the various counties. It is expected to show that the membership has grown rapidly, particularly since the last municipal elections last year. New York City alone will show an approximate gain of 1500 new members in the Greater City, and it is expected that proportionate gains will be revealed in other counties.

The report of the State Executive Committee will be drawn up on Friday. Members of the committee have been requested to meet at the Van Curler Hotel Friday afternoon, and they are likely to remain in session until late Friday night drawing up reports to be submitted to the convention. A platform committee has prepared a tentative platform to be submitted to the delegates. Printed copies of the platform, and of the State Constitution of the party, which is expected to undergo revision, will be in the hands of the delegates shortly after the convention is called to order by Hillquit.

It is expected that important committees will be elected at the opening or the second session on Saturday, and that they will return early to deliberate on the subjects assigned to them. Speeches from fraternal delegates pledging the support of labor and fraternal delegates will be delivered during the early part of the convention.

Among the fraternal delegates will be representatives of Labor parties that have been organized in several cities, composed of trade unionists who have abandoned the practice of non-partisan political action in order to create a party in which labor will be able to make its plans effective. Saturday night the delegates will be the guests of Local Schenectady of the Socialist Party at a banquet to be given at the Van Curler Hotel. In addition to the 150 delegates attending the convention several hundred Socialists from Schenectady, Albany, and other nearby cities will be present.

New York City will have 61 delegates present, not including the fraternal delegates.

Philadelphia Rally For Mooney, Billings On Saturday Night

(By a New Leader Correspondent) PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 17. —A meeting will be held in Philadelphia on Saturday evening, July 19th, at 8:00 P. M. in the City Hall Plaza. Speakers will be Andrew J. Biemiller and Mark Starr. On Friday night A. J. Biemiller and David Schick will broadcast speeches over station W. P. E. N. at 6:30 P. M.

Huge Picnic Saturday to Open Campaign

More Than 25,000 Are Expected at Socialist Labor Demonstration

ARRANGEMENTS are now being completed for the greatest New York Socialist gathering in many years—the picnic scheduled for next Saturday, July 26th, at Umler Park, 25th and Croysey avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

According to a statement issued by the arrangements committee of which Julius Gerber is chairman and A. N. Weinberg, secretary, a record smashing crowd is anticipated which will undoubtedly exceed last year's turnout of 25,000. About 160 organizations, among them trade unions, Workmen's Circle branches, branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Socialist Party branches, the Poole-Zion Party, all the branches of the Polish Socialist Alliance and the Polish Socialist Federation in the metropolitan area, as well as many various fraternal and labor bodies, have purchased large blocks of tickets. The sales to organizations this year already exceed the number last year.

An elaborate and colorful program is being prepared to amuse and entertain the huge turnout. Among the attractions are a huge sports carnival, a gala concert, continuous dancing, as well as addresses by prominent leaders of the movement including Norman Thomas, and the candidates on the state ticket who will be chosen by the party convention this weekend at Schenectady.

The sports program will be headed by an all-star soccer game in which the famous Hakoah Club will play against the Vienna Football Club. This will be preceded by a preliminary game between the Meyer London Athletic Association and the Hopool Soccer Club. Other sport events include a baseball game for the Norman Thomas Cup between the Y. P. S. L. and the Young Circle League (the youth organization of the Workmen's Circle), as well as varied track and field events in which members of the Y. P. S. L., the Young Circle League, the Finnish Vasa Club, and the Meyer London Athletic Association will participate.

A gala concert has been arranged in which Joseph Rumshinsky, famous operetta composer will conduct the combined chorus of the Jewish Chorus Union, A Mexican-Spanish troupe of artists who will give a series of native dances as well as songs in native costumes. This troupe has just completed a tour of the R-K-O vaudeville circuit where they were a sensational success. The troupe consists of Lois Ojeda and Joseph Imbert, dancers, and Louisa and Alice Crespo, singers.

The park is easily reached by taking the West End Line (B. M. T.) to 25th avenue station, followed by a three minute walk to the park. Tickets are available from the various organizations, or at 7 East 15th Street, 174 East Broadway, 1167 Boston road, 219 Sackman street, or at the Boro Park Lyceum, 424 street and 14th avenue, Brooklyn.

The New York Socialist picnic has now become established institutions in the movement. In 1928 the picnic served as a starting point for Norman Thomas' campaign for the presidency which marked the turn of the tide for the Socialist Party. Last year, the memorable mayoralty campaign, with Thomas again the leader, was inaugurated at the picnic. This year's picnic, already an assured success, will likely be a forerunner to the most effective Socialist state campaign in the history of the party.

Secret U. S. Police To Hunt Radicals Is Urged By Root

Civic Federation Publishes Proposal to Create Special Corps of Spies—Fish Committee May Support Move—Thomas and Others Denounce Scheme

CREATION of a federal spy force rivaling the Russian Czars' dreaded Okhrana to hound and harry radical workers is the proposal of the National Civic Federation, headed by Matthew Woll, in a letter signed by Elihu Root and made public by Sec. Ralph M. Easley of the red-baiting organization. The proposal was timed with the appearance in New York of the Fish House Committee investigating Communist activities.

"Now we have reason to believe," reads the letter said to have been written by Root, "that an assault is being made by secret means, supported by the resources of a great empire aimed at the destruction of our form of government, and we find that the federal government has no police force available for our protection. Of course, such a force ought to be provided."

Sec. Easley expressed his confidence that the Fish committee will recommend the creation of such a secret espionage force. "This legislation," he added, "will not be secured without overcoming the determined opposition of all the red forces backed by the so-called left wing liberals. Shrieking 'revival of red hysteria,' 'recurrence of Palmerism,' 'Scotland Yard heroics,' and so forth, they will claim that 'it will be highly unconstitutional for the federal government to deal with such matters which are entirely within the jurisdiction of the states.'"

Thomas in Protest Commenting on the Root letter, the American Civil Liberties

World of Socialism Greet Cahan on 70th Birthday

Editor of "Forward" Greeted on Brilliant Record of Half a Century

ABRAHAM CAHAN, who came to America as an immigrant boy and is now editor of the world's largest Socialist daily, the New York Forward, published in Yiddish, received congratulations on his 70th birthday from leading laborites, Socialists and publishers of the world. Among them were President Green of the A. F. of L., Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Snowden; Eduard Bernstein, German Socialist leader; Adolph Ochs, of the New York Times; H. L. Mencken of the Baltimore Sun and Oswald Garrison Villard of the Nation.

Some 300 outstanding figures in the field of labor, Socialism and Jewish literary and political life tendered Cahan a surprise luncheon at the Hotel Brevoort Monday. Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, leaders of the Socialist party, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, two presidents of large international labor unions, joined with representatives of other sections of labor and Jewish life and with representatives of The Forward Association, in praising the services of Cahan.

Responding to some 15 short speeches in tribute to his work and his personality, Mr. Cahan said he valued most of all an adaptability to changing situations. The Socialist movement has become a power in Europe and will advance to great strength in the United States, he said, because it is ready to formulate its program and tactics to the current needs of political and economic situation.

Held Is Chairman "It is a great source of gratification after some fifty years of active work, marked often by sharp controversies, to feel the sincerity of my co-workers in the labor and Socialist movement,"



Abraham Cahan

Cahan declared. Adolph Held, president of the Amalgamated Bank and of the Forward Association, presided at the luncheon. He presented Norman Thomas as the first speaker. The former Socialist candidate for Mayor said:

"It is no accomplishment merely to have lived for 70 years. To have lived and worked as Cahan has for 70 years is another matter and a matter to be proud of. We owe him honor not only as a Socialist, but as a literary figure. His 'Rise of David Levinsky' was the forerunner of the modern school of realistic American literature which has so enriched our literature. His part in the Labor and International Socialist movement needs no retelling to this audience. It should be sufficient to say that to have lived for 70 years and to have touched so many phases of life, and to have touched the lives of so many people, is a great achievement." (Continued on Page Two)

Five Milwaukee Meetings Demand Mooney Go Free

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Five open air mass meetings were staged in Milwaukee to voice protest against the continued imprisonment in San Quentin prison of Tom Mooney, who was denied a pardon by Gov. C. C. Young of California. The county executive committee of the Socialist party, which had been planning for a single meeting, increased the number to five which were held during the week of July 15 to 22, known as Mooney week.

Budenz Defies Injunction In Nazareth

Hosiery Strike Leader Is Taken Into Custody and Then Released

NAZARETH, Pa.—(F.P.)—It's easy to issue injunctions forbidding union men to talk to strikebreakers about yellow dog contracts, but Northampton county officials showed no relish for enforcing Judge Stewart's tyrannical court order against the Kraemer mill strikers when Louis F. Budenz, in charge of the strike, openly defied it. Budenz told the world several days in advance that he would violate the injunction restraining him from speaking to the scabs at noon July 14.

Promptly at noon he appeared at the Kraemer mill and began advising the strikebreakers, as they came out for lunch, that the yellow dog contract that ties them to their boss is illegal, and that they should join the union. County detectives gingerly arrested the organizer, took him to headquarters and then released him. The prosecuting attorney said he had committed no offense. The facts in the case were sent to Judge Stewart.

Budenz feels that the union position that the injunction is not binding has been vindicated. He will continue to violate its terms, he announced.

Socialist Wins School Seat In Hazel Park

(By a New Leader Correspondent) DETROIT.—William Healy, a member of the Oakland County Local of the Socialist Party, was elected to the school board in Hazel Park, a suburb of Detroit, July 14. In a non-partisan election, with two trustees to be elected, Healy ran a close second in a field of six.

Comrade Healy's election was the outcome of a whirlwind campaign conducted by local socialists under the leadership of John Panzer and was largely due to the support of organized labor. Healy is a former president of the metal polishers' union in Detroit and had the support of the Detroit Federation of Labor. In his campaign he pledged himself not to give the district a "business administration" but a workingman's administration, and promised economy and an honest effort to reduce the exorbitant taxes which have proved a great burden to the people of the district a great many of whom are unemployed.

Engineers Deplore Venture Into Labor Capitalism

CLEVELAND — (F.P.) — Delegates to the sixth triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland are determined to tread no more the devious paths of labor capitalism, according to Carl Rudolph, editor of the official journal.

"They are determined to cut loose from all the strangling alliances and to get back to real honest-to-goodness labor union," Rudolph says. "The membership has found out that it cannot dance to the tune of the bankers, brokers and coupon-clippers and still keep in step with the demands of men who, in overalls and working clothes, earn their bread by the sweat of their brow."

Three Huge Rallies Held In New York

Five Demonstrations In Milwaukee Urge That Young Free Labor Prisoners

FROM three huge public demonstrations in New York City and many others throughout the country last week there arose insistent demands for the release of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The New York demonstrations reached their climax with a demonstration Thursday at 5 p. m. in Union Square, where, with the aid of amplifiers, Norman Thomas and other Socialist party leaders, addressed over 10,000 men and women. A rally at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Tuesday night and a demonstration in the Bronx on Wednesday, with the Union Square rally brought out a total attendance of between 20,000 and 25,000 workers.

A battery of distinguished speakers assailed Gov. Young and his California brand of justice and appealed for renewed working class efforts to release Mooney and Billings, at the meeting in Brooklyn. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dudley Field Malone, attorney, Dudley B. C. Viadeck, of the Jewish Daily Forward, and Heywood Brown, columnist, united their voices for the two labor martyrs in Golden State dungeons.

"American liberty is sick almost unto death from a judicial cancer, from a system of misgovernment which makes it more dangerous to hold radical opinions in an unjust social order than to be a crook or a criminal," said Thomas.

Rabbi Wise assailed Elihu Root, corporation lawyer who defended the Tweed ring in probably the most notorious of all New York municipal scandals, for his demand for political police to spy on radical workers. Root, he said, had no right to appeal to the American people for political police because he had been silent in face of the great injustice to Mooney and Billings.

"We are not trying to vindicate Mooney and Billings," Malone told the audience. "Their vindication will come. If upon John MacDonald's sworn testimony the California supreme court and Gov. Young do not pardon Mooney and Billings at once, they will have made a greater contribution to radicalism and Communism in this country than all the congressional committees will live long enough to investigate."

"California is the most beautiful state in the Union," said Viadeck. "It has, however, a peculiar quality for collecting prejudices. A resolution unanimously passed, stated that: 'When courts fail to do justice in the face of such an amazing misuse of legal machinery it is time for the masses to raise a storm of protest throughout the nation. There must be no cessation of this protest. The work of publicity, agitation, petition and protest must be continuous, giving no rest to the high public officials who hold the keys to the cells of Mooney and Billings until the prison doors open and these victims of foul conspiracy go forth into the world vindicated and free.'"

Speakers at the Union Square rally included Thomas, Brown, McAlister Coleman, James O'Neil, Jacob Fanken, Edward F. Cassidy, William Karlin and Frank Cross-wait.

It is the intention of the Socialist Party that the meetings of this week shall be the beginning of a vigorous and continuous campaign to win freedom for the two California labor martyrs. In keeping with the request of Mooney, made to National Socialist Secretary Clarence Senior, the agitation for Mooney and Billings will be linked with an exposition of the fundamental class character of the case, involving as it does imprisonment of two labor leaders because they were a thorn in the side of California's vested interests.

It is certain that during the crucial coming weeks, when Gov. Young will have to act on the affidavit of John MacDonald who has again confessed to perjury against Mooney, continued agitation such as the Socialist Party urges, will have marked effect.

Brooklynites Seek Thomas As Candidate

Petition To Party Urges He Be Nominated In 6th Congressional District

FIVE hundred voters of the Sixth Congressional District of New York City signed petitions drafting Norman Thomas to run for Congress in their district, within five days after the movement was launched. At least fifty active workers are in the field, and they have still to report on their labors to the League for Independent Political Action, which is conducting the vote in behalf of the citizens of that district.

The petitions are addressed to the Socialist Party and to Norman Thomas as follows:

To the Socialist Party of New York:

"Whereas, we the citizens of the 6th Congressional District, New York, believe that the voice of the forward-looking political view point should be heard in the halls of Congress; and

"Whereas, it is our proud boast that we gave to Norman Thomas his largest District vote when he was candidate for Mayor of New York City; and

"Whereas, we know that Norman Thomas would represent the viewpoint of hope and progress in our national legislature at Washington.

"Therefore, we the undersigned citizens and voters of the 6th Congressional District, respectfully request that the Socialist Party of New York designate Norman Thomas as candidate in our Congressional District."

To Norman Thomas:

"We the undersigned citizens and voters of the 6th Congressional District, believe that the voice of the forward-looking political view point should be heard in the halls of Congress; and

"We pledge you, our active and earnest assistance towards a successful canvass for your election; and

"We respectfully request that you accept the nomination as member of Congress from the 6th Congressional District, New York."

Meeting Held Friday

The Sixth District is located in Brooklyn, and contains a strong Socialist organization. It is one of the six or seven districts throughout the country in which the League for Independent Political Action will concentrate its energies this fall, in the hope that Congressmen will be sent to Washington who will speak for a new political party similar to the British Labor Party. The League, whose Chairman is Dr. John Dewey, will assist Farmer-Labor candidates in Milwaukee, and Reading and Independent labor candidates in New Bedford, Buffalo and perhaps elsewhere.

The Norman Thomas for Congress movement was launched last Friday evening, July 11, when a group of over fifty citizens of the District gathered at a meeting called by the League for Independent Political Action and a group of Brooklynites. A statement by Devere Allen, Chairman of the League, was read at the meeting. It read, in part, as follows:

"To bring such a party as we contemplate into existence we need a spokesman in a place where the whole country will hear when he speaks. With increasing discontent in our country we have no one to speak for it. The Democratic Party has long ago forfeited the right to be called an opposition party. Some wise and magnetic leader is needed to tell the masses of our people why it is that so many are out of work, why in a land of great riches millions are hungry, why the farmer finds it almost as profitable to use his wheat and corn as fertilizer as to sell at present prices while city folks go hungry, why the factories are piled high with goods and there is still no money to buy," said Devere Allen.

"Washington is the place from

LASTING RESULTS

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Italian Socialists Meet In Convention

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT—The Italian Socialist Federation held a very successful convention in Detroit on July 4, 5 and 6. The principal work before the convention was the question of the re-organization of the Socialist and Italian labor movement in the United States and Canada and the preparation of literature and distribution of the Italian Socialist press. Adherence to the Socialist Party of America was re-affirmed.

Messages of greeting were received from the Italian Socialist Unity in Paris and the convention responded with good wishes and the hope that the Italians of all countries would unite in the fight against international capitalism and Italian fascism.

Resolutions were adopted to the effect that every fugitive escaping from "red or black" dictatorships should have the right to live in the United States or wherever they choose. The question of an Italian daily newspaper was gone into thoroughly and an appeal was made to all the Italian Socialists in America to support "Il Nuovo Mondo." Arrangements were also made for the issuance of a monthly bulletin.

After discussion on the economic situation of the country, it was decided that the federation should go on record as willing to work in conjunction with the American Socialist movement for the formation of a labor party. E. Clemente was elected secretary of the federation and the following as members of the executive committee: L. Chiostru, F. Matteoni, S. Polachio, L. Chiaruttini, E. Clemente, E. Gattardo and A. Pasquini. Members of the National Committee are A. Artoni, G. Battistoni, G. Lupis, G. Valenti, S. Pollo, D. Zanarini, D. Mori, O. Onoraro, S. Salerno and R. Maranzano.

It was voted to put the question of the removal of the Federation headquarters from Chicago to New York to a referendum vote of the membership of the federation.

Los Angeles Socialists Dine Upon Sinclair On His Latest Book

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES—One hundred and sixty admirers of Upton Sinclair gathered at the Windsor Tea Rooms to honor his latest literary work, "Mountain City." The banquet was given under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles. Sinclair, who is the Socialist candidate for Governor of California, gave the banqueters a verbal "pre-view" of a novel he has written since the publication of "Mountain City," and of a play to which he added the final chapter shortly before coming to the banquet. John Beardsley presided as chairman. Zygmunt Piotrowski, Socialist Secretary of the Polish Parliament, told the guest of honor of the popularity of his books in Poland.

Kate Crane Gartz's letter declining the nomination for Governor was read by Al Wirin. Chiam Shapiro, local attorney noted for his defiance of free speech and civil liberties, said upon Sinclair a high tribute in pronouncing him "the conscience of the American people."

William B. Busick, Socialist organizer for Los Angeles County, described the rapid increase and ever multiplying work of the party. General surprise and satisfaction was expressed at the growth of The New Era, the official Socialist newspaper in this locality and a living monument to Upton Sinclair's tireless work in behalf of the movement.

Two groups of violin solos were played by Miss Evelyn Dystel.

which this leader must speak. If some Congressional District sent a Congressman to Washington this fall to speak in behalf of a new political alignment, we would be well on our way toward a new party. "There is one man in New York City for this job and that is Norman Thomas. He is an eloquent orator and a close student of our social order. He knows his America. Able, tolerant, genial, with an idealistic fervor that flames through every word he speaks, he commands respect wherever he is known. He will represent the District which has the intelligence and courage to send him to Congress as it deserves to be represented."

Mr. Thomas has given no positive indication that he would accept or decline to stand in the Brooklyn district. He stated this week that his running for Congress might depend on the amount of interest shown by the voters of the 6th Congressional District in the next few weeks.

