

(Name of Sender)

gressional district.

In the 23rd Congressional district, the Bronx, former Assemblyman Samuel Orr, who has a large following among the workers of the Bronx, many of whom have helped to elect him to office before, will be the congressional nominee. An active group of campaigners, including Esther Friedman, Dr. Louis Hendin, Louis Well, Irving Knobloch, Dr. A. Molin, and others who have already gotten to work to organize the 23rd Congressional district for an energetic campaign.

**State Attracts Attention**  
In the 10th Congressional district, Brooklyn, A. I. Shipiloff will be the congressional candidate running in the 23rd A. D., which he represented in the Assembly for several years, and in the 5th and 6th Assembly districts. Dr. Louis Sadoff will be the senatorial candidate, and Samuel H. Friedman and Harry Kritzler will be the assembly candidates in the 23rd and 6th Assembly districts, respectively.

In determining on the slate in each district, every effort to insure a building up of the vote in every part of the district, and a strengthening of the party machinery all along the line of attack was made. Assembly and senatorial district fights will be waged as vigorously as congressional fights.

News of the contemplated nominations in the metropolitan press brought a flood of encouraging letters and personal calls at the party office, indicating that while the Socialists will assume the leadership in the fight by virtue of the nominations they have made, they will rally to their banners non-Socialists who are intent on a house-cleaning.

#### Special Meeting Called

Similar reports have reached party branches in all of the districts affected by these nominations. Everywhere there is reported a live interest in the party's decision to make winning fights this year, and gratification that the best men and women in the party have been drafted to lead the fight.

Informal conferences are being held to plan for the conduct of the campaign, and in several districts campaign committees have been named. In a few days it is expected that the names of the various campaign managers will be made public, and shortly thereafter the opening of campaign headquarters in each of the districts will be undertaken. In several districts there will be headquarters in each Assembly district.

A special meeting of the city executive committee of the Socialist party will be held next Wednesday evening to map out the general plan of campaign. By that time it is believed many of the details will have been agreed upon.

In the 17th Congressional district, where Brown is the candidate, the executive committee of the Upper West Side branch, one of the branches in the district, was organized into a campaign committee. The committee will have a chairman, a treasurer and a secretary. It was agreed that early in September the campaign will be launched with a dinner, at which Brown will be greeted by hundreds of party members and many of his personal friends who will actively support his candidacy. A committee consisting of Meyer Gillis, Sol Low and P. F. Chalken, was elected to take charge of the arrangements. Leon Gibson and Harry Philipson were elected to find suitable campaign headquarters. Samuel Seidman and Alexander Kuhnle were elected a committee on literature. Helen Gibson and Kuhnle were elected a research committee for the campaign.

Other branches have called meetings to take similar steps to organize for the campaign. Their decisions will be reported in next week's issue of The New Leader.

#### Co-Operative Sales Up

**SUPERIOR, Wis.—(F.P.)**—The Cooperative Central Exchange, wholesale department of the Minnesota, Wisconsin and northern Michigan co-operators, enjoyed higher sales totals in June than for the same month of 1929. June sales this year were \$124,888.80, and a year earlier they were \$116,740.53. The increase this year is \$8,148.27, equal to 7%.

For the first six months of this year sales totaled \$917,120.02 against \$815,952.08 for the same period of 1929. The increase of \$101,167.94 equals 12.4%. The co-operators had set themselves a high mark of \$2,000,000 for this entire year. Sales are always slower in the first half year, according to co-op experience, but so far they are only \$82,879.98 short of the quota so far.

### "Tamiment Calling"

WHIP OF WAVES AGAINST CANOE BOW.  
TANG OF MOUNTAIN AIR. YES, TAMIMENT IS CALLING YOU TO HILL TRAILS,  
TO LAKE WATERS. FAR FROM HEAT AND WORRIES, SWIM, RIDE, PLAY, DANCE, AND BE MERRY IN QUIET TAMIMENT.

### CAMP TAMIMENT

FORREST PARK, PA.  
New York Headquarters  
7 East 15th St., New York City

## Ohio Socialists Begin Fight For 35,000 Signatures

### State Election Law Places Great Burden On Party, Yellin Declares

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
CLEVELAND, Ohio, Socialists, again facing the hard job of obtaining signatures to the party nominating papers, have issued the following appeal:

"Dear Reader and Comrade:  
"We again appeal to you for help in our present critical hour; we again call upon you as a sympathizer with the Socialist movement, for assistance in our strenuous effort to overcome an obstacle so craftily devised by the political defenders of accumulated capital.

"Organized capital is waging a relentless campaign to crush labor politically as well as economically. In addition to that concentrated assault upon the Union to rob the workmen and women of their human right to defend themselves, the political servants of organized capital enact one law after the other, to disfranchise those workmen and women who courageously demonstrate their political independence.

### Reading Socialists Dedicate Picnic Grounds At Big Rally

READING, Pa.—Many thousands of Socialists and sympathizers attended the big picnic of the Reading Socialists in Kellar's Park Sunday. The picnic was arranged to dedicate the park to the cause of Socialism. It is the property of the Socialists and is becoming a community center that is attracting working class families from towns and villages outside of Reading.

The park itself is a unique Socialist enterprise. It is rented to other organizations for picnics, a railroad union having held one the day before the Sunday dedication. The improvements have been made by volunteers so that the cost has been very little.

An example of this spirit was given at the picnic last Sunday. The seats facing the large band platform from which addresses are made are not sufficient to accommodate the crowds. Darlington Hoopes as chairman of the dedication ceremonies announced that one friend had pledged a hundred dollars to purchase material for making more seats if enough workers would volunteer to serve as carpenters, painters, etc. An appeal was made to the audience with the result that the volunteers were obtained and a few minutes later Hoopes displayed the promised check.

A small stream running through the park is now enclosed by a long stone wall built by another worker. At one point a stone dam has been erected so as to form a bathing pool for the children. A restaurant and refreshment booths are also in charge of men and women volunteers and the income goes to pay for the park and providing for