At The Reading Jamboree of the Young Socialists



A group picture of delegates and visitors to the conference taken at the Socialist picnic grove.

150 "Yipsels" Meet at First Jamboree

Reading Is Host to Two-Day Conference—10,000 Attend Mass Meeting

READING, Pa.—Hitch-hiking and journeying in buses and new Ford from Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, Syracuse, Wilmington, New York, Boston, New Bedford, Lynn and other scattered points, 150 young Socialists convened in Reading last week end in their first national gathering, and pledged themselves to militant action in the political and industrial fields.

One after another delegates told of the infusion of new blood and new vigor into the Young Peoples' Socialist League, which is closely identified with the Socialist Party. From six lukewarm members of a "Yipsel" circle to 100 ones in six months, as told by John Hall, is a story that was duplicated in degree by enthusiasts from all sections.

"Get into the thick of the labor fight," was the advice of Louis Francis Budenz, leader of the Nazareth, Pa. hosiery strike. "The leaders of many valiant battles of the past are old and weary now. The labor movement is in many spots stagnant. Industrial unionism, rather than craft organization, must be the tactic of the future. Never has there been a greater need for militant youngsters to infuse the labor movement with the socialist ideal."

Senior Speaks

"On the road to social revolution we are committed to parliamentary procedure. There are dangers in such a course—not the dangers of a violent revolution, but the danger that Socialists in office will have their eyes deflected from the Socialist goal by the desire to continue in office. Our young must keep us on the march," Clarence Senior, Socialist national executive secretary, declared.

Paul Porter, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy declared that "in the language of football ours is a triple-threat movement. We seek to organize as producers, as consumers, and as citizens. Unions, cooperatives, and a labor party must be entwined together for the central purpose of the socialist commonwealth. Neither the pure and simple trade unionism of the A. F. of L., or cooperation alone, or the purely political approach will free us."

Norman Thomas, National Socialist leader, pointed to the utter inadequacy of the capitalist parties in dealing with unemployment.

"Two years ago people laughed when you talked about unemployment. Nobody laughs now. We Socialists say again: 'Ascertain accurately the number employed. Establish public employment exchanges. Inaugurate unemployment insurance as a part of comprehensive social insurance. Regulate the rate at which labor-saving machinery is introduced. Shorten the working-hours accordingly. Start a program of public works and pay for them out of taxes on inheritances, incomes and increased increments.'"

Other convention speakers included Henry W. Stump, Socialist mayor, who welcomed the "Yipsels" to Reading; Andrew J. Bismiller, instructor in the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers; Arthur G. McDowell, youthful Socialist organizer in Pennsylvania; James H. Maurer, former president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and Reading commissioner, Abe Belsky, New York, chairman of the Y.P.S.L. and Emanuel Switkies, National chairman, who presided at the sessions of the conference. Samuel H. Friedman proved an affable and able chairman at the banquet tendered to the delegates by the Reading comrades Saturday night.

An hour and a half tour of the city of Reading early Saturday afternoon afforded the Yipsels an opportunity to see the Socialist city at first hand. An extended stop was made at the City Hall



Younger active figures in the movement present at the conference. Standing: Abe Belsky, secretary of the N. Y. Yipsels; Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party; Paul Porter, of New York; A. J. Bismiller, of Philadelphia. Seated: Emanuel Switkies, national Yipsel chairman, and Louis F. Budenz, editor of Labor Age.

where the entrance of the Yipsels into the council chamber became the spontaneous signal for the singing of the "Internationale."

The convention closed with a mass meeting Sunday night at the Socialist Picnic Grove which gave an eloquent indication of the popular support Socialism enjoys hereabouts. All day long men, women and children descended on the park from trolley cars and from autos. By late afternoon, when the meeting was opened, almost 10,000 were gathered to hear the address which was carried through the park through amplifiers. The speakers at the mass meeting were Esther Friedman, Mayor Stump, James H. Maurer, Paul Porter, Clarence Senior and Samuel H. Friedman.

The Yipsel jamboree is sure to become an annual institution. Already there was competition between the delegates as to which city would play host next year.

S. C. Federation Ousts Foe of Textile Union

(Continued from Page One)

they want leadership." He paid high tribute to the intelligence and grit of the mill labor. "They come out on strike with a smile and stay out for months, even when their families suffer. They never go back to sign a yellow dog contract."

Paul Smith, head of the A. F. of L. southern organizing committee, stressed the control of Wall St. over the nation. "We fought the war for democracy," he declared, "but since the war there has been a tendency in nearly every country towards dictatorship. Mellon, representing the great banking interests, has been the actual president ever since the first six months of Harding's administration. He is the mouthpiece of Wall St. in the White House. He is there to enforce the policy of making profits regardless of wages, hours, and conditions of employment."

Business men helped the bankers defeat labor and the farmer, but now their turn is coming, declared Smith: before the mergers are all over, they will be mere clerks for chain stores. "We are willing to welcome the business men back where they belong. If they're not willing now, they never will be," said Smith. "The time will come when they will be no better off than the average textile worker."

Success is predicted. Considering the organizing progress made under present deplorable conditions and abject poverty, Smith predicted success. "If we can't do it without strikes and discharges, we'll do it anyway," he asserted.

Pres. T. W. Wilson of the North Carolina Federation of Labor and a member of the state industrial commission, explained the advantages of workmen's compensation laws. In 11 months since the North Carolina law went into effect, 8,000 workers got compensation amounting to \$130,000 in awards. Today 20,000 employers carry employee insurance, as against 3,500 before the law was passed. Over 33,000 accidents were reported in 11 months. Those disabling the worker less than seven days are not compensable.

These private capitalists are in many cases an excrescence—a vitally consuming excrescence—on the body politic—H. G. Wells.

Calif. Party To Flood State With Slogans

State Committee Seeks \$5,000 Fund to Carry On Campaign

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Tire covers, stickers and buttons will herald Socialist candidates in the primary election scheduled for next month, Stanley Rogers, state secretary for California announces. Orders for election material were placed with a Los Angeles firm and plans for their distribution formulated.

With "End Unemployment," "Free Money," "Prosperity for All," and other slogans which will demonstrate the Socialist platform, tire covers will also urge voters to place their ballots for Socialist candidates.

"We are planning an intensive campaign with the ultimate ideal of polling the largest vote outside of the Republican party in California. We used to occupy this position and we are determined to secure it again," William Busick, state chairman, declares.

Monthly reports of progress, giving in detail the most significant accomplishments of the State office during the month will soon be mailed to each member of the party in California.

\$5,000 Fund Sought

In preparation for the work ahead of the party the State Executive Committee has decided to raise a minimum of \$5,000 for this year and the State Secretary is under instructions to wage a drive for a thousand new members within two months. William H. Henry has been sent to San Pedro and Long Beach to organize locals and from there he will go to the Bay district, which includes San Francisco, Oakland and vicinity. A. Levin, for many years a faithful party worker, volunteered to follow up the work of Henry. He will solicit individual memberships as well as hold open air meetings in cities he visits.

Branches of the party are being brought into line for systematic propaganda work. The State Executive Committee is asking every branch in the state to distribute not less than a thousand pieces of literature each month, stamping each piece with the time and place of the meeting of the branch. A list of speakers and the time they can give to the campaign is also being compiled to help local organizations with meetings.

Westchester, N. Y. Socialists Choose Their Candidates

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—Candidates for the coming fall election have been nominated by the Socialist Party in Westchester. The annual convention was held at the Workmen's Cooperative Center, 252 Warburton avenue, Yonkers, last week.

The following have been named as standard-bearers for the November election:

Member of Congress, 25th district, John P. Muller, of New Rochelle.

State Senator, 25th district, William G. Chambers of Mount Vernon.

State Senator, 26th district, Louise Kerker, of Yonkers.

Supreme Court Judge, Max Cohen of Yonkers.

Surrogate, Kate Cinnamon, of Yonkers.

Commissioner of Public Welfare, Morris Lubin, of Yonkers.

Members of Assembly, First District, Louis Uffner, of New Rochelle; Second District, August Suelieu, of Mamaroneck; Fourth District, Dr. John A. Morgan of Yonkers; Fifth District, Fred Rennetts of Yonkers.

The nomination of members of Congress, 24th District, was left open for the Bronx section of the 24th Congressional District to designate.

Sheehan to Run In Berger's Old District

Judge Quick Will Make Congressional Race in 4th Milwaukee District

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Socialists of Milwaukee County have by a referendum of the party members completed the selection of candidates for the county and congressional tickets. Judge William F. Quick and James P. Sheehan are the Socialist Party's candidates for Congress in the Fourth and Fifth Districts, respectively.

The county ticket is headed by Al Benson for sheriff. Benson has been secretary of the party in Milwaukee County and of Wisconsin for three years. He has been a party member for 25 years.

Judge Quick, as a state senator, was a power in legislation and a leader in the senate as a representative of the working class. As a judge he made a splendid record for the people, administering justice so justly that he was feared by the judiciary as setting examples that the people would demand of the others.

Abandon Old Rule

The old non-partisan rule of "re-elect the sitting judges" was promptly dropped and even the judges themselves helped quietly to campaign against his re-election. Quick is made of the stuff of which Patrick Henry was made. Moreover, as an attorney he has made a wonderful record in his handling of labor cases. He will be heard from in Congress.

No little interest has attached to the selection of a Socialist candidate for congress in the Fifth District, and the party referendum has reflected the care with which the party membership of the north half of the county of Milwaukee cast their ballots.

James Sheehan has been for almost a lifetime a leading figure in the political and economic fight for labor for justice and right. When Emil Seidel was Socialist mayor of the city in 1910, James P. Sheehan was elected "mayor" of the county of Milwaukee, that is, he was made chairman of the board of supervisors. During his two-year term more big undertakings were inaugurated than in any two terms since. Among these were the now famous county park system, the now famous system of county highways, the building of an adequate and humane house of correction, the inauguration of mothers' pensions, the unification of the county institutions in place of the control of competing boards, the turning into the treasury of office fees, the plans that have resulted in a new courthouse to take the place of the old ruin—all big projects and combining with other similar enactments to actually remake the county.

Sheehan has served in the county board for a total of 25 years as one of its hardest and most valued members. It has been a good school for statesmanship on a still wider field.

Tamiment Reunion Brings Celebrities

Camp Tamiment at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, held its tenth anniversary reunion last week-end, numbering among its entertainers and guests James Wolfe, Metropolitan Opera star, famous Compinsky Trio, Mary Quistelle, R. K. O. headliner, Bob White, vaudeville tap dancer and many others.

The camp facilities were placed at the disposal of the hundreds of guests who came from everywhere to participate in the reunion festivities. A reunion banquet was given on Saturday night at which the directors of the camp outlined the history of its achievements and Louis Waldman as chairman spoke at some length on the merits of camps as social enterprises. The camp was then given a two-hour show at which the above mentioned stars entertained as well as the staff members. The camp daily newspaper had as guest conductor the former editor who wrote reminiscences of the early days.

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SUNDAYS 10 TO 2

Afternoon Tea 3 to 5 p. m.

Socialist World Greet Cahan on Birthday

(Continued from Page One)

them so eloquently and successfully, is an accomplishment that few men can boast of. Abraham Cahan is one of the few."

Harry Rogoff, associate editor of the Forward, spoke on behalf of the Forward staff. He praised his chief as a great editor. B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Forward, spoke as a fellow Socialist and on behalf of the business staff of the Forward. Cahan, said Vladeck, had influenced the lives of half a million Jewish immigrants through his journalism and his espousal of Socialist and trade union idealism.

Matthew Woll dwelt particularly on Mr. Cahan's work for the trade union movement and on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. He thanked him for his work and wished him many more years of continued good health. Other labor leaders who spoke in similar vein were Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Morris Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades.

Morris Hillquit said: "Why is Cahan so dear to the Jewish masses? Retrospection over such a long period of years is difficult. But we can remember the poor material he had to work with. He gave the Jewish immigrants guidance and inspiration. They were dumb and inarticulate. He gave them a voice and a language. They were defenseless. Cahan gave them weapons. Thus he has built his own durable monument. His life is a symbol of the Socialist movement, ever struggling on to new gains in the face of any and all difficulties."

Others who spoke were Avraham Raisin, famous Jewish poet, Jacob Rankin, B. Locker, Joseph Ruminsky, Jewish composer; Joseph Baskin, A. Litwak, Algernon Lee and James Oneal.

Arc Luncheonette In New York Is Being Picketed By Union

The Arc Luncheonette and Restaurant, on W. 37th Street, between Fifth and Sixth Aves., situated in the heart of the military manufacturing district, is being picketed by women members of Waiters' and Waitresses' Union, Local No. 1. Officers of the union state that the firm is paying a wage far below the union scale. The same is true of the Russian Art Restaurant located at 181 Second Ave., which is also being picketed. The injunction against the Waiters' and Waitresses' brought by the Empire Pastry Shop of Westchester Ave., corner Longworth, has been vacated. The firm of Goldstein & Goldstein were attorneys for the workers in this case.

Members of organized labor and their friends are urged to extend support to the steady efforts being made to improve the condition of the restaurant workers enrolled under the banner of Local No. 1.

SONG GROUP TO MEET

A last attempt to continue rehearsals during the summer season for the Workers' Song Group will take place next Wednesday night at 8:30 at the Rand School Studio. Unless those who have signified their interest in organizing a worth while chorus to participate in Socialist and Labor functions come to this rehearsal, the project will be dropped until the fall.

The meeting night has been changed to Wednesday in order to allow party members who have meetings on Thursday to attend.

Defer not till tomorrow to be wise: Tomorrow's sun to thee may never rise.

—Whittier.

The worth of a State in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it.—Mill.

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MacDonald Is To Repeat Confession

Mooney Case Witness, Found In Baltimore, Again Admits Perjury

WASHINGTON.—(F P)—Gov. C. C. Young of California, shamed into action, has wired Baltimore State's Attorney H. R. O'Connor that his state will pay transportation expenses of John MacDonald, recanting Mooney witness now in Baltimore, if he will testify in open hearing on all the questions involved in his repudiation of testimony he now says is perjured (which convicted Mooney and Billings in the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing frame-up). Young does not set any date. It is reported that his political pals are urging him to dodge the issue until after the state primaries Aug. 26.

Young's wire is in response to a telegram sent by MacDonald's attorneys, Charles Ruzicka and Hilary W. Gans, telling him that MacDonald was willing to testify and reminding him of his expressed eagerness to hear MacDonald. Young did not pay them the courtesy of answering direct, however, he asked O'Connor to communicate with them and relay their answer to him. Transportation will be provided, he said, if MacDonald will testify fully before the advisory pardon board and supreme court. It is understood MacDonald's attorneys will agree to this.

California authorities have never given any assurances that MacDonald would not be prosecuted for his confessed perjury. Conviction on this charge would mean five to ten years' jail for the frail rheumatic man of 58. That was one of the reasons why he refused to appear and testify in other years. Now, however, he says he must do justice to Mooney and Billings regardless of cost to himself, before it is too late.

Pending a definite invitation from Gov. Young, MacDonald's attorneys are reticent about his plans. They say they wish to avoid any contact which might be charged as influencing him. They expressed resentment that a private detective called Raymond Kennedy, employed by unnamed parties, has shadowed MacDonald since he was released July 14 from detention for investigation. Sec. E. N. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor is in Baltimore representing the Mooney defense group. Frank P. Walsh, Mooney's attorney, is co-operating with MacDonald's attorneys.

Pres. Henry F. Broening of the Baltimore Federation of Labor commends State's Attorney O'Connor for detaining MacDonald, saying: "I believe that interest in MacDonald's affidavit would have remained, to say the least, perfunctory in California if O'Connor had not had MacDonald held so that he could communicate in an official capacity with Gov. Young."

The 14 years of shilly-shallying indulged in by California governors and their boards on the Mooney case was characterized by Edward F. McGrady, legislative representative of the A. F. of L., as "a terrible indictment of the whole state of California." "California has the worst laws of any state in the union against labor," said McGrady. "Her espionage and criminal syndicalist laws are not even exceeded by Mussolini."

Sen. Schall, Rep. of Minnesota, declared that Young by failing to admit that Mooney isn't "guilty beyond a reasonable doubt" has shown he is "either playing somebody's game or a damn fool idiot." Schall introduced a resolution for a federal investigation of the Mooney case last year when Lewis Smith confessed he threw the bomb for which Mooney is serving. Schall said he thought the government is entitled to investigate an explosion in wartime as a federal matter, but he doubted the Senate would vote for inquiry.

"Labor leaders should stir up national-wide sentiment on this case, and especially make it an issue in the California elections," said Schall.

Mother Jones, aged Joan of Arc of American labor, beamed with joy at her Hyattsville, Md., farm retreat when she heard of MacDonald's action. She was in San Francisco when the frame-up was put over, and declares Mooney and Billings are victims of the prejudice that always attaches to labor agitators.

Secretary Hyde Given Cool Reception When He Tells Gov't. Farm Plan

Washington Announces Hoover Will Not Make Addresses In the Farm Belt

By Harold Kelso
(Special Corr. of The New Leader)
HASTINGS, Neb.—"Mister, it's not the heat that's got me sweating under the collar," said one of the audience of 1,500 rural leaders milling out of the city auditorium here after Arthur M. Hyde, secretary of agriculture, Alexander Legge, chairman of the federal farm board, and other speakers, had outlined the administration's "farm relief" policy.

"It's not the heat. It's Artie Hyde's Leggy-pulling for the International Harvester company." And the crowd around, which had been buzzing sullenly, took it up hilariously. "Artie Hyde is Leggy-pulling for the International Harvester company!" went down the aisle.

Secretary Hyde, chosen by President Hoover for his oratorical ability, is touring seven western states to tell the farmers that the equalization fee and the export debenture proposals are unsound, and that farmers must band together to work out their own salvation by cutting production. But no silver tongue could prove this to the farmers of Central Nebraska, although Mr. Hyde made a valiant effort.

A Stormy Speaker
He stormed back and forth across the stage energetically mopping his brow, beaming on the audience at the least applause, trying to remain polite in the face of uncontrollable heckling. Finally, giving up an attempt to make a definite speech, he shouted:

"All right, are there any more questions?"
And the crowd started firing. One man charged that Alexander Legge, who was formerly head of the International Harvester company, wanted American farmers to stop exporting grain so that his former company could sell more farm machinery to foreign countries, since the American farm machine market was almost saturated. Hyde said it wasn't so.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "when the government asked Mr. Legge about it, he got down on his knees, and begged them not to make public the fact that the farmer of the Argentine was paying more for machinery than the farmer of America. He was afraid it would hurt sales in Argentina."

Wages 4 Cents An Hour
Harold Hedges, professor of rural economics at the University of Nebraska, told the secretary that farmers in eastern Nebraska had raised wheat this year for wages of 4c an hour, after allowing moderate interest on their investment. "And the farmers in this part of the state must raise wheat," he stated, "if they are to get the advantage of crop rotation and economical distribution of labor. Just which of these farmers are going to reduce wheat acreage?"

"No power on earth," Hyde answered, "in government or anywhere else, can make a farmer do anything." The crowd guffawed. "All we can do is just present the facts. Whenever you face facts, you've got to realize the problem of the surplus."

"It is probably true," he continued with a forced grin, "that we haven't the leadership in agriculture to work out this problem, although for a hundred and forty years agriculture has given leadership to everything else." But the crowd did not see the joke.

Chairman Legge, and Nils A. Olson, chief of the bureau of agricultural economics of the department of agriculture, were courteously received by the audience in introductory speeches. Mr. Legge outlined the accomplishments and plans of the federal farm board, and Mr. Olson talked about the wheat crops in Argentina, Canada, and Russia.

After the meeting, a farmer suggested to Mr. Hyde that the government issue licenses to farmers, permitting them to grow only a specified number of acres of wheat. The secretary said that such a plan would be "unconstitutional," and that the farmers must meet the situation by voluntary action.

Hyde's Solution Rejected
Another "unconstitutional" suggestion, that governmental restrictions should be placed on chain and industrial farms—corporation owned farms operated by a hired manager, was also rejected.

A reporter's question about the Grundy tariff brought the unsupported statement that the tariff would raise the price on what the farmer buys only about 50%, whereas it would raise tariffs on exportable products 150%. Secretary Hyde admitted, on further questioning, that wheat and cotton were two crops that no tariff could help.

On the streets of Hastings, everyone is admitting that the secretary's facts about crop surplus are true, but there are few who accept his promised solution.

"Wheat make this country," said Fred W. Gentry, a farmer from Roseland, Nebraska. "It used to be just a lot of sod land, and wheat is the only dependable crop we've got. Corn dries out and beans and alfalfa burn the ground for

anything else, because we don't have rainfall enough to grow crops on rich soil. If they're going to cut crops, let them make the farmers over in Missouri and Iowa lay off the wheat."

I pointed out to him that Professor Hedges had stated that farmers had to grow wheat for crop rotation, and asked him if it were any different in Missouri and Iowa.

"I don't know about that," he answered. "But I do know that the government or somebody has raised prices on everything that we buy, and some of these wise guys ought to be able to figure out a way to raise prices on the one thing we can sell."

And all Hastings is echoing Mr. Gentry's ideas, in spite of the oratory of Arthur M. Hyde, secretary of agriculture and master of oratory.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Those who are witnessing the collapse of Hoover and the deflation of the Republican machine because of widespread unemployment and the frightful distress that has overtaken the farmers in the great wheat belt in the West are amused at the announcement that President Hoover does not expect to deliver any public addresses in that region. With Secretary of Agriculture Hyde having been heckled by desperate farmers in the West Hoover has no intention of facing these farmers with the usual soothing syrup.

It is recalled here that in the Iowa sector of the wheat belt Hoover made one of his most important addresses in the town of his boyhood home. That address was devoted to the agricultural problem. The speaker told the farmers to have faith in the Grand Old Party. Within two years after having made the address Mr. Hoover does not find it convenient to stop while enroute to the Far West to again speak to these farmers. The votes have been gathered and the farmers are reaping disaster, not a wheat crop that will pay expenses.

Negotiations Reveal Low Coal Wages

Anthracite Parley Appears To Be In Deadlocked Stage—Private Parleys On

CONTRACT miners, the most highly skilled in the anthracite coal fields, net less than \$1,700 a year while three-fourths of the mine laborers make less than \$1,500, union representatives in negotiations held in New York for a new anthracite labor contract, are pointing out. The operators are insisting on a wage cut.

Annual wages may now be much less than the figures quoted by the union negotiators, for hard times have spelt unemployment on a wider scale than ever in the black diamond fields of northeastern Pennsylvania. The contract miners, the U. S. coal commission found, averaged 248 days a year and the laborers 238. In many districts the average drops below 200 days, and some hard coal collieries have worked a month or less in the first half of 1930. There has been no wage increase in the anthracite since 1923.

Union leaders once more are pressing for a joint request from operators and union to the interstate commerce commission that freight rates be lowered. Hard coal freight rates are now 41% higher than those in the soft coal fields.

The operators however are unwilling to seek lower rates. Most of the big companies are tied up with the anthracite roads, such as the Philadelphia & Reading, Lehigh Valley, Delaware & Hudson and Lackawanna. The Wall St. interests which control both figure to make more out of their roads, with the higher rates, than they would gain through mining operations from a lower rate.

Private Talks Held
While negotiations were apparently in a deadlock over the operators' demand for lower wages and the union demand for equalized operation of the collieries of the same company, Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and Richard F. Grant, of the Lehigh Coal Co., generally regarded as the key man in the operators' group, held a secret conference at Lewis' suite in the Pennsylvania hotel. It was believed that the two had reached an agreement on major issues, but no announcement was made.

On the checkoff issue, it appears that the union will register its only substantial victory. With dues paid over to the district union by the operators, the much weakened treasury of the United Mine Workers, now deprived of most of its soft coal revenue, will be bolstered. Mine committeemen will lose their principal job, that of dues collection, while "button strikes" to force recalcitrants to pay up will be unnecessary.

N. Y. Unions Are Polled On Labor Party

Niagara Central Labor Union Sends Questionnaire To All Locals In State

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.—(FP)—Every central labor council and local union in New York state is receiving a questionnaire from the Niagara Falls Central Labor Union concerning the advisability of organizing an independent labor party. The Niagara Falls central body has already organized a labor party for Erie county and seeks a conference this fall, probably at the New York State Federation of Labor convention in Buffalo, on linking up progressive sentiment throughout the state.

Unions and councils approving the idea are asked to name two delegates to attend the organizing conference. That it will meet with wide response is indicated by agitation conducted in Buffalo, Rochester and other upstate unions. A sprinkling of support among New York unions is expected despite Democratic allegiance of most of them.

Over the signature of J. H. Vandebosch, secretary of the Niagara Falls Central Labor Union and a member of the Carpenters state executive council, the labor council states that:

"The principle of independent political action has been amply vindicated. No more is there need to curry political favors when it is possible for us to command political power in our own behalf and for the greater benefit of all our people."

"Sooner or later," continues the questionnaire, "we American workers must seriously face this same problem. Injunction judges, police clubbings, chronic and technological unemployment, sickness and old age security, all these—and more—emphasize the need for American labor to support its economic policies with a proper program of independent political activity."

"We feel that the sooner this is done, the better. We feel that this matter should be discussed by labor and its friends in New York state. In other states, Labor has already begun a policy of independent labor political action with very promising immediate results." Recently held their annual meeting. A full slate of candidates for public office were designated, as follows: for Congress, 40th district, Thomas Justice; State Senator, 47th district, Herbert Hall; Member of Assembly, 2nd Niagara district, Alfred Trowell, President of the Central Labor Union; County Coroner, Dr. G. S. Philbrick—all of Niagara Falls. The Niagara County Socialist Party will endorse these candidates.

Thomas Justice will also be the Socialist nominee for Congress in the 40th district, which includes all of Niagara County and one-third of Erie County. A politician is circulating petitions intending to run in the Republican, Democratic and Socialist primaries. All enrolled Socialists are requested to refrain from signing any petitions for Congress in this district unless the candidate designated is Thomas Justice and the Vacancy Committee named is James Battistoni and Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo and Abraham Hoch of Niagara Falls.

Interesting Unity House Week End Is Promised

The Social and Educational activities in Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., are in full swing. Beginning Monday, July 21st, Prof. Clarence Ayres will conduct a series of lectures on "The Human Side of Humanism." Mr. Elias Tartak has just completed a lecture course "Aspects of Modern Literature." Other prominent lecturers in this year's Educational Program will be announced later.

For this week-end Saturday and Sunday, July 19th and 20th, an exceptionally fine program has been arranged. Miss Lucille Collette, a gifted violinist; Miss Erminia Erganova, a prominent soprano, and Leo Blank, of the Hebrew Actors' Union will take part.

Unity House is being appreciated by the Americanized adult children of the Cloakmakers, Dressmakers, Embroidery Workers and other members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. These young men and women spend their vacation in Unity House and are proud of the achievements of their parents whose Union had the vision to conduct such an exceptionally beautiful and inspiring summer resort as Unity House is. All those who wish to visit Unity House should make their reservations at the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U., that is at 3 West 16th Street, New York City, or telephone Chelsea 2148.

Every sympathizer with Labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity, should support Socialism as the only principle which will abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people. The overthrow of Capitalism is the object of Socialism.—Eugene V. Debs.

The first condition of prosperity is that we should shun war.—Lloyd George.

Pennsylvania Bosses' Strikebreaker Protected By Secretary James Davis

Candidate For Senate Defies Pleas of A. F. of L. and Hosiery Union

By Laurence Todd
WASHINGTON.—(FP)—James J. Davis, drawing federal salary as secretary of labor, has been forced, at last, to a showdown with the American Federation of Labor and its affiliate, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, on a fundamental issue—the protection of a strikebreaker against the legal penalty of deliberate violation of federal law. This strikebreaker is Edward Singher, a Canadian citizen, whose arrest on deportation charges was secured six months ago. Singher entered the United States under false representation that he was an American citizen, and had scabbed in the strike of hosiery workers at the Kraemer mills at Nazareth, Pa. He was arrested on charges of beating up strikers, but a company jury acquitted him. Then the manufacturers began their long and successful fight to prevent his deportation.

Secretary Davis, running for the Senate, played both sides. The man was arrested, but hearings were delayed. And after the order of deportation was entered, appeal was taken to Washington, where more delay ensued. Davis won the Republican primary with endorsements from organized labor. After that, the Singher case ran into snags.

Late in June the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, in convention, adopted resolutions demanding that Singher be not allowed to depart to Canada—whence he could immediately return as an immigrant—but that he be deported as a violator of the immigration law. So deported, he could not legally return to the United States. This resolution sets forth that Singher, "who knows absolutely nothing of work in a full fashioned hosiery mill, was hired by the Kraemer company after the strike to act as a bully and strong-arm man, and has attacked and beaten up strikers who were fighting for the right to belong to a labor union. . . . It is now known that powerful political influence is being brought to bear on the Im-

migration authorities to permit Singher to leave the country of his own free will so that he can return. . . . We believe that no man who is a strikebreaker and a bully will ever become a worthwhile citizen of the United States."

On June 30 Edward F. McGrady, legislative representative of the A. F. of L., followed up a verbal protest to the Immigration Review Board by writing to W. M. Smelzer, chief counsel for the Board:

"Singher's actions in the strike are known to every local of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in the country, and his illegal entry into the country is also known. Should he be allowed to leave the country voluntarily I am afraid there will be a great reaction to the decision. . . . This matter will undoubtedly be brought up at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston the first week in October. If Singher is allowed to leave the country, voluntarily and come back, I do not need to tell you what the reaction of the organized labor movement will be."

"Singher has boasted that he cannot be deported. If you allow him to leave voluntarily at this time, it means he will notify people he is going to Canada on his summer vacation and after his vacation is over he will return to the scene of his strike breaking activities. I am calling these facts to your attention; they have been before the Department for months. The way the matter has been handled so far has aroused curiosity and suspicion. . . . I do hope the prayer of the A. F. of L. and the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers will be granted and Singher deported."

On July 10 Harry Hull, commissioner general of immigration, notified McGrady that although Singher was deportable, "in view of exceptional circumstances an order of deportation will not be entered at this time," but that Singher could freely depart to any other country."

McGrady replied that "the exceptional circumstances are that the low-wage and scabby manufacturers of Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania politicians, seem to have enough influence to defy the law, and that the Department of Labor officials have bent the knee subserviently to these scabby manufacturers and politicians."

Ford Plant Discharges 20,000 'Hands'

80,000 More Get "Vacations" For at Least Two Weeks

DETROIT.—(FP)—20,000 workmen have been laid off indefinitely by the Ford Motor Co. 80,000 workers have been given "vacations" for at least two weeks, with the warning that it will probably be longer. The 20,000 who have been indefinitely laid off have had their badges taken, which indicates that they will not be rehired.

News of this gigantic layoff has been kept under cover by Ford officials by saying that the plant would be closed down for "inventory" for two weeks. No indication was given that thousands were to be permanently fired.

Those workers who will return to work have been ordered to buy Ford cars. Those workers who have other cars have been ordered to sell them and buy Fords. Several weeks ago foremen were ordered to do this. Now the workers, under pain of dismissal, are having to bolster up Henry's falling market.

Speed Up Continues
Determined to keep up production with a smaller working force the company has made its notorious speed-up even more vicious. A worker on pinion gears reported to Federated Press that he started his job some years ago with four machines. It was later raised to six. He is now having to handle nine machines and expects to have to run a dozen when he returns to work.

A tool maker told Federated Press that conditions were fast becoming intolerable. "You have no idea of it now," he said. "The machines are jammed so close together you can hardly move between them. The men are having to look after nine or ten of them. All the while they are rushing up and down those narrow aisles like madmen."

"The machines I'm running," said a grinder, "take up the distance of a city block. By the time I'm at the last one the first machine has already stopped running. The boss is shouting and I've to run back there, and then back the line again to see that the last machine doesn't stand idle for a second. Now the boss tells me they're going to give me more machines. All I gotta say is—Flint workers ain't the only guys that can strike."

Every prominent newspaper is owned by millionaires, and the Press is falling into fewer and fewer hands.—R. C. Morrison, British Labor M. P.

Grocery Clerks Leader Faces A Frame-Up

Abrahamson Indicted When Campaign of Terrorism By Bosses Fails

MEYER ABRAMSON, organizer for the N. Y. Retail Dairy, Fruit and Grocery Clerks Union Local 338, is now facing trial on a series of trumped up charges in Bronx County as a result of the union's efforts to organize a number of open shops.

The union recently started a campaign to organize the retail clerks in the Bronx and concentrated its efforts on several stores, one of which is the Berries Dairy Co. at Burnside and Davidson Ave., where a picket line was conducted for several weeks with the result that sympathizers patronized other stores where union labor is employed. The employers then started a campaign of beating up the pickets, using a well known gang for this work. Many pickets were beaten up. The union sent out a larger picket line and when strong arm methods failed, 6 pickets were arrested on trumped up charges.

Organizer Abrahamson then went to the District attorney's office and complained that the union's pickets were being molested and not permitted to picket. Instead of taking up his complaints the District Attorney informed Abrahamson that he stood indicted on three charges of "attempted coercion." Abrahamson protested that he was not even summoned before the Grand Jury, or in any manner notified of these charges and given an opportunity to secure an attorney. He was then held for 11 hours on \$15,000 bail and then permitted to be released on \$7,500 bail through the efforts of organizer Collins of the A. F. of L.

The case is now pending trial, and the entire labor movement is deeply interested in it. The United Hebrew Trades as well as the Central Trades and Labor Council is helping in establishing the right of the union to carry on its organization work, which it is doing even under this duress. Abrahamson has been actively identified with the trade union movement for the last 30 years and feels confident that this sort of persecution will not dampen the effort of the union in organizing the entire industry throughout the Bronx.

By the term "spiritual" we are not to understand any mysterious and supernatural qualities. It is simply a convenient name, in distinction from animal, to cover all those higher mental and emotional processes which in human evolution are ever gaining greater power.—Havelock Ellis.

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Morals And Morale in the Trade Union Movement

By Jacob Panken

FROM my entry into the labor movement, I have subscribed to a principle which time has proved and vindicated. The labor movement must have a morale and also must have its morals.

When you view morals from the point of view of the morale of the labor movement, I believe that there can be no two opinions as to the fact that nothing which undermines the morale can be moral. It follows naturally therefore that everything is immoral in as far as the labor movement is concerned that attacks its morale.

Dishonesty on the part of leaders, even though it may not affect the economic or material conditions of the membership of a trade union, is disastrous because of its effect upon the morale of the membership. No man is competent adequately to serve in the labor movement even though his contribution adds to the material gains of a trade union if he is inherently dishonest. The rank and file of an organization must have confidence in its leadership. It must have faith in its cause. If the leadership is not above suspicion, not only does the leader lose confidence but the organization for which he speaks loses the confidence of the membership.

The Aims of Labor

To give the trades-union that effectiveness which is necessary in order to attain the purposes of the labor movement, the greatest confidence and faith on the part of the membership is a prerequisite.

It may be well for me to enlarge at this juncture upon what I believe the purposes of the labor movement. An increase in wages, even a reduction in the hours of labor; a betterment of the material conditions of the workmen, is not the only end which the labor movement desires to attain. Labor has an historic mission to perform. It is the only class in our society which will or can reorganize society along a more equitable basis. It is the only group in society that can or will carry forward the natural evolutionary movement leading toward a social system in which the ills of present society will be eliminated.

The trades-union movement, even though it is not committed to direct political action, exerts an influence upon the body politic. It is true that the trades-union movement in the United States has as yet failed to make its power felt politically. We are the only country in the world that is backward in social legislation. No social insurance legislation of any definite value to labor has been enacted. Even the most menacing government power, that of the use of the injunction against the trade unions, has not been eliminated. It goes without saying, that the use

of the injunction against labor can only be prevented by the exercise of political power on the part of trades union movements; whether that power is direct or indirect, it is political power nevertheless. It is only necessary to mention the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Law, the Child Labor Law in various states, laws for the protection of women in industry, laws regulating working conditions in all industries, to show conclusively that the purposes of the labor movement is not confined to the question of wages and hours.

As the social conditions become more complex, the relationship between man and the government as an agency for the betterment of the general life of man becomes apparent. Education of the young, housing regulation, care in time of sickness, sanitation, prevention of disease, etc., are matters in which each of us is interested and which is or should be a governmental concern. Those that are most hurt by the failure of the government to undertake and perform these functions are of course the workers. It is therefore the concern of the workers to see that the government undertakes and performs not only the functions above mentioned but also such others as may be required for improvement.

There is in addition to that, the ultimate aim of labor to which I have already casually referred and that is the establishment of a social system in which production shall be for use rather than for profit; a social system in which no man shall profit by the labor of another.

Labor and Gangsterism

Viewing the situation from an angle as I have outlined it, it appears to me that the man in the labor movement, particularly those in leadership, must be scrupulously honest beyond all suspicion.

I feel about the labor movement as if it were an army for the common good. That being so, its foundation must be grounded not only on principle but on a high moral concept. It must instill a morale in its adherents which would not only commit them to the spirit of the labor movement but imbue them with a spirit of self-sacrifice; instill within them a lofty idealism which while it will concern itself with the immediate present will bend every effort toward the ultimate goal. In other words, live not only in the present but live in and work for the future.

In a movement of this kind, mercenaries can find no place, whether the mercenary is in a position of leadership or in the combat battalions. To make it quite clear, when the progressive Jewish labor movement was begun and for a

few decades after its inception, its efforts at organization of the workers or strikes for improved conditions were always met on the part of the employers by hired mercenaries, gangsters and gunmen. These mercenaries in the course of time found their way, unfortunately into the trades unions and now, I am reliably informed, some so-called trades unions are headed by mercenaries. I use the ugly word, gangster. That is true, I am reliably informed, of the Schoctum, of the poultry drivers union. I have been even told and I believe reliably so, that in one instance a so-called trades union which was headed by a gangster sold the control of that union to another gangster and his gang for a consideration. Happily these are isolated conditions but that such conditions should at all exist in the trades union movement calls for a concerted action to rid the labor movement of any of these elements.

Trades union activities are part of the general class struggle and that struggle is really a battle between the workers and their employers. A truce from time to time is arranged, the victor is either one side or the other. In a

general sense, the struggle or the battle between the classes always goes on.

Even under the present system, labor has a greater interest in industry in which it may be employed than the employer because the only means of livelihood for labor is the orderly conduct of industry and naturally labor must always act in a manner which will prevent chaos within industry.

So that I may not be misunderstood, permit me to say this: to obtain high standards for labor in industry, it is necessary to organize the workers, standardize wages so that the competition between employers shall not be at the expense and cost of the workers. To put it a little more clearly, let not the competition between labor itself be the basis for competition between the employers. In the struggle, labor must carry on a running fight. In the battle, the membership of the union is the army, each member is a soldier and the battle must be carried on by the member himself; to delegate it to hired men in judgment is subversive of morals and undoubtedly tends to destroy that morale of which I have spoken.

The Union "Racket"

The elements who belong in the underworld or on its fringes, have no place in our movement. Like in their other rackets, these elements have established what has become to be known as the "trade union racket." As in other activities in the underworld, the trades union movement has become for them a source of revenue. It is only necessary to direct your attention to Chicago and even to New York to prove my contention. There is such a thing as a trades union racket in which the gangsters are deeply involved and at a tremendous cost to the trades-unions.

Work, within the trades-union movement, unless it requires the entire time of an individual or a large portion of his time, should be given by the members voluntarily without the expectation of being paid for such services. In the beginning of our movement, the workers were happy to do all the work which was called for without any compensation. In the course of time, a vicious system cropped up of "paid committees." These paid committees were the source of revenue to some men who stood in well with officers and

a basis for the system of political machines within the organization in contradiction of what was just and right, and sometimes used for the purpose of preventing democratic management of the organizations.

I speak of these things frankly because I feel that they strike at the very root of our movement. When an officer places himself at the mercy of a gangster, that gangster is not only in a position to milk the union but he often also exacts favors for employers which can only be granted at the cost of and to the detriment of the workers. Only recently it has come to my attention that politicians for a consideration paid to them by employers will obtain favors from trades-unions for said employers. I know of one instance of which I have no doubt at all.

Thus far I have sketched what the situation is and indicated what should be avoided. I want to put myself on record that the labor movement cannot possibly achieve what its mission is unless it has a sense of morality and maintains the morale of its membership. The leadership must be of the highest type; mercenaries must be eliminated and avoided.

And now I come to something which seems to me of tremendous importance in view of what has gone before. The trades-union movement asks and often obtains as a favor that to which it is entitled as a matter of right. Politicians not of the finer type are importuned to defend the rights of the members of the union, say in the courts or elsewhere, to which they are entitled under the law, as a favor for which in return the unions do favors. That destroys the faith of the membership in the movement. It undermines its morale; it loses for the leadership, the faith of the membership and what is as grave, it destroys the fine moral fibre in the individual member that is so necessary in a movement like ours.

Not the least of the damaging phenomena that has developed in the labor movement recently is the injection of what is known as the fixer in legal matters affecting the labor movement. That has brought about a condition which has lost all respect to which the labor movement is entitled in the courts. It is but natural that when a fixer comes into court for a union that court will regard the union and its claim with suspicion.

There is only one way to fight the rights of labor and that is along broad principles.

TO RESTORE FAITH—10 pt sub Back-stairs methods are unbecoming to the labor movement. They undermine the militant spirit of its membership; they play havoc with the morale of the organization; it is an unworthy compromise with principle.

What has been accomplished by the labor movement in the direction of social legislation was the result of an aggressive attitude rather than that of a suppliant spirit. The failure of Judge Parker to be confirmed by the United States Senate as a member of the United States Supreme Court could not have been effected by back-stairs methods. Were it not for the fact that the labor movement as a whole mobilized its forces in an attack upon Judge Parker, the United States Senate as heretofore would have disregarded the opposition to Judge Parker.

Aggressiveness in the labor movement stiffens the back-bone of the membership; it gives the individual member a sense of the importance of his organization; strengthens his faith in the cause; gives him abiding faith in the moral aspect of the movement and a definite hope that his aims can be realized by his own class.

Women's Party and Working Women

Social Legislation Attacked From A Strange Source; The "Open Door Council": What It Stands For

By Pauline M. Newman

FOR MORE than a quarter of a century the trade union women of America have fought for recognition as workers within their unions and in their workshop. They have struggled hard to achieve the same rights and privileges that exist in the industrial world for men. The organized women earning women, through the National Women's Trade Union League, have made a splendid fight to make the principle of equal pay for equal work a reality. When out of their experience they found that women were paid less than men for the same kind of work, it was the organized women workers who protested vigorously and fought hard to do away with unjust discrimination. It was the women in the labor movement who fought against the inclusion of women from certain industries when they found no evidence of their greater harmfulness to their sex than to men. They carried on fight after fight to obtain higher wages and shorter hours in order to equalize their economic standards with those of their men co-workers. They have, and still do, fight against discriminations in their own unions. This fight is by no means over. They have made considerable gains, to be sure. But

they realize that centuries of deep rooted prejudice against women's economic and political independence cannot be swept aside by a proclamation of fine phrases. Time and persistent effort alone will do it.

When the fight for political equality began, it did not find the organized working women outside the ranks. On the contrary, they became an integral part of the fight. When this battle was won, and there was an opportunity to put forward the kind of legislation which would alleviate the conditions of the under dog, the trade union women were in the front ranks to support such measures.

When these women realized that the vast majority of working women were slow to grasp the need for joining the unions of their industries, or to organize unions where none existed, and because of their helpless position the employers took advantage and paid starvation wages, without interference from any one, they supported such legislative measures as would compel an employer to pay at least, a minimum wage, or limit the working hours to a rea-

sonable maximum per day and week. They figured that so long as women are allowed to work for wages below the level of subsistence, and as long as they are allowed to work hours long enough to be injurious to their health, so long will women workers be discriminated against. Moreover, they have found this kind of legislation stimulates not alone organization among the low paid workers, but a desire to learn all the complexities of our economic structure. It was also found that this kind of protective legislation has helped to equalize their status with that of their brother workers rather than increase the inequality between them.

Space prohibits a lengthy record of the struggles of the wage earning women in the fight for industrial justice and political equality. One can only say, that these women were pioneers in leading the wage earning women in the fight for industrial justice and political independence.

The labor press of Europe is now devoting considerable space to the activities of the "Open Door" Council. The labor movement is concerned with its persistent harassing of labor women at their meetings. Nowhere, according to reports is the Council taken seriously. The labor movement in Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere is giving them a hearing, but that is as far as it goes.

Here in America the "Open Door" Council has a sister organization in the National Woman's Party. The aims and purposes of both organizations are the same. Both seek the abolition of protective legislation for women workers. They fight just as vigorously against the shorter work day for wage earning women, prohibition of night work, minimum wage laws and similar measures, as do the Manufacturers' Association and the other employing interests. They are, in short, opposed to any and all laws which tend to protect women in factories and mercantile establishments from exploitation. They want no interference from any law making bodies which in their opinion would "discriminate" against women—even this kind of discrimination raises the standard of conditions under which women must work. They seek "equality" for industrial women—even this kind of equality definitely means a lowering not only of industrial conditions, but of the general status of working women. This does not concern the supporters of "equal rights." What does concern them is the fact that laws are made especially for women. They claim that such protection as the law today extends to women workers perpetuates the inequality between the sexes. They insist that such laws are made by men (since the majority are men) in order to keep women in subjection.

In this country the National Woman's Party is advocating a "blanket" amendment to the Federal Constitution which, if enacted would, in theory, do away with all political, legal and economic discrimination against women of every group and class. This "blanket" amendment is also from time to time introduced in the various State Legislatures. In the opinion of the leaders of the National Woman's Party its provisions will have to be enacted into law if women are ever to be free and equal. The amendment to the Federal Constitution would, if enacted, and according to the best legal minds in the country, probably destroy what labor laws we have for women today, and leave nothing upon which to build bet-

ter laws. Laws which deal with such questions as: Private rights, married women's property, marriage, age, divorce, non-support, guardianship of children, sex offenses, public health and social welfare, maternity and child protection, prohibited occupations, health regulations, regulations of hours and wages, etc., would all be thrown into chaos and confusion. It is, however, impossible in the limited space to deal with each question separately. I will, therefore, deal only with the amendment as it would effect labor laws for women workers.

Ethel M. Smith, in her splendid book on "Toward Equal Rights for Men and Women," which is the finest analysis of the blanket amendment that has yet been made, has the following to say on this particular issue:

"In the extent of hardship that would result from its operation, however, the destructiveness of the amendment is probably greater than that of all in respect to labor laws. By this we mean, not the laws prohibiting employment of women in given occupations, most of which prohibitions could be dispensed with unaltered, but the laws regulating hours and providing for the fixing of minimum wages for women. About three million wage earning women in the United States are directly affected by laws of this character, which have already run the gauntlet of the courts because of the opposition of the employers who seek "cheap" labor and object to any restriction upon their opportunity to force wages down. These labor laws are deliberately intended to restrict just that kind of exploitation of precisely that wage-earning group (girls and women) whose bargaining power is insufficient to protect them against it. And the preservation of these laws on the statute books to the present time is the result of prolonged legal battles between opposing forces in the great industrial struggle.

"The opponents of the labor laws for women are ready to attack them at every turn in the future as they have done hitherto. And were this amendment in force, they would unquestionably have a new ground for suit, the injunction would issue as usual, and the enforcement of the law would be suspended until the courts had decided. Appeals would be taken from the lower to the intermediate, and then to the higher courts, no doubt, as in the previous history of these laws. And after a period which might easily be years, the United States Supreme Court would rule.

"Meantime, while decision was in the making as to whether the legal equality required by the amendment was to supersede the actually equalizing economic effect of these laws, employers who wanted to prolong the workday (an employers' association has tried annually to repeal the forty-eight hour law in Massachusetts) would put the longer schedule into effect, seizing their opportunity under the injunction they would have obtained. There are thousands and tens of thousands of women in other states now working to the legal limit of nine and three-quarter hours, or ten hours a day—or eleven and twelve hours in night which some states permit—in industries that fight bitterly any attempt to shorten even that legal workday. Can anybody doubt what those industries would do, were the ten-hour or nine-hour law before the courts? Or can it be seriously maintained that for women to work longer than nine to ten hours a day or eleven and

twelve hours at night, on power machinery, would be either tolerable from the standpoint of health, or equalizing in its actual effect upon their status as compared with men? Does it equalize the economic position of women and men to remove an eight-hour law and thereby invite longer hours for women than the prevailing schedule for men?

That there is more than a speculative basis for such question may be seen when states like California and Massachusetts are considered. There the eight-hour day is widely prevalent for men, because (a) many of the great industries employ chiefly men, and (b) men in those industries have organized and fixed their working standards by collective bargaining with their employers, while hundreds of thousands of women, in the women-employing industries, have an eight-hour day, or a forty-eight-hour week by virtue of the law. The "equal rights" amendment would almost certainly nullify the law, and thereby the eight-hour day for most of the women, while the millions of men—for example, in the building trades, the metal trades, the printing trades, and others—would continue on their eight-hour schedule, untouched by the law or the nullification of the law. Economic equality for women would have been sacrificed for the fiction of legal equality.

"It is no answer to say, at this point, that women can organize unions and get their eight-hour day as men have got theirs. Even if they can, they find it nevertheless to their purpose and advantage to use another method as well. Is it equality to interfere with their exercise of that choice?

"The unionization of women is fought more bitterly and more successfully by employers than the unionization of men, and for other reasons also it presents a more complex problem. To wait on the solution of that problem to attain economic equality for women and

men is to sacrifice the health of thousands while we wait; sacrificing for the shadow, not the substance of equality.

It is, furthermore, to impose upon women a new kind of restriction, a new subjection of their will and their economic interests to those men. The thing that will bring industrial equality of men and women is equal bargaining power, and for the attainment of this there are two accepted methods, law and trade union agreements. Men use both and women use both. But men have been more widely successful with trade union regulation than women have been, and women have made more gains by law than men have made. By what justifiable logic should we deprive women of the instrument they can use to best advantage, and make them dependent on the one which suits men best? Is this equal rights?"

And now who are these new "champions" who are so concerned with the rights of the industrial woman? For the most part they are women without first-hand industrial experience. The leadership of the National Woman's Party is in the hands of women whose wealth permits them to commute from New York to Paris and preach the glories of an unrelenting working day. I should like to see Mrs. Belmont, Alice Paul or Doris Stevens spend ten hours a day in a laundry or in a foundry and then oppose the forty-eight-hour week for women. I should like to see Mrs. Donald Hooker and Miss Laughlin scrub office floors at 30 cents an hour and then oppose a minimum wage law. I should like to see the business and professional members spend a few years in the textile mills of the South and then oppose protective legislation. Until they have tasted the "joy" of the long day; the "beauty" of living on ten dollars a week; the "happiness" and "peace" which come from being exploited by the unscrupulous employers—until they have done that, they had better leave the question of industrial legislation to the industrial women!

A Little Crazier Than Usual

By Adam Coaldigger

Stocks Break; Leaders Down 2 to 5 Points

Steel's New Low

Higher Priced Special Stocks Fall More Than Ten Points

Curb Hit From One to Nine Points

July Wheat At New Low; Cotton Loses More Than \$2 Bale

Happy are the people who take no stock in stock.

Blessed are the poor who sleep on the curbs for they have nothing to lose on the curb.

And yet there ought to be some way by which honest folk with a little kale could gamble without running the chance of losing both saving and salvation, for if anyone thinks that gambling can be rooted out, he's too dumb a creature to have even a guess coming.

There never was a time when people didn't gamble. In fact, life is nothing but a gamble. Why, even the good Lord gambled when he thought Adam and Eve would be contented in Paradise, and he gambled still worse by creating the angels who later on declared war against him in Heaven.

That sweet little baby boy we usher into this vale of tears, destined in our minds to become a second Napoleon, turns out to be a vendor of hot dogs.

The angel we marry becomes a wielder of rolling pins. Teacher's pet develops into a junk-dealer and the preacher's son turns bootlegger.

Gamble, gamble. All is gamble. So why try to stop gambling?

What this country needs is an honest gamble. Something where a fellow knows it's a gamble before he puts his money on it. Now the stock market is not an honest gamble. It's not even a dishonest gamble. It's a sure thing and more people lose their money on sure things than on bad bets.

Once upon a time we had an honest gamble in this country. It

was the Louisiana Lottery. By putting up one lousy dollar, a fellow got a chance of winning one hundred thousand. I put lots of those dollars up and never drew one down, but what of it? The dreams I used to dream about what I would do with that hundred thousand were worth more to me than the hundred thousand I might have won.

There is always more fun in spending money one hasn't got than in spending real money. Phantom money brings more and lasts longer and never spoils the recipient of one's liberality.

Besides, gambling of the right sort can be made to serve the highest ideals of the human race. The proceeds from lotteries have built some of the finest cathedrals of Europe. The Dome of Cologne and the Muenster of Ulm are some of them. These two magnificent edifices never would have been finished if it had not been for those blessed lotteries, for the last hundred feet of a church spire always comes the highest. I personally donated the weather vane on the Muenster of Ulm. My father paid for the last seven feet of the Dome of Cologne. And our neighbor, Abraham Rosenthal, furnished the Gothic cross flower on top of it.

Well, then why not have some of these gambles for good in this country? The town needs a church, the town wants a church, but the town hasn't got the money to build the church. All right, let's have a church lottery. Out of every thousand dollars invested in lottery tickets, half goes to the church, the other half goes into prizes. Everybody knows what the division will be. Nobody cares. Thousands buy tickets. Thousands spend millions of imaginary dollars. A few are made happy by getting much for little and the town gets its church.

The same process could be applied to the building of hospitals, good roads, city halls, court houses, jails, universities, insane asylums, peace palaces, war monuments, opera houses, bug houses and what not.

Why squeeze money out of irate tax-payers for public institutions? Why have drives and tag days and box socials and bazaars, and charity balls and such like racketeer-

ing when there are 120,000,000 people raring to bet their dollars on the other fellow's game?

As it is, these people have nowhere to go but Wall Street. The money that might have gone to the betterment and the beautification of the country is wasted on a small number of sheep killing bears and bulls, who already have more mazzana than is good for their souls.

In fact, there is absolutely no telling how much uplift a well-directed mobilization of the nation's gambling spirit might accomplish. We might even raise the intelligence of our government by raffling off the higher offices. Anyhow, I'm willing to take a chance.

Talking about gambling brings me naturally to farming, which is the biggest gamble of all. First, the farmer bets his labor on a crop and when he gets the crop, he bets it against the gamblers for a living wage. Just now wheat in Kansas City is down to 88 cents, which means about 70 cents at the elevator. Now 70 cents wheat was low wheat even before the war when the dollar bought a dollar's worth of goods. At present, the dollar doesn't buy more than about 70 cents' worth of goods, so that in actuality, wheat is close to the half a dollar mark and that is below the cost of producing it.

Of course, the real cause for the slump in wheat is old friend overproduction. Science and mechanization have permitted the farmers to raise two blades of grass where only one grew before. Then the law of supply and demand came along and this forced the price of half a blade. Then on top of all that, Congress just passed a tariff bill that virtually makes it impossible for the bread-hungry masses of crowded Europe to swap the output of their factories for American food. This in turn lowered the purchasing power of American farmers still more. And so as a result of too much to eat, we have breadlines in America, hunger in Europe and starvation in China.

Meanwhile Russia is working overtime applying science and mechanization to its unlimited acres

of black soil and what that rich black land with the help of tractors and combines will do to American wheat will be a plenty.

Today cotton is quoted at 13 cents a pound. For the cotton farmer this means ten-cents below the cost of production. Last year Russia bought \$31,000,000 worth of cotton from us. That country can easily absorb \$60,000,000 of American cotton this year and thereby bestow untold blessings on our poor cotton Democrats down south. But because Bolshevik Russia refuses to repay us the few hundred lousy millions we had loaned to the Czar to make the world safe for democracy, we can't recognize Russia. And in the defense of diplomatic relations and credit facilities, trade between the two countries languishes.

However, with that five-year plan in mind, Russia must have many things from us and in order to pay for them, it is dumping anthracite coal into our eastern seaports.

Denying recognition to Russia means more hard times to the hard coal miners of Pennsylvania, to the cotton raisers of Dixie and to wheat, corn, hog and cattle raisers of the West from which both hard coal miners and cotton farmers must buy bread and meat.

As far as economics are concerned, the world has long ago become a unit. There is but one market left and that is the world market and the sooner our so-called statesmen recognize that fact, the better it will be for all concerned. Dividing this pitifully shrunken ball of mud by economic frontiers is as silly as crisscrossing an acre farm with 50 fences in the name of economy and efficiency.

But the recognition of world unity, which is already an economic fact, is still far from the minds of our master minds, as the latest atrocity in tariff tinkering shows. Instead of having a Weltanschauung, that is the knack of viewing the world and life as a whole, our statesmen view both with the eyes of Podunk township, Precinct K of the Fourth Ward.

On WEVD

330.6-WEVD-New York City-1,300 KC

SUNDAY, JULY 20	WEDNESDAY, JULY 23
8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group	8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry	8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry
9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia	9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia
9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town	9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town
10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama	10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama
10:30-11:00 A. M.—Beauty Melodies	10:30-11:00 A. M.—Beauty Melodies
11:00-11:30 A. M.—Dr. B. Lunefield, Talk	11:00-11:30 A. M.—Dr. B. Lunefield, Talk
11:30-12:00 P. M.—Weathers	11:30-12:00 P. M.—Weathers
12:00-12:30 P. M.—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox	12:00-12:30 P. M.—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
12:30-1:00 P. M.—Symphony Program	12:30-1:00 P. M.—Symphony Program
1:00-1:30 P. M.—The Cavalier	1:00-1:30 P. M.—The Cavalier
1:30-2:00 P. M.—Cantor Schoen Jewish Program	1:30-2:00 P. M.—Cantor Schoen Jewish Program
2:00-2:30 P. M.—Sato	2:00-2:30 P. M.—Sato
2:30-3:00 P. M.—Elegiac Ensemble	2:30-3:00 P. M.—Elegiac Ensemble
3:00-3:30 P. M.—Juan de Soto, bass-baritone	3:00-3:30 P. M.—Juan de Soto, bass-baritone
3:30-4:00 P. M.—Rev. David M. Cory, talk	3:30-4:00 P. M.—Rev. David M. Cory, talk
4:00-4:30 P. M.—Bess Levick, soprano	4:00-4:30 P. M.—Bess Levick, soprano
4:30-5:00 P. M.—Social Service	4:30-5:00 P. M.—Social Service
5:00-5:30 P. M.—Negro Art and Discussion	5:00-5:30 P. M.—Negro Art and Discussion
MONDAY, JULY 21	THURSDAY, JULY 24
8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group	8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry	8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry
9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia	9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia
9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town	9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town
10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama	10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama
10:30-11:00 A. M.—Beauty Melodies	10:30-11:00 A. M.—Beauty Melodies
11:00-11:30 A. M.—Dr. B. Lunefield, Talk	11:00-11:30 A. M.—Dr. B. Lunefield, Talk
11:30-12:00 P. M.—Weathers	11:30-12:00 P. M.—Weathers
12:00-12:30 P. M.—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox	12:00-12:30 P. M.—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
12:30-1:00 P. M.—Symphony Program	12:30-1:00 P. M.—Symphony Program
1:00-1:30 P. M.—The Cavalier	1:00-1:30 P. M.—The Cavalier
1:30-2:00 P. M.—Cantor Schoen Jewish Program	1:30-2:00 P. M.—Cantor Schoen Jewish Program
2:00-2:30 P. M.—Sato	2:00-2:30 P. M.—Sato
2:30-3:00 P. M.—Elegiac Ensemble	2:30-3:00 P. M.—Elegiac Ensemble
3:00-3:30 P. M.—Juan de Soto, bass-baritone	3:00-3:30 P. M.—Juan de Soto, bass-baritone
3:30-4:00 P. M.—Rev. David M. Cory, talk	3:30-4:00 P. M.—Rev. David M. Cory, talk
4:00-4:30 P. M.—Bess Levick, soprano	4:00-4:30 P. M.—Bess Levick, soprano
4:30-5:00 P. M.—Social Service	4:30-5:00 P. M.—Social Service
5:00-5:30 P. M.—Negro Art and Discussion	5:00-5:30 P. M.—Negro Art and Discussion
TUESDAY, JULY 22	FRIDAY, JULY 25
8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group	8:00-8:30 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group
8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry	8:30-9:00 A. M.—Dick and Harry
9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia	9:00-9:30 A. M.—Uncle Joe and Miss Virginia
9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town	9:30-10:00 A. M.—Man About Town
10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama	10:00-10:30 A. M.—Melodrama

Odds And Ends

SO NOW the idea is to have a special police force to look out for the boys on Fourteenth Street East.

A cop for every Communist is the slogan of our old college friend Elihu Root.

Ham Fish's fishing expedition which is now holding solemn meetings to find out what this holding Communism is all about certainly has a good publicity man. To him the Communists should be everlastingly grateful. Every time he cooks up a new one about the necessity for calling out the army and navy and the Federal Prohibition force to put down Communism in this country, he is giving the boys and girls on the other side of Union Square the kick of their young lives.

And now along come the Pope and Elihu Root hollering Bolshevik horrors and the stock of the Communist Party goes up twelve points in Moscow.

But there are things in our world far more important than Communism. We hasten to inform you that our black cat The Bear has gone and done it again. Two grand black kittens this time. Any suggestions for names? Having named in the neighborhood of some four hundred kittens more or less, during and since the matriarchal regime of our beloved Isabel, great-grandmother of The Bear we feel like the bird who has to think up another name for another Pullman car.

Just at present we are a bit groggy from the round of conventions, conferences and meetings which we have been attending since last June. Just the same out of this ferment, hectic as it may seem, there will emerge, I believe, new ideas tested in the crucible of debate, ready to go out into the rough and tumble of the world at large. Some of these ideas which we have heard expounded at Tamiment, Reading and points East strike us as decidedly dumb. Some as decidedly worth while. All of them have behind them a real sincerity and in some instances a fiery zeal which is very much to the good.

But the greatest value of these get-togethers is the inspiration the individual receives from contact with others who have seen the same vision as himself. At the best the radical must plow somewhat lonely furrows. Now and then it is good for the soul to find that others are looking towards the same horizons.

Our hats are off to Louis Budenz who told a judge in the ironically named town of Nazareth where Louis has been helping in a red-hot strike that as far as he (Louis) is concerned an injunction is just a lot of blab put down on paper in legal terms. And so it is. And if more of us who have to do with strikes and their inevitable enjoining accompaniments had the guts that Louis has, there would be fewer of these legal absurdities raining down on every picket line.

On our way to Reading we stopped off at the Bryn Mawr Summer School and a more beautiful spot it has not yet been our fortune to behold in these United States.

There is beauty there of natural surroundings, great trees throwing their shadows across sun-flecked greens and moving amid towers on which ivy climbs and arches mellowed by wind and rain, working girls come to this garden spot for a little breathing spell and escape from the monotony of the machines.

Very thrilling indeed is this microscopic hint of what the future might hold for those who do honest labor by hand or brain. A clean world where ideas are not forbidden, nor dreams deported, where there is freedom of expression and freedom too to enjoy the "dear delights" of such loveliness as a place like Bryn Mawr affords.

Reading over the above it sounds a bit sloppy. Let me assure you boys and girls, my appreciation of Bryn Mawr's beauties is purely platonic and impersonal, although there were plenty of girls there not a bit hard to look at.

I'm just back from lunch with two of the grandest persons and most sincere radicals I know, Oscar Ameringer and Freda Hogan, now Mr. and Mrs. Ameringer by the grace of the marriage clerk at New York's City Hall. I hope you will all drink a toast with me to their long life and happiness.

Oscar was chuckling over the story of the man who was blowing a bugle in front of the Kremlin. A fellow came along and asked what he was doing. "Comrade," said the bugler solemnly, "I am announcing the coming of the world-wide Communist Revolution." His interrogator said: "But do you get paid much for a job like that?" "No," said the bugler, "I get no pay for this but there's one good thing about it. It's a permanent job."

I like the spirit of the bugler at all events. He was a bit skeptical about finalities but he kept on blowing just the same. Would that some of our tired radicals who think they are so all-fired smart because they feel that Socialism in our time is an impossibility had the same spirit.

Now we are off to Schenectady and what may well be a history-making convention of the New York State Socialists. We have an important job before us, for not only must we pick candidates worthy to bear our standards (and of course that will be done), but we must come squarely out and make plain our stand on several matters of moment which have arisen since we last came together.

This is no place for their discussion and Heaven forbid that I should write anything here that will bring down upon my long-suffering head the usual deluge of verbose, often insulting and unusually very dull letters that burden the postman and myself every time I wald enough to venture on a controversial subject.

Schenectady is important because the tides are at that flowing our way again. And after many weary years at that. And all you bright Shakespeare students know what you do with a tide which taken at its flood leads on to fortune. Anyhow things were never more auspicious for a real, thundering revival of the old militant Socialist spirit, not only in New York City as was the case last Fall but throughout the entire Empire State.

Schenectady, here we come.

McAlister Coleman.

Congressman Fish is also going to help the unemployed by hunting Bolsheviks on the theory that if he can get the jobless to read of the hunt for Bolsheviks instead of the hunt for jobs God's poor will be resigned to the Republican Party.

Fourteen years of nonpartisan political action in California and Mooney and Billings get this final raw deal. Would they be in a worse plight if the unions had been supporting their own party?

From Our Foreign Correspondents

Labour's Drooping Fortunes

Shettleston Bye-election Heaviest Blow Yet at Prestige of the Labour Government

By Fred Henderson

London, England, July 8th.

DURING the month since my June letter was written, the centre of interest has still been in what the constituencies are saying rather than in the doings of Parliament or of the Party organization. The blast of direct public opinion has continued to blow upon the MacDonald Government, and has risen to something like gale force in the bye-election in Shettleston.



Fred Henderson

the Shettleston division of Glasgow, the Parliamentary seat rendered vacant by John Wheatley's death.

It is a curious freak of coincidence that just at the moment when the discontent within the Party was becoming serious after a year's comparative quiescence, such an unusual series of bye-elections should have transferred our controversies from the inner discussions of the Party to the open arena of direct popular expression and brought the general public in to express a direct opinion about it all. Concerning Fulham and Nottingham I wrote last time. Nottingham was bad enough; about a third of our Labor strength at the general election a year ago was lost. But Shettleston has turned out much worse. It is, in the usual run of things, reckoned to be one of our impregnable strongholds. A year ago our poll was 19,594, giving us the very comfortable majority of 6,724 over our capitalist opponent. Our vote has now nose-dived down to 10,699—very little more than half of what it was a year ago—and we have only just managed to keep the seat by the skin of our teeth, with a majority of only 396 in what should be one of the securest constituencies for Socialism anywhere in Britain. And by way of giving point to these discomfiting figures, our candidate, speaking at the announcement of

his return, declared the explanation of it to be that "the Socialist candidate had to shoulder the failure of the Labor Government to fulfil its pledges to the unemployed and poverty-stricken masses."

I am for the moment only recording the bare facts, and I want my American friends to have them quite fully before judging as to their significance. If these three bye-elections, instead of happening casually by the death of the previous members, had been deliberately arranged for the purpose of testing public opinion in key places, they could not have been selected more fittingly to that end. Fulham and Shettleston are London and Glasgow divisions—English and Scottish metropolitan opinion—while Nottingham is the type of the self-contained provincial industrial town. Between them they constitute a sort of general election in miniature; and what we have to face in their verdict is a tale of lost votes without precedent in the political annals of the British Labour Party.

As at Nottingham, so also at Shettleston our lost votes have not been transferred to the enemy by any conversion from Socialism. It is by the refusal of nearly half our people to vote at all that this steep drop in our poll has taken place. Our opponents make no claim to interpret the figures as an electoral weakening on Socialism, but only as dissatisfaction with the Government's failure to pursue Socialist policy. Bear in mind that the key factor in all this tangle is the absence of a majority of our own in Parliament, and the consequent dependence of the Labor Government on Liberal support in the House of Commons for keeping in office. Hence the dropping of our own poll, and the handing of the situation by the Government so as to keep the Liberals placated. What Liberal support will permit us to do rather than what we may wish to do and pledged ourselves to do, has become the determining factor in shaping the course of the Labor Government in a Parliament constituted as this is; the alternative being—exit the Labor Government.

It all comes back to the basic

conflict of opinion as to what a Labor Government should do without a majority of its own in Parliament. Should it seek to ensure its own continuance by confining itself to such things as can command a majority by securing the support of a section of its opponents? Or should it go forward with the frankly Socialist policy which it promised the nation, standing or falling by it? After a year of experiment with the first of these alternatives it is now becoming clear that public opinion in the constituencies is against it; on the ground that office is not an end in itself, and ceases to be worth holding if the condition of holding it is the negation of the purposes for which alone we seek to hold it. Rightly or wrongly, that view Labor opinion in the constituencies now seems to be definitely shaping.

The Government, however, has been consistently loyal to its choice of policy; and has now made a further important move along the same road. When, on the morning of the Nottingham election, it was announced that J. H. Thomas was to drop his work in connection with unemployment, it was generally assumed that a change in government policy was indicated as well as a change in persons. But so far from changing its essential policy, what the Government has now done is to carry its dependence on Liberal support further than ever. The separate handling of the unemployment problem as a Government responsibility through the agency of Thomas has failed. The new move is to declare that in the Parliamentary situation the Labor Government puts forward no distinctive policy of its own, but wishes unemployment to be regarded as a national emergency, in the handling of which the other political parties are openly invited to come in and share responsibility.

This, in effect, means cooperation with the Liberals only. It was perfectly well known that the Conservatives, with their policy of safeguarding by tariffs, would not come into any such joint responsibility; and the reckoning was that, on their refusal, as Bevan, M.P., tersely puts it in an admirable article in the British "New

Leader" they could be "accused of deserting the nation at a time of grave crisis, and charged with putting a Party before Country," and MacDonald has just issued an open letter to Baldwin, the leader of the Conservatives, to that effect. This, with its absurd implication that standing by the Party policy is desertion of the Nation in an hour of emergency, and that Party policies, including our own Socialist policy, are adopted for some mysterious purpose other than the belief that they would serve national needs, has added to the consternation of the rank and file. The Liberals, of course, are only too ready to accept the invitation in their constantly announced role of saviours of the country from any real Socialist action by a Labor Government dependent upon their support for its continued existence.

Meanwhile there are other complications. The trouble is by no means confined to the handling of the unemployment question. But they all have their root in the predicament of a Government without Parliamentary power to enforce its own policy, and therefore compelled to choose between the two alternatives of risking loss of office or shaping its course to conciliate its opponents. Of these other complications, the Indian trouble has become the most menacing. The shootings, the wholesale jailing of Indian nationalists under the regime of a British Labor Government, these things are creating a tense feeling of indignation throughout the Party here, and India, even more than unemployment, is at the moment becoming perhaps the most dangerous of the factors which are making the general situation explosive. What is being done in India is being done with intense reluctance by the Government. It is obviously contrary to the whole spirit and instinct of the Socialist outlook on life. But in this, as in all the other troubles, the course along which the Government is being driven is the natural and inevitable result of the policy of seeking to ensure a continuance of office by capitalist consent instead of staking the future on a bold

stand for our own views and principles.

Perhaps the most important news development of all this is in what happened at the meeting of the Parliamentary group only two days ago. A revolt in the constituencies usually has a quick effect on the House of Commons. The ordinary M.P., not holding any official government position, is naturally sensitive to these indications of rank and file opinion from outside. And under that stimulus the Labor M.P.'s meeting has now, for the first time, taken its course in both hands, and by a practically unanimous decision has told the Government to abandon its proposals upon one vital matter in which our election pledges were badly violated. We are, as you know, raising the age of compulsory school attendance from 14 to 15, and one of our most unqualified election pledges was that this should be accompanied by adequate maintenance allowances for the children during the added year. The Government announced its intention of giving these maintenance allowances only under a test of parental means and on so small a scale as would have reduced the whole thing to the worst inquisitorial methods and inadequacy of the old Poor Law; and this intention has now been knocked on the head by the demand of the M.P.'s meeting for the full performance of what we pledged ourselves to do.

Though this may seem to be only a detail, its significance is great, in that for the first time since this Parliament came into being the M.P.'s have dared to give an emphatic "No" to Government suggestions for avoiding our pledges. This introduces a new factor into the situation. Governments can afford to set aside opinion outside Parliament, because such public opinion cannot for a very long time affect the relative strength of parties in the House; the chance for that only comes at a General Election. But instability inside Parliament itself in the backing of Government proposals is quite another matter. It cannot be ignored, because it can be immediately effective in action; and to that point things have now developed.

Fascism's Foreign Policy

Mussolini Seeks Chain of Fascist Alliances To Safeguard His Own Dictatorship

By G. E. Modigliani

Paris, July 4th.

CONTRARY to what many persons think, Fascism's foreign policy is by no means the result of its own original initiative and direction. Aside from the secondary objectives of this policy and the minor agreements with which the Fascist Government is working for the success of its own plans, the essential objectives of Italy's foreign policy are today what they were yesterday, before the advent of the Fascist regime.

This is for the very simple reason that these objectives are dictated by Italy's geographical position in the Mediterranean and the relation of its forces to those of the other countries washed by that sea and having interests there. In truth, Italy is one of the natural bridges between Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, between Europe and Northern Africa; just as Italy possesses, across the Adriatic and the same Eastern Mediterranean, a remarkably easy approach to the Balkans.

Hardly had its own national unity been reconstituted when Italy aspired to conquer Tunis (which, however, was occupied by France) and was almost ready to join England in the occupation of Egypt. At about the same time (just before the end of the last century) Italy entered the Triple Alliance, also for the purpose of preventing Austria from barring her road to the Balkans. Later (in 1911) Italy made war upon Turkey to wrest away from the latter Libya, Cyrenaica, Rhodes and the other islands of the Dodecanese. And, finally, at the time of entering the World War on the side of the Allies (in 1915), Italy obtained a promise of important concessions in the Adriatic; just as, during the course of the war, it obtained the promise of a large sector of Asia Minor.

But Fascism cannot say that the former governments, in addition to having bequeathed to it the main objectives of its foreign policy, had also indicated that war was the best method for its realization. Up to 1911 Italian penetration in the Balkans and the expansion of Italian trade in the Mediterranean were exclusively political. The war with Turkey was more of a gesture than a war. And the World War certainly was not wanted by the Italian Governments. Neither should it be forgotten that the very Giolitti who was responsible for the war with Turkey also must be

credited with allowing his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Sforza, to liquidate the far from peaceful situation created in the Adriatic after the World War through a real treaty of peace—that of 1921 with Yugoslavia. And the same two men put an end in 1921 to the Italian military occupation of Albania. But in 1922 Fascism came into power and, though the objectives did not change, the method did, rapidly and seriously. Fascism had been in power only a few months when Corfu was occupied, after the incidents we all remember. It took a British ultimatum to end the occupation. But this humiliation didn't make the Fascist Government any wiser. This is proved by a brief summary of the failures registered by Fascist foreign policy. There was the abortive plan, about in 1923, for an Italo-Franco-Spanish alliance against England in the Mediterranean and the attempt to wrest commercial and territorial concessions in Asia Minor from Turkey, then in a serious situation. England took advantage of the fears aroused in Turkey to win the agreement on Mosul for itself and Fascism realized too late that it had been outplayed. Shortly afterward, Fascist Italy obtained from England the cessation of territory in Somaliland, but gave up the very useful bay of Sallum in the Mediterranean, contenting itself with a couple of desert oases, uninhabited and uninhabitable. Complicated negotiations were begun with France to induce that country to turn over to Italy former Turkish territory occupied by the French (but separated from the present Italian colonies of Northern Africa by the whole desert of Sahara) and to regulate the position of the Italians who had been emigrating to Tunisia for several decades. Thus far these negotiations have resulted in no agreement. All this has been a series of fiascos, "on the other side of the sea," which certainly has contributed toward directing the main efforts of Fascist policy toward solid ground, i.e. toward the Balkans.

And here the strong policy became the rule. It was used in concluding a new series of agreements with Yugoslavia to regulate Adriatic questions, such as the port of Fiume, coastwise shipping, fishing, etc. It was used in retaking possession of Albania, like a genuine colony, either to exploit its limited commercial possibilities, or to transform it into a bridgehead from which to menace Yugoslavia. And the strong policy is in evidence in the agreements with Hungary (including supplies of arms and munitions in defiance of the peace treaties), the subventions to the Macedonian bands (tools of Bulgarian intrigue) and the deals with the Heimwehr behind the back of the regular Austrian Government. The most superficial acquaintance with the map of Europe is enough to show that all this has one definite objective—to acquire absolute control of the Adriatic through paralyzing Yugoslavia and then to do the same thing in the Balkans. Thus Fascist Italy is the heir and executor of the hated and opposed Austrian policy in the Balkans. But back of Yugoslavia are France and the Little Entente. And so Fascist Italy has become automatically the center of the move to overthrow the status quo in Europe. And if Germany were to be tempted to support such an undertaking, it would spell war.

Whatever we may think about the aims of the Fascist foreign policy, what I have shown thus far is enough to condemn its methods as constituting an intolerable outrage against the peace of Europe. But also from the point of view of Italian interests, judgment can be no less severe. Italy lacks everything necessary to be a dominating military power. It was able to be one nineteen or twenty centuries ago when the ships of war were Roman galleys with three banks of oars driven by the arms of slaves and hurling darts and Greek fire. It can no longer be one today when the elements of military power are iron and fuel (things Italy lacks entirely) and when the dominant powers' size and activities are ocean-wide. And if Italy cannot delude itself with the idea of being a leading military power, it has every reason to prefer peace, honest competition, which would make its goods and people welcome in place of being rejected by countries where the strong policy may, indeed, make the government yield, but doesn't win the sympathies of either buyers or possible business partners. And on the other hand, pacific penetration does away with armaments, allows lower taxes and thus permits lower cost of production and greater possibilities for successful commercial competition. All the experience of United Italy during the forty years from 1870 to 1911 is there to confirm this self-evident

fact. But Fascism cannot recognize this and adapt itself to it, because if it did it would cease to be Fascism.

Fascism denies democracy and liberty. It arrogates to itself the right (almost divine) of a privileged minority destined to put into force certain determined national and social principles. At home this means oppression, and even suppression, of adversaries (and not only in a political, but in a physical, sense when necessary). Abroad it means imposition of the demands of the same minority, considered and presented as representing the nation. Arms and violence in the interior. Violence and arms in the exterior. Fascism lives by this and for this. It is the belated heir of absolute monarchism. And as in the life of Fascism the preparation of arms and the organization of violence soon become a necessary, and constantly more important, end of the very life of the regime.

I am not so blinded by anti-Fascism as to forget that also where Fascism doesn't exist—at least openly—the ruling class always tries to impose its own will, even with illegal methods. But because of the fact alone that the constitution and the laws brand such attempts as illegal they have to be held in check and encounter resistance from the public authorities and public opinion. Which results in a general attempt, the validity and importance of which grow with the growth of the proletarian forces, to settle social conflicts and to conduct the whole policy of the country with methods constantly becoming less aggressive. Such an attempt is civilization on the march. Fascism is radically opposed to any such attempt, either at home or abroad. And thus from one side the spirit animating the internal dictatorial policy forces the regime into aggressions abroad, while from the other side the successes of the aggressions abroad become necessary as a means of consolidating the regime at home.

In conclusion the foreign policy of Fascism is aimed, first of all, at creating a European system which will insure the continuance in power of Fascism in Italy, either by creating an international opinion and a system of alliances favorable to Fascist dictatorships in general, or by assuring to Italian Fascism those successes in foreign policy which will aid it in suppressing the discontent produced

in Italy by the fearful crises due to Fascist economic policy, which is nothing but an aggregation of anti-Italian and anti-economic mistakes.

But, like all regimes of violence, Fascism is also a regime of insincerity. Therefore it is quite logical when it strives to represent itself as an apostle of disarmament and of "Geneva" treaties, but without giving up any of its alliances with the disciples of violence. And it would be a wonder, indeed, if it failed to play this comedy every time other governments, like that of Mr. Tardieu, in France, instead of neutralizing the Fascist policy, make the mistake of remaining faithful to the policy of force and armaments. But anyone who believes in the sincerity of these diplomatic moves by the Fascist regime must be stupid, indeed. One would have to be extremely simple to believe in the powers of Foreign Minister Grandi, when Benito Mussolini is making incendiary speeches and carrying on a campaign of lies and incitement in his servile press, when Fascism is increasing naval armament and is imposing, at one blow, half a billion lire (about \$26,250,000) of new trading taxes upon the impoverished Italian consumers for the purpose of increasing land armament.

The fact is that nobody threatens Italy; while the Fascist regime is a real threat in the Adriatic and in the Balkans, is a real conspiracy in the heart of Europe, is the instigator and organizer of a crazy revival of warlike aspirations—its own and those of the Hungarian magnates, of the German Hitlerites (extreme reactionaries calling themselves National Socialists) and of the Austrian iron and steel industry.

Thus it should be clear to all Socialists that it is their common duty to unmask and oppose the foreign policy of the Italian Fascist regime with all their energy. No concessions to Fascist Italy! Everything that is just to an Italy returned to democracy! This is how to maintain the peace of the world and to help liberate Italy from the shameful regime of Mussolini!

The most sublime courage I have ever witnessed has been among that class too poor to know they possessed it, and too humble for the world to discover it.—H. W. Shaw.

You give alms not as restitution. You give a little so that you may keep much, and you are pleased with yourself.—Anatole France.

Love did not come to us nor pass in vain, Though I appear irreverent as the wind And you become impersonal as rain.

We smile, recalling all the quivering sound Where mute emotions told their meanings. For we have strength of feet upon the ground, And the full courage of a careless shout.

And yet with all this practised mien of ours, In worldliness and what we strut for truth, There is an old nostalgia for flowers And moonlit music, and the surge of youth.

And by its senseless measure can be weighed What part of us is living or decayed.

Have just gotten through reading MacAlister Coleman's biography of Gene Debs. The experience of sitting in on a fine tale about a man like our own saint is altogether delightful.

To write up a man like Debs, within such a short space after his passing from our physical midst, entailed tremendous difficulties for a fair appraisal. In the first place Coleman loved the living Gene and remains an intense devotee of his faith. In the second place, there was so much of Gene's overflowing heart still lying about in letter form all over the land. It poured in upon Mac with avalanche volume. And thirdly, all the hastily formed values of Gene as a leader and an influence had hardly any time at all for ripening into fact and history.

The Chatter Box

More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

CL.

HOWEVER cynically we have sinned, Love did not come to us nor pass in vain, Though I appear irreverent as the wind And you become impersonal as rain.

We smile, recalling all the quivering sound Where mute emotions told their meanings. For we have strength of feet upon the ground, And the full courage of a careless shout.

And yet with all this practised mien of ours, In worldliness and what we strut for truth, There is an old nostalgia for flowers And moonlit music, and the surge of youth.

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The task then required three separate talents for proper performance. The power to submerge one's emotional evaluation and bring forth the true skill of the historian; the strength of art to select from the enticing irrelevancies all that was pertinent to the life of his subject; and lastly to project his own analytical apparatus into the decades ahead so as to see the man as the world will surely see him in posterity.

All this and more, I believe, Coleman has done with astonishing fidelity and judgment. And while Gene in his life had no sins to hide, and the telling of his story required no philosophical or psychological quackery to give it the bookstall selling appeal for a peeping Tom Public, it is remarkable what drama and heart-interest Coleman has piled into his book. It ought to be more than a best seller. It should be a household treasure in every home where children are growing and where men and women need just such a talisman to turn to when hope falters and faith fails.

My love and comradeship for Coleman grows with every such evidence of his talent for good letters. . . . No Socialist home or library is complete without Mac Coleman's "A Man Unafraid. . ."

Ballads of a Farmerette . . .

1. THE ADMINISTRATION

Inflation . . . deflation . . . Just a bit of starvation . . . Much corruption, more oppression And a lot of consternation. . .

Combines, mergers, And a pile of looted stock . . . Bum hounds, hustled bums, And a pretty fleeced flock.

Jolly panics, out of works, Long lines of misery. . . And now, oh where will Mrs. Gann Sit at White House tea. . . ?

2. PLUTOCRAT.

He sits and puffs his fat cigar. . . Content with things just as they are, His stomach full, his purse as well, The rest of us can go to Hell.

With out-of-works, he's overjoyed. . . He dotes on being unemployed.

Contents with things just as they are, He lights another fat cigar. . .

3. BIG BUSINESS MEN.

They toil not, And neither do they spin. But what a heap of riches Their soft hands gather in.

They toil not, Nor earn for daily bread; Yet with such juicy meats Their banquetings are spread.

They toil not, Nor do they care to know How past their feastings stalk The shapes of want and woe. . .

4. MASTERS.

Theirs is still the splendor, And all the fat of earth, Theirs is still the pleasure, All luxury, all mirth, Theirs is still the power Of sword and tricky pen. . . But set of them is written. . . "They shall be tomorrow As though they had not been. . ."

5. SLAVES.

Theirs is still the squalor, All misery and toil, With just the leanest living From mine and mill and soil. . . Theirs has been submission, And loveliness of birth. . . And yet of them is written. . . "They shall be tomorrow The owners of the earth. . ."

Frieda Fisher.

Which reminds me that this is just the time of the year to regale one of your good friends with a copy of Mac's book, and at the same time help the New Leader build up its circulation among the thinking folks of the land. For \$3.50 you get the books and a year's sub. to the paper. . . . Reading during vacation time is such a fine preventative for sunburn. . . . What'dye say. . . ?

S. A. de Witt.

The Democratic-Republican coalition that voted for the sky-high tariff will be pleased to learn that Italy has framed a tariff that excludes American automobiles. The coalition is now realizing that this bill is "flexible" abroad as well as at home.

George White—Master Of Musical Comedy

The Stage

The Movies

Music

At the Fox Theatre in Brooklyn



Audrey El Mer, left, and Drena Beecher, managed to master the extended and intricate "Time Step" marathon, a part of Fanchon and Marco's "Peasant" idea, which can be seen at the Fox Theatre in Brooklyn. George O'Brien in "Rough Romance" is the screen attraction.

"Rough Romance," on Fox Screen in B'klyn; Also Big Stage Bill

Like a breath of fresh air, at the Fox Theatre, Flatbush and Nevins, the current Movietone, "Rough Romance" gives the screen as delightfully a cool atmosphere as the cooling plant has given the theatre itself.

Here is a real action drama, a veritable saga of the snowlands and lumber camps, depicting in an interesting and authentic fashion the turbulent lives of those sturdy men and women. Specifically "Rough Romance" concerns the life and death between two men of the great open spaces: one a stalwart young lumberjack, the other a menacing desperado—and the love-inspired bravery of a lonely woodland lass. George O'Brien, Helen Chandler, Antonio Moreno and Noel Francis are the featured players who fit nicely into their individual roles.

Al Lyons makes his bow from the pit with a special solo, much to the delight of his recently-won thousands of fans, and then again appears in the guise of smiling master of ceremonies.

Rising to stage level with his organ, comes Bob West to the applause of the audience who are ready to "go" at a signal from their pal Bob. And they "go" plenty with the new song and fun slides flashed on the screen.

A Frenchy spice to flavor the stage entertainment is offered in Fanchon and Marco's zesty production, "Peasants." This idea features June Worth, a pretty slip of a girl who does somersaults, splits and other acrobatic dance figures with a new grace; Johnson and Dunker offering a new straw hat throwing episode; the Diehl Sisters, a pair bringing humorous travesties on the usual song and dance team; General Ed La Vine, a rare juggler and a comic; and the Belcher Dancers, eight boys and girls, all trained artists.

Roxy Announces New Screen Productions

S. L. Rothafel ("Roxy") announces a program of screen productions for the Roxy Theatre which promises to make that institution a high spot of film and stage entertainment for the ensuing months. The list includes several new Fox Movietone productions marked with the stamp of distinction in performance and direction, as well as 12 special productions at popular prices.

The first picture on the list which arrives at the Roxy on Friday, July 18, is "Wild Company," a drama of modern youth and indulgent parents. H. B. Warner, Sharon Lynn, Joyce Compton and Claire McDowell are in the cast with a surprise in the person of young Frank Albertson, heretofore seen in light juvenile roles, who rises to new dramatic heights. Following is "Good Intentions," a story of the underworld starring Edmund Lowe, the direction of which by William K. Howard, has caused resounding cheers from the coast.

This is to be followed by "Common Clay," the Harvard prize play of its day and Jane Cowell's greatest starring vehicle. The role of Ellen Neal is taken by Constance Bennett and in the cast are Tully Marshall, Beryl Mercer and Hale Hamilton, each contributing outstanding performances.

Among the special productions to follow are "Journey's End" and John McCormack in "Song O' My Heart."

"We are now assured of a program of pictures," said Roxy yesterday, "that will be in every respect in keeping with the standards and entertainment ideals of this institution. The new regime inspired by the direction of Mr. Harley L. Clarke, has recognized the importance of good pictures, and is giving this theatre every cooperation possible in supplying it with the best product available."

"One Mad Kiss" At Cameo Theatre

Don Jose Mojica, handsome young Latin grand opera tenor, makes his audible screen debut when "One Mad Kiss," a song romance, opens at the Cameo Theatre, Friday.

Mojica for eight years has been a star of the Chicago Grand Opera Company, singing leading roles opposite Mary Garden, Galli Curci, Freda Hempel and other famous divas, and he also has appeared frequently in concert throughout the North American continent.

In his screen debut he plays the role of Jose Saverra, a romantic young political outlaw who proves a thorn in the side of Don Estrada, tyrannical dictator.

The conflict between the two is heightened by Jose's flaming interest in Rosario, famous dancer

Lending Their Beauty and Talent to "Flying High"



At the Apollo Theatre, George White's "Flying High" is still one of the biggest musical hits in town. Among those who dance and sing are the Gale Sisters, who claim to be the only quadruplets in the world.

"The Dawn Patrol" at Winter Garden Theatre Breaking All Records

All records—including those set two years ago by "The Singing Fool"—are falling at the Winter Garden Theatre under the box-office guns of "The Dawn Patrol." For the first four days of its engagement (the picture opened at midnight Wednesday) receipts of \$31,400 were chalked up. The week-end was the biggest in the history of the theatre, in spite of the fact that the Winter Garden has only 1,600 seats and that "The Dawn Patrol" is being shown at popular prices.

From other cities comes word of tumultuous openings for "The Dawn Patrol." In San Francisco, first-night crowds stormed the doors and swept their way into the theatre. In Philadelphia, police had to send out a call for reserves, who arrived just in time to save three badly harassed doormen.

Richard Barthelmess is starred, and Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and Neil Hamilton are featured in this thriller of World War in the air.

Double Feature Bill At the Beacon Theatre

Old favorites and new are presented in the film fare this week at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and Seventy-fourth St., Manhattan. Reginald Denny is starred and Miriam Segar, who is swiftly forging her way to the front among Hollywood's younger luminaries, is featured in "What A Man!" the principal screen attraction. Ronald Colman, Vilma Banky and Florence Turner, who was studio queen for years a decade or so ago, appear in a revival of "The Dark Angel," on the same program with "What A Man!"

In "What A Man!" Miss Segar plays the part of Eileen Kilbourne, haughty heiress whose resentment at Denny's presence in the household as chauffeur and ex-tramp changes to a more romantic feeling in the course of the unusual story. E. J. Rath wrote the popular novel, "The Dark Chapter," on which this amusing all-talking production is based.

The cast, in addition to the principals, includes Anita Louise, child star; Greta Granstedt, Christine Yvonne, Norma Drew, Harvey Clark, Lucille Ward and Carlyle Moore. In the Colman-Banky co-starring picture appear Wyndham Standing, celebrated stage and screen player; Florence Turner, Helen Jerome Eddy, Charles Lane and Frank Elliott.

"We shall continue to give our same type of elaborate shows which have earned a reputation international in scope, and this combination of picture and stage show should provide the public with a standard of entertainment unsurpassed by any theatre in the world."

Jose kidnaps the fiery dancer and carries her off to his ruined castle in the hills, only to release her later when she insists that she does not love him.

Mona Maris, former UFA star, has the role of Rosario, while Antonio Moreno portrays the villainous Estrada. Tom Patricola, America's popular eccentric dancer, has a role as Jose's right hand man which will go far to establish him as one of the premier comedians of the audible screen.

BROOKLYN

Biggest Show in Brooklyn
FOX 25c Mats. 50c Nights
Exc. 1.00 Sat.
George O'Brien in
"ROUGH ROMANCE"
AL LYONS | BOB WEST
FANCHON & MARCO'S
"Peasant" Idea

Norma Shearer in "Let Us Be Gay" Held For 2nd Week at Capitol

The success of Norma Shearer's talking pictures is fast becoming an accepted thing and her latest starring vehicle, "Let Us Be Gay," is evidently no exception as it is being held over for a second week's engagement at the Capitol Theatre, due to the phenomenal business recorded during the first week. Probably no cinema actress has fared so well since the advent of sound as every picture which she has made, and "Let Us Be Gay" is the fifth, has proven an outstanding success. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer have assembled a notable supporting cast for her which includes Marie Dressler, Rod La Rocque, Gilbert Emery, Hedda Hopper and Raymond Hackett. The picture is an adaptation of Rachel Crothers' amusing stage play of the same name.

The stage revue, "Dizzy Daze," which has been devised and staged by Chester Hale under the personal supervision of Louis K. Sidney, will also be held over.

"Mysteries of Nature" Premieres at 88th St.

"Mysteries of Nature," a new UFA silent feature film containing scenes as exciting as "Killing the Killer," will have its American premiere at the Eighth Street Playhouse for the week commencing this Friday.

The film is based on a scenario which expounds Freud's theory that all of culture, all of civilization, is primarily based on man's fight against nature.

Not only does this film present amazing studies of birds, insects, beasts, etc., but it also offers many absorbing experiments in magnetism, electricity and other physical forces.

The film reaches its climax in the scene in which two snakes battle until one of the snakes devours the other. This episode was hailed by the German critics as surpassing the famous fight between the cobra and the mongoose.

Laughs In Order at RKO's 86th St. Theatre

Laughter prevails at RKO's 86th Street Theatre this Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday for the merry-makers on the stage are Jack Osterman, Broadway's play boy; Dora Maughan, comedy songstress, who returned from Europe last Thursday; Ralph Rogers, and Elsie Donnelly, whose mission on earth is to create happiness and Ann Boland.

MAJESTIC

Phil Baker Aileen Shaw
Baker Stanley Lee
In the World's Most Famous Revue
ARTISTS AND MODELS
GEORGE VERA MARY
HASSALL PEARCE ADAMS
World's Most Beautiful Girls!

Earl Carroll Vanities

8th Edition All New
65 Glistening Scenes—1,000 Laughs
HERB WILLIAMS
JIMMY SAVO
JACK BENNY
Prices
Evs. 51 to 56 Mats. 51 to 55.50 & Tax
102 GOOD BALCONY SEATS at \$1.00
Cost of 15c and
Most Beautiful Girls in the World
NEW AMSTERDAM
Theatre, W. 42nd Street
Nightly & Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
Theatre Delightfully Cool—Filtered Air

Columbia Pictures to Broadcast Radio Versions Of Its Plays Over WLTH

Commencing July 15th and continuing each Tuesday evening at 7:30 o'clock Columbia Pictures will broadcast radio versions of its productions over Station WLTH in Brooklyn. Each Columbia feature will be presented by a cast of professional players including Judge Gustum, who was a well known figure on Broadway a few seasons ago, Ida Ellis, the original Kate in "Way Down East," and Ethel Rosmon.

The presentations over WLTH will be the first of a series of radio performances to be given by the Columbia Players over several stations in the East and launches the company's pretentious broadcasting program which will blanket the nation.

The WLTH players represent the first Little Theatre of the air. This group will furnish the nucleus of the Columbia Players in a series of unique broadcasts and recordings which are a part of the company's radio plans. "Hell's Island" will be the first production to go on the air. This will be followed by radio versions of "Sisters," "Rain or Shine," "Temptation," and "Around the Corner."

At the Little Carnegie

From Saturday through to Tuesday of the coming week, the handsome little playhouse adjacent to Carnegie Hall is presenting "This Mad World," a William deMille picturization of the French play, "Terre Inhumaine," by Francois de Curel. Basil Rathbone, Kay Johnson and Louise Dresser have the featured roles in this picture which has to do with the dramatic love affair of a French spy, played by Basil Rathbone, and the wife of a German officer (Kay Johnson) during the war.

APOLLO THEATRE

WEST 42nd STREET, EVIS. 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 11 to 12:30

George White

Presents The Ace of Musical Comedies

Flying High

with Bert Lahr—Oscar Shaw

The Gale Quadruplets—Al Goodman and His Brunswick Recording Stars—30 George White Girls—De Sylva, Brown and Henderson Songs

THEATRE GUILD Presents THE NEW

GARRICK GAETIES

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

"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 so far done."—Morning Post, N. Y. Times
"Enormously compelling talking motion picture. As a show something to get definitely excited about."—A very fine motion picture. —Howard Barnes, Herald Tribune.
CENTRAL THEATRE, Broadway and 47th Street
Twice Daily, 2:45-8:45
3 Times Sat. — Sun., 2:45-8:45-8:45

"Song of the Flame," First Time at Popular Prices, at the Strand

"Song of the Flame," musical drama of the Russian revolution, will come into the New York and Brooklyn Strand Theatres at midnight (July 17) for the first time at popular prices. Noah Beery, Bernice Claire, Alexander Gray and Alice Gentle, Metropolitan opera star, are featured. Bert Roach, Inez Courtney and Ivan Linow are also in the cast.

"Song of the Flame" is a First National all-talking production. It was directed by Alan Crosland and was adapted from the stage opera by Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, with music by George Gershwin and Herbert Stothart. It was filmed entirely in technicolor.

"Song of the Flame" previously had a \$2 run at the Warner Theatre.

"Wiegand," German Talking Film, at the 55th Street Playhouse

"Wiegand," an all-talking production in the German language produced by Paramount, is to have its first showing at the 55th Street Playhouse beginning next Friday, July 18th. It is the German screen version of "Sarah and Son," Timothy Shea's best-selling novel of motherlove.

Ruth Chatterton, Frederic March and Fuller Mellich, Jr., all of whom appeared in the American talking version of "Sarah and Son" are also in the German production.

"The Peline Fighter," a Grantland Rice Sportlife subject; "Wednesday at the Ritz," a Pathé comedy; "Beautiful Germany," a new scenic.

Madge Kennedy to Star in New Play

The Messrs. Shubert announce that, by special arrangement with Charles L. Wagner, they have arranged to star Miss Madge Kennedy in a very important role in "On the Q-T," the farce by Walter Ellis which has been running at the Garrick Theatre in London for six months. Miss Kennedy's last appearance in New York was in "Paris Bound" at the Music Box, the season before last. In the interval, besides appearing in the last named vehicle over a good part of the country, Miss Kennedy took time off to reopen the Columbia Theatre in San Francisco with "The Perfect Alibi," after which

George White Is His Own Best Customer

One of the secrets of showdom that producers usually are not anxious to divulge is the fact that even big hits are likely to fall into the doldrums after the first few months on the Broadway boards, and are never quite the same again. Especially is this true of musical productions, where the freshness of the dancing numbers means so much to the average spectator and where songs have to be put across as much by the sheer personality of the singer as by the qualities of his or her voice. After a time the featured players are apt to intone their lines wearily, comedians go after the laughs perfunctorily, relying on the old gags somehow to get across, and making for a much slower tempo throughout the entire performance.

George White, being an experimenter in those shows himself, knows much about these things. He watches proceedings either from out front or backstage during every performance, just to assure himself that his players are giving adequate and life-like accounts of themselves. This playgoing habit has reached its climax in his current musical hit, "Flying High," which he hasn't missed once since its opening night at the Apollo Theatre over three months ago.

The youthful producer of no less than fourteen successive hit shows is proud of his record, but doesn't believe that it means anything in particular. It's no equivalent, he thinks, to the feats of flagpole sitters, marathon dancers or endurance flyers. The difference is that he enjoys his work and wouldn't do anything else, as there is nothing else he'd prefer to sitting in at each performance and getting the thrill of capacity audiences enjoying his show.

she was also presented at the same theatre in "Paris Bound." Other members of the cast on "On the Q-T" are Terence Neill, Eric Blare, Vera Neilson, Roland Hoag, Reginald Harrington, J. H. Brewer and Harry Dornton. The play, which is already in rehearsal, is directed by Stanley Logan, who was responsible for the direction of "Topaze."

COOL CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
MIDNIGHT PICTURES NIGHTLY 11:30
2ND WEEK NORMA
SHEARER
in
"Let Us Be Gay"

Rachel Crothers' stage hit with MARIE DRESSLER, Gilbert Emery, Rod La Rocque, Hedda Hopper.
A Metro-Goldwyn-Tymer Picture
HERMAN TIMBERG
In sparkling stage revue, with Barbara Blair, Chester Hale Girls, Capitolians, Bunchie, Hearst Metrotones
Midnight Pictures Nightly, 11:30

COOL CAMEO

42nd St. & Broadway
"ONE MAD KISS"
with
ANTONIO MORENO
TOM PATRICOLA
MONA MARIS
DON JOSE MOJICA

ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St.
Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

"WILD COMPANY"

with FRANK ALBERTSON, H. B. WARNER, SHARON LYNN, JOYCE COMPTON
A Fox Picture
— ON THE STAGE —
A Musical Treat
"BOLERO" by RAVEL
ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
Held Over by Demand
HARRIET HOCTOR
In a stunning new ballet
Ravels Cathedral Choir,
Chorus, 32 Soloists
MIDNIGHT PICTURES
COOL . . . COMFORTABLE

Richard BARTHELMESS
in
"THE DAWN PATROL"
with DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR., NEIL HAMILTON
WARNER BROS. Completely Colored
WINTER GARDEN

NOW

First Time
POPULAR PRICES
The song that gave a million people freedom but made her slave to one great love.
with Bernice Claire & Noah Beery
Warner Bros. NEW YORK & BROOKLYN Refrigerated

SONG of the FLAME

Continuous at POPULAR PRICES

The BIG HOUSE

Metro-Goldwyn-Tymer's Cosmopolitan Production
with CHESTER MORRIS, WALLACE BEERY, LILA HYAMS, FAYE MONTEGOMERY, LEWIS STONE, GEORGE F. MARION
REFRIGERATED
ASTOR Broadway and 47th St.
Twice Daily, 2:45-8:30
Seats Selling in Advance
All Seats Reserved

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 4232 or write to Earnest Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

The Imported Star of a Smash Hit Musical



Gina Male, the French or American, makes a delightful heroine in that long running musical hit, "Sons O' Guns," at the Imperial.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

SOCIALISM FOR TODAY

The supply of "Socialism for Today" by Brailford has been sold out due to the number of orders coming in. The national office has ordered a new supply from London. Just as soon as it is received, all orders will be filled.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

The Bureau of the International Socialist Youth has decided to promote exchange of letters between young people in the affiliated federations. A Department for International Correspondence has been formed by the Secretariat, and the international exchange of letters is being carried on. The Department will give the exact address, age and country with which they would like to get in touch; also as to the language in which the correspondence is desired.

Wisconsin

NEW SOCIALIST PAPER

The Milwaukee Leader has arranged to get out a daily national edition. This will be the only daily Socialist paper in the English language and it is expected that a large circulation will be secured.

WESTMORELAND PICNIC

Westmoreland County Socialists and their friends met at Bowser's Grove for their annual picnic on Sunday, July 14. Darling Hoope, city solicitor of Reading, will speak on the recent shameful denial of justice to Mooney and Billings, and Wm. J. Van Eken, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator, will speak on the prospect of gains for working class political power in this state. The picnic was a success and the Westmoreland County Socialists are a strong force in the county.

INDIANA COUNTY

Indiana county, whose native son John S. Fisher is governor with deplorable delay, is to be invaded by Socialist legislative and congressional candidates and an intensive campaign for the state ticket led by Jim Van Eken. On July 14, a meeting will be held at the home of Comrade John of the Blairsville branch. Wm. J. Van Eken, Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator, is expected to speak on the prospects of the party.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Local Allegheny County in cooperation with the Workers' Circle will hold a picnic at DeL's Yawards on Sunday, July 14, for campaign funds and rally Pittsburgh comrades to work in eleven of thirteen legislative districts and in every senatorial district in the state.

PITTSBURGH

George T. Pickett of the Liano County colony will address a group in the fruits of this experiment at party headquarters, 615 Lyceum Building, Penn avenue, 8 P. M. Friday, July 19.

Michigan

STATE CAMPAIGN

Socialists in Michigan have entered the state campaign with pronounced success on unemployment, farm relief, child labor, conservation of natural resources and reaffirming their status as the party of the people. The means of production and distribution and democratic management of industry. The platform includes: Extension of all public works; a state system of long-range planning of public works; all persons to be engaged at wages fixed by labor unions; a state system of unemployment insurance; a state system of child labor laws; abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and the abolition of private detective agencies.

California

Twenty thousand leaflets and one thousand party emblem stickers have been shipped to the state office, Stanley Rogers, in Los Angeles, to help the drive to boost the membership of the state to 1,000 before the end of September is well under way.

Massachusetts

A NEW BRANCH

Secretary Lewis reports that the "Free Youth" branch has organized a branch with nineteen charter members at Chelsea, Mass. The secretary is Morris Marlenberg, 8 Chester street. The office has ordered from the national office 25,000 copies of a leaflet on "Taxing Unearned Income" and 10,000 of a revised edition of "Socialism and Americanism," both to

Montana

STATE CAMPAIGN

Montana will have the liveliest Socialist campaign for many years. Four field workers are being kept constantly in the state. A recent convention of the state federation of labor went on record as favoring nationalization of railroads as the only solution to the problem of the state. Last year the federation adopted resolutions in favor of nationalization of hydro-electric power. The fight to place on the ballot two initiative measures relating to workmen's compensation has created a great amount of interest throughout the state. The required number of signatures were secured and filed, but from 30 to 50 per cent of the names were ruled off as non-qualified by various county clerks and recorders.

Ohio

A NEW LOCAL

State Secretary Sidney Yellen reports a lively local just organized at Zanesville. He also reports several thousand leaflets and pamphlets, indicating that the work in Ohio is being pushed as rapidly as possible. The secretary of the local is Morris Marlenberg, P. O. Box 589, Zanesville, Ohio.

Utah

O. A. Kennedy, state secretary, reports that arrangements are being made to see Ben Wilson and the Goldstein brothers in Utah. C. H. Cammings of Idaho has been holding a number of meetings in Salt Lake City.

Colorado

AGITATION MEETINGS

On Monday last week the Secretary of the Colorado Springs local committee advised that three that local into a slump as they all liked the 22-year-old lad very much. Marion Young of that city will be missed by the whole party. No reason can be found except that of over work. The Goldstein Brothers have a full week ahead of them conducting street meetings. The State Secretary is arranging these meetings, which included arguing with the various and sundry police departments over permits.

THE GOLDSTEIN BROTHERS

The Goldsteins also spoke to a joint meeting of the two Denver locals. Their message was well received. At the same meeting some of the nominations for the State Senate and House of Representatives from Denver County were made. They also addressed a meeting of the Jewish local Sunday night.

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MANHATTAN

3-5-10th A. D.

The next regular meeting will be held Tuesday, August 11, at 8:30 P. M. in the studio of the Rand School. Every member who is an enrolled Socialist is specially asked to be present to sign nominating petitions. An interesting discussion will follow the business session.

6-8-12th A. D.

A well attended meeting was held Monday evening, Morris Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, was welcomed as a member. Organizer Reisel reported the condition of the branch. A discussion was held as to new headquarters. Street meetings are being held every week and are very successful. The branch is gaining in membership and is contemplating continuous activities for the summer.

Upper West Side

Street meetings Tuesday evenings, 95th street and Broadway, are attracting large crowds. New members are being obtained at every meeting. Reisel, Thursday, July 24, August Claessens will deliver a series of outdoor lectures on "Current Problems" and "Philosophy of Socialism."

Far Rockaway

At the last meeting several new members were accepted and numerous letters were planned. The branch is growing rapidly and several members are engaged in organizing branches in Nassau County. On Sunday, July 27, an outing will be held to the Rockaway beach. An effort is being made to get as many automobiles as possible. The program of entertainment has been much heard of and is expected that a good time will be had. The outing will start from the Jewish Center on Central Avenue, Far Rockaway, at 8 A. M. Charges are \$1 for members and \$2 for non-members. All those having cars or who desire to ride in someone else's car are urged to get in touch with the group. Friedman, chairman of the arrangements committee.

Yonkers

A meeting will be held on Thursday evening, July 24, in the clubrooms at 241 East 84th street, 8:30 P. M.

Washington Heights

A meeting will be held Thursday, July 25, at 8:30 P. M. in room 10 of the building at 600 West 181st street, 8:30 P. M.

Bronx

County Committee

A special meeting will be held Monday, July 21, at the county headquarters, 1167 Boston road, at 8:15 o'clock. The purpose is to acquaint the committee with plans for a large outing to be held for the week-end of August 16 and 17.

7th A. D.

Branch 7, despite torrid weather, is holding its own. Both indoor and outdoor meetings are well attended. As our last meeting, Comrade Seidel gave a most interesting talk on the Socialist attitude towards the A. F. of L. Some of his theories were hotly contested. The discussion continued Tuesday, July 22, at 8:30 P. M. We have instituted a new service for the residents of our district. A naturalization aid bureau is being set up every Tuesday at headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue.

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23rd A. D.

A well attended meeting was held Monday evening. A resolution was passed that a blank be inserted in our State platform asking for Socialized medicine. Dr. Frucht is making a study of this question and presented it to the branch. The open-air meeting Friday, July 11, was one of the best held in Brownsville. A. I. Shipiloff was the speaker and Brock was chairman. The comrades suggested that Jacob Azeirad be candidate for State Senate. We discussed the Yipsey-Jamboree and the comrades were moved to enthusiasm and arranged to go there August 24 for a picnic.

19-20th A. D.

A meeting will be held Wednesday evening, July 23, in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Weil, 88 Harmon street.

QUEENS COUNTY

Sunnyside

Samuel A. DeWitt was the speaker at the Saturday open-air meeting arranged as a Mooney-Billings protest. He sketched the case and then went on to point out the kind of justice dispensed to the rich and the kind enjoyed by the poor. He was eloquent, witty and amusing. A large crowd enjoyed his address and a large crowd enjoyed his address and a large crowd enjoyed his address.

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NEW LEADER

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

Editor James Oneal
Assistant Editor Edw. Levinson

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

8 SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1930

A typographical error in the headline of the story on the Women's Trade Union League of Philadelphia which appeared in the issue last week on page three made THE NEW LEADER say that the women unionists "Get Vore to Pay for Leaflets." The line should have read "Let Vore."

"Menace" Racketeers

AS MIGHT have been expected the Congressional investigation of a Bolshevik "menace" proves to be a screen for putting over a Cheka in this country. Elihu Root is chosen to present the idea in a letter to Ralph Easley, proprietor of the national drug firm known as the National Civic Federation. Speaking for the banking and capitalist class that finances his drug store, Easley throws up a screen behind which he anticipates the objections to this proposal.

The drug proprietor declares that the Cheka will not be realized in legislation without "overcoming the determined opposition of all the Red forces." He should have also said that it will not be put over without a liberal use of his drugs and that the reactionary capitalist class which he serves will stand the expense of marketing the drugs.

It is an interesting fact that the Roots and Easleys and their class who pretend to fight Bolshevism adopt the worst features of Bolshevism for their own purposes. In one breath they denounce the Russian Cheka and then propose to make the Cheka an American institution by Federal legislation.

Moreover, these gentlemen are either ignorant or they are fakery. As a movement Communism in this country is as much of a "menace" as the Holy Rollers of Michigan. It does not have one-tenth of the members it had ten years ago. The professional fight against the spook has become a racket and these racketeers are on the same level with others of this noble profession.

Abraham Cahan

REACHING the mature age of seventy years, Abraham Cahan is the recipient of warm congratulations from comrades and friends all over the world. Identified with the JEWISH DAILY FORWARD since its establishment more than thirty years ago, Comrade Cahan has been the most noted Yiddish editor in this country.

But it is not alone as a journalist that he won distinction. Author of a number of novels, his "Rise of David Levinsky" won the praise of such literary men as the late William Dean Howells. Important as this achievement is what endears him to the masses is his long and devoted service to the workers and especially to the Jewish immigrants who were driven by or fled from persecution in the old world to the United States.

Few of the present generation can understand the problems of the Jewish workers who swarmed into the ghettos of our large cities. Cast into an alien environment, swarming into the sweated trades, facing prejudice and misunderstanding, these workers had to literally fight for a place in the sun. It was in this long battle waged against tremendous odds that Cahan was found, always in the forefront of every rising against the sweaters with counsel, encouragement and inspiration. In this work the "FORWARD" under the able direction of Cahan proved a mighty agency for working class solidarity.

THE NEW LEADER joins in the tribute paid to Abraham Cahan with the hope that another decade will find him with us, holding aloft the banner which makes life worth living and which bears the promise of a new world of economic equity and international fraternity.

Jobless millions now know that Mr. Woll of the A. F. of L. is doing all that he can to aid them. With other "labor organizations," such as the National Security League and the National Civic Federation, Mr. Woll is heroically hunting the Bolsheviks. When that job is accomplished the jobless will be happy.

Parasite Fortunes

NOW and then a news item appears in the press that, like a flash of lightning, makes a phase of capitalism vivid to those who are looking on with some measure of intelligence. It is a phase that the doctors of the system, the droll political economists, generally ignore and yet it is a fundamental organic disease which we call parasitism.

The item refers to the lady of an oil baron who recently died in a sanitarium where she has spent thirty years. A mental defective, the husband set aside a trust fund of a million dollars for the unfortunate woman and this fortune had increased at the time of her death to twelve million dollars through dividends in Standard Oil.

By what wizardry of economics did this fortune increase twelve times in thirty years? Was it a reward for "initiative" and "thrift," those virtues claimed to be associated with the possessors of great wealth? Certainly not. Was the increase due to "management" or "superintendence" of a vast enterprise? Certainly not. Was it due to any of the reasons which the retainers of capitalism assign as a justification of such piles of dollars? Certainly not.

This case, like others that are occasionally reported, shows that great fortunes can be reaped without the possession of a single "virtue" that is attributed to the loot-getters. If a mental defective can be so favored it is evident that the ordinary mediocre Babbitt can also accumulate millions without contributing any essential service in the production of wealth. The values accumulated represent the unpaid labor of useful workers. Parasite fortunes are the fruit of capitalism.

Absentee owners and witless owners are alike. The labor of useful workers supports them in idleness. A Socialist order would put an end to this system of workless incomes.

Politics and Graft

A GOOD friend of THE NEW LEADER inquires why we do not give credit to Federal Attorney Charles H. Tuttle in rooting out some grafters in New York City. It is a question that we have no desire to avoid.

In New York City the Republicans are "out." At Washington they have been "in" since 1921. It is the strategy of politics, capitalist politics, for the "outs" to "view with alarm" the actions of the "ins" and for the "ins" to "point with pride" to those same actions.

The Republicans are "virtuous" in New York City because the Democrats are smeared with muck but at Washington they have had the muck of the "Ohio Gang" which they were compelled to either defend or to explain away. On the other hand the Democrats with Al Smith at their head "viewed with alarm" the activities of the "Ohio Gang" but were silent regarding the muck of their own Tammany Hall.

This has been characteristic of capitalist politics for decades. In the seventies there was a similar situation. The Democrats through the Tweed gang looted New York City of millions but about the same time the revelations of plunder and graft of the Grant Administration were becoming public. The result was that Democrats in New York City were "shocked" over the Grant Administration and the Grant Republicans were "shocked" because of the Tweed looting in New York City.

This is the situation in New York City today. If Republicans today controlled the city we do not think that Mr. Tuttle would be anxious to uncover a mess affecting his own party. We observe that no Republican attorney in Philadelphia is saying or doing anything about that sink of iniquity. Socialists take little stock in the virtuous note sounded by agents of the capitalist parties.

IN A NUTSHELL

Ever observe a great man deflated so soon in office as Herbie Hoover? Even the railroad brotherhoods who supported him in 1928 mourn over the progressive deflation of this "progressive."

The lying census figures regarding unemployment given out at Washington are about as helpful to the working class as the votes workers give to the parties of capitalism.

Another giant power trust is forming with the royal house of Morgan to head it. We hope that the workers of the nation will form a giant power trust in a political party of their making.

Federal officials at Washington have advised the farmers to cut their wheat acreage. We think the farmers would accomplish more by cutting down their votes for Republican and Democratic candidates.

A New York Times headline declares that Governor Roosevelt is in line for the nomination for 1932. His salary-grabbing cronies of Tammany Hall will be in line with him.

The child of poverty . . . is inferior in stature, in cranium, in weight, in muscular and intellectual strength . . . The downtrodden of society are also the downtrodden in school. And we call this justice.—Maria Montessori.

Fraud is the sole basis of the only form of success recognized among us. By fraud alone are those vast fortunes suddenly acquired which—and which only—are the conditions of greatness in a modern man. Fraud is the master subject, ignorance or inability in which dooms a man to toil and obscurity. Yet fraud is never taught at school.—Hilaire Belloc.

"Where Do We Go from Here?" asks a leading editorial in the Nation and then follows with this comment on the nomination of Morrow in the New Jersey primaries: "We rejoice that his State has seen fit to recognize this man's worth, his ability, his modest efficiency, and his fine personal character." Tell 'em where you're going to take 'em, Morrow. Woodrow Wilson didn't let them know where they were going till they arrived in a morass and you can do the same thing.

No Justice For Mooney And Billings

By Joseph Schlossberg
Sec.-Treas. Amalgamated Clothing Workers

THE action of the California Supreme Court in rejecting Billings' and Mooney's plea for pardon is as amazing as it is vicious. The amazing thing about it is not the vindictiveness of the majority of the court (5 against 1), which was not unexpected, but their line of reasoning. The judges do not say that Mooney and Billings are guilty of the Preparedness Day crime, but say they, if Mooney and Billings are not guilty themselves they know who are; knowing and not revealing them they are guilty anyhow and must stay in jail. That is what the judges' argument really amounts to.

Governor Young has dodged responsibility from the day that the two celebrated cases came into his hands. After repeated promises to make a decision he passed the buck to the Supreme Court knowing, as some people assert, what the court's decision was likely to be. That, too, was the reason the governor announced that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Billings case would determine his own decision in the Mooney case. The two workers, so cordially hated by the enemies of labor, remain incarcerated, and those enemies have their sadistic satisfaction.

Mooney and Billings were the first victims in America of the war for democracy. A number of people were killed and many more wounded by the Preparedness Day parade bomb in San Francisco on July 2, 1916, for which crime Mooney and Billings are now in prison, but the characters of those victims were not assailed. Mooney and Billings are legally branded as murderers though there is no doubt of their innocence; that is infinitely worse than physical death.

Oxman, one of the most important witnesses, was exposed as a perjurer almost immediately after Mooney's conviction; McDonald, without whose testimony conviction would have been impossible, and Estelle Smith, another important witness, later declared their testimony, too, as false and perjured. Judge Griffin, who had sentenced Mooney to die, has become his most ardent champion. Mrs. Mooney, who was tried after the Oxman exposure, was acquitted because of that exposure. But Mooney and Billings are kept behind bars despite everything.

But for international complications Mooney would have been in his grave and Billings forgotten in his cell. That was the purpose of the conspiracy against them of the open shop forces in California. The Russian workers, flushed with victory over Czarism, and having heard that Mooney, a militant worker in the labor movement, was sentenced to die, manifested their solidarity by enacting a demonstration in front of the American embassy in Petrograd and demanding Mooney's liberation. They did not know the man whose cause they championed. They thought he was an Italian named Muni. The Russian demonstration aroused interest in Mooney among the American workers. While the war atmosphere in America made Mooney's conviction easy the Allies' war interests in Europe made his execution dangerous. Those war interests demanded that non-Czaristic Russia be kept in the Czar's war. "We" were a part of the Allies and it became our patriotic duty to prevent Mooney's execution in order to please the revolutionary Russians even as it was our patriotic duty to force his conviction. Accordingly, President Wilson intervened and prevailed upon Governor Stephens of California to commute Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment. There all official action stopped. The war being over and democracy saved it matters not what happens to justice. Governors came and went but all refused to act. Mooney and Billings are morally vindicated. But moral vindication opens no prison gates. The legal keys are held by labor's enemies.

It would be true to say that labor alone can free Mooney and Billings. That has been said so many times. But the great giant, American labor, is still passive and inarticulate. The guiding principle of our labor movement "statesmanship" is still "Do not offend the ruling class." The fight for Mooney and Billings must go on. If that should result in making American labor stir and do something for itself new hope would come to all the Mooneys and the Billings within prisons and without.

The revolutions that come from new knowledge are permanent, unalterable and effective; those are destructive which are brought about by the blind force of powerful men or an infuriated body of people.—Sir Robert Falconer.

Justice is the only worship. Love is the only priest. Ignorance is the only slavery. Happiness is the only good. The time to be happy is now. The place to be happy is here. The way to be happy is to make other people so.—Ingersoll.

It is ever thus, that any attempt to make a radical step forward is met by the strictly regular or conservative forces in society. There is at this time a most vital question confronting the working class of this country. Where can we secure a steady job.

This question has become a burning issue with millions of workers and those in positions of high trust and executive positions are both deaf to the question and dumb as to their answer.

The truth is that production for profit, which has been the religion of this country, has reached its limit and is now on the downward trend. Improved machinery, efficiency systems, greater and greater combines of capital with their curtailing of employment are factors that tend to bring about the complete overthrow of the present system of production and distribution as well as ownership and control.

But was the ruin of the bad, The wasting of the wrong and ill, What ever of good the old time had Was living still. —Whittier.

THE PATRIOTS PROGRESS—Drawn by William Kermode



"To Hell With Germany," the headlines read.



John Bullock, Clerk, Joins the Army, Inoculation.



The Arrival in France.



To the Training Camp, (To be Continued Next Week)

(These drawings are from Henry Williamson's, "The Patriots Progress" published by E. P. Dutton and Co.)

A PROGRESSIVE'S REQUIEM

Donald Richberg Reveals the Travail And the Futility of the "Insurgents"

By James Oneal

ONE evidence of the intellectual poverty of the political agents of capitalism, is their low grade literary output. Before the Civil War many a politician left a legacy of memoirs or political speculations that make delightful reading and some proved interesting contributions to economic and political theory. Among them may be included the first Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Benton, Calhoun, Lincoln, Fitzhugh, and others. We do not recall any work by an American politician since the Civil War, except two, that even approaches the work of the men mentioned above. Roosevelt and Wilson may be cited in answer and yet it is no answer. Wilson's "Congressional Government" revealed possibilities but the rest was rhetoric. Roosevelt was a poser throughout his career and is remembered today not for anything he ever wrote but as the echo of a loud noise.

The two we recall as worthy of mention are a series of essays by Algiel and LaPollette's Autobiography. But even these men wrote more or less rebels against capitalism and, while their political activities were within the old parties, they cannot be classified with the professionals.

Now comes a volume of 267 pages by Donald Richberg (Tents of the Mighty, Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, \$2.50) another political rebel, which is rich in political reminiscence and speculation, and flashing with epigrammatic barbs that bring pus with almost every thrust at the social order of capitalism and the politics that support it. Moreover, it is a requiem sung for the repose of the soul of the Progressive movement of Roosevelt and sung by one who attended the funeral. Richberg writes as one who is disillusioned and yet one who can extract grim humor from his experiences on the march to Armageddon.

Beginning with the days of his youth in college when "healthy young materialists" like himself began to "question the value of the ideas that had come with mother's milk and father's money," his generation wanted to "get religion, but not in churches paraded by thieves." The idealist revolt against the current politics appeared to find an answer in Roosevelt "progressivism." He

notes Medill McCormick as once saying that "T. R. is great because he understands the psychology of the mutt" and this serves as an introduction to a narrative of what happened to the Roosevelt movement at whose convention in 1912 there was room "for any one who had seen Peter Pan and believed in fairies." The attempts by idealists like Richberg to make something worth while of the party and the sabotage of his work by men like "Angel" George W. Perkins and the professionals make an interesting story of the inner politics of the organization. Richberg concludes that "the progressive movement contained many brilliant babies and myriads of political innocents." By 1914 the author suffered disillusionment. He headed a legislative department to work out a program of social reforms but the inner masters, including Perkins, "chloroformed" this service in the year when the World War began, a war that plundered Richberg's generation "of its spiritual heritage."

Then came a Republican-Progressive coalition in Chicago with its greatest achievement, the election of Bill Thompson, Insull's pup Fido, as mayor. It was the end of youth for Richberg. The next year Roosevelt was supporting Hughes, the Republican candidate for President, after the Progressive convention had met, "wearing a red carnation" to advertise that "its intentions were matrimonial." Richberg wrote the keynote speech for this convention in 1916 but declares that he knew that "it was really the funeral oration of Roosevelt progressivism." Hughes was defeated. Then war.

Here was a time when it became noble to do such strange things—to go without sugar and to create new poison gases; to shout for democracy and to enslave dictators; to be careful of money and careless of life; to teach men to love one another and the best way to disembowel an opponent. I inhaled all the certified nonsense which I could and exhaled it in churches, in circus tents, in theatres and schoolrooms, wherever a crowd of people could be gathered for mass poisoning. One old Swedish minister alone reviewed my labors adequately. When I left the pulpit, from which his God had been temporarily excluded

so that I might talk "Liberty Loans," the clergyman quietly announced that the services would be concluded by the congregation singing our favorite hymn, "Revive Us Again!" They sang every verse of it too, while my comrades in the rear of the church hugged themselves and choked down their laughter.

The end of this nonsense brought another, the coming to power of Harding and "the belly best minds," with all that this odorous regime represented. Roosevelt had been carted to the tomb to lie with the Progressive Party and with the end of the war across the Atlantic its zone was shifted to this side, the "enemy" now being the workers who were being assaulted in every sector by the fat boys of finance and industry. Richberg turned to this war and found a place by the side of the railroad workers whom he represented in the struggle to resist wage reductions and the notorious injunctions of the period. Fighting for these workers, crossing the path of Samuel Insull, "not only the accredited representative of much British money in America and the most powerful public utility operator in Chicago, but . . . also chairman of the State Council of Defense," dogged by spies serving such interests, the author emerged from these experiences with a keener insight into the social, economic and political forces of capitalism.

Industrial democracy rather than the vague idealism of those who "had seen Peter Pan and believed in fairies" now claims his allegiance. "The dominating political issues of the future are most likely to arise between the wage earners, the users of the wealth of America, and the owners, the managers of vast properties" because "more and more the tendency of concentrating industry is to make individual primarily the subject of business empire and secondarily a citizen of the republic." He adds that "the Harding-Coolidge era at least made it plain that unless the commercial empires within our democracy are transformed into industrial democracies, the actuality of a political democracy will disappear."

All of which is consistent with the Socialist objective but Richberg goes on to define Socialism

and, as so defined, to reject it. We agree with the rejection but disagree with the definition. He declares that "democracy cannot endure where 'political government, in order to protect property rights, must support an autocratic control over the lives of the people and over the development of the physical resources of the nation by privately selected operators of vast properties.'"

With this premise we can heartily agree but he goes on to a conclusion which ascribes a denial of this premise to Socialists! Richberg writes: "Socialism demands the public selection of these property controllers, which would ratify the fundamental wrong of autocratic control, on the dubious theory that the social responsibility of the autocrats will thereby be increased." The language is not clear as it does not mention the word "ownership" at all and this is the fundamental issue between Capitalism and Socialism. Public agents might "control" great forms of property and these forms could still remain private or corporate property. It is this, it seems, that Richberg objects to and so does the Socialist.

What is really at issue is whether the great powers of production, distribution and transportation shall become collective property or remain private or corporate property serving the few owners. If collective, the few owners lose their power to exploit millions of workers.

Then comes the problem of avoiding autocracy in administering the people's industries and insuring as large a measure of democratic management as is consistent with efficient operation. The difference between the two is the difference between State Capitalism and Democratic Socialism. Richberg's criticism applies to the first but not to the second. As to the methods of avoiding autocracy and insuring democracy, that would take us too far afield to discuss here, but Socialists have been aware of the problem ever since the beginnings of a Socialist movement.

There are few books in recent years that we have more enjoyed than this one. It certainly contributes much to an understanding of that "progressive" movement that disturbs old political set-ups for six years and then was disposed of at auction by Perkins and others.

A New Political Party For Labor

(From The Toledo Union Leader, Official Organ of the Toledo (O.) Central Labor Union.)

IN 1832 a group of men in Lancaster, Ohio, decided they should have a railroad. In order to stimulate public interest, they proposed a mass meeting in the school house. But the school board refused permission and wrote the following letter:

"You are at liberty to use the school house for all proper purposes, but such things as railroads are impossible and rank infidelity. If God had intended that his intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of 17 miles an hour by steam, He would have clearly foretold it in the Holy Prophets. Such things as railroads are devices of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell."

It is ever thus, that any attempt to make a radical step forward is met by the strictly regular or conservative forces in society. There is at this time a most vital question confronting the working class of this country. Where can we secure a steady job.

This question has become a burning issue with millions of workers and those in positions of high trust and executive positions are both deaf to the question and dumb as to their answer.

The truth is that production for profit, which has been the religion of this country, has reached its limit and is now on the downward trend. Improved machinery, efficiency systems, greater and greater combines of capital with their curtailing of employment are factors that tend to bring about the complete overthrow of the present system of production and distribution as well as ownership and control.

But was the ruin of the bad, The wasting of the wrong and ill, What ever of good the old time had Was living still. —Whittier.

The recent tariff wall, erected by the votes of Congress at the instigation of those economic forces now in the saddle is about as ineffective a solution to a jobless nation as anything could be.

What protection do we create for the vast majority of our workers, when our big financial powers, move factories to other countries to exploit that labor which we bar from our country by immigration laws?

What new industries are being opened up to make room for our workers fired out of a job by modern methods of production or at best forced to work part time.

What constructive work is being done on a national scale to provide employment next winter for the jobless masses?

The shortening day and nightly song of the cricket, tell only too plainly the rapid approach of cold weather, which will bring great hardship and suffering to countless members of our unemployed workers in this great land of plenty.

Prosperity by proclamation from Washington is a weak and futile gesture toward reviving industry. Every civilized country in the world with the exception of France is suffering from unemployment of its workers. There are plenty of people running around in circles and asking, "What is the reason for so much depression and unemployment?"

Well, what can you expect when production is placed upon such a high plane that quantity is the predominating factor and labor displacing machinery is the order of the day. The net result of this mad and insane rush for more and more profits is overproduction and consequent unemployment. It would be well if we used the true term for our present serious trou-

ble and instead of saving overproduction, shouted from the housetop, "Underconsumption."

Yes, underconsumption, because millions of workers and their families could easily consume the surplus if they had the chance to obtain it. But that is a preposterous thought. How dare the workers entertain such an unholy thought that they should have any more of the product of their daily toil than the master class deem fit to give them. Why, don't you know, Mr. Worker, that profits and the protection of same is the holy cornerstone of this great system. Isn't it better for the industrial economic and political preservation of this great free country, teeming with plenty for all that the 10 or 12 per cent who own and control these institutions should have their holy profits after investing their dollars into the business which gives you employment?

Of course, the factories, railroads, machinery and finished products must be protected by laws made by equity judges and bought politicians, for these are the life of profits. Workers are placed in factory, mine, on the railroads and in every place where man power is required to produce these holy profits, but he is of little consequence, as he is used to being ruled and ordered around by the ones in high places and obediently following orders to produce more and more wealth for the wealthy. Then when there is more produced than is needed they can remain idle and suffer, starve or what not, until the surplus is in some manner disposed of. That is what makes this whole system so fascinating to those in power as it is one big exciting gamble, the winners being able to claim superior power and

thus qualified to rule the ignorant masses. Now, with the iron age or age of improved machinery, opportunity for workers to sell labor power is becoming less and less. This means less purchasing power now, as the machine does not buy anything. This new development will soon demonstrate more depression and suffering. All of this misfit arrangement is held in place by politics. Now is the time for the workers to get together and create their own political movement that will lead them out of their bondage.

Remember the proposed railroad in Lancaster in 1832. Don't place yourself in the same class with the school board. This is the time for action. Remember the workers are 88 to 90 per cent of the population and that will legislate in their interests instead of the interest of the 10 or 12 per cent as is done today.

The bold idealism of today may seem mere common sense tomorrow. —H. G. Wells.

Secretaries, Attention!

Start the New Year right. If your records are not plain and readily accessible it will cause more confusion among the members than anything else. Send to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 2633 Washington Blvd., Chicago, for the following:
Minute Book \$1.00
Record Book (for 600 records) 1.50
Application Cards (includes space for receipts, expenditures, ledger accounts, individual membership records, and dues stamps)75 per 100
Membership Cards 1.00 per 100
Card Pockets 1.50 per 100
Also for a supply of gold plate Party Emblem buttons and Pins at the rate of 25c each or \$2.00 per dozen. Have every member show his or her color by wearing the emblem. Ask for price list of other supplies and literature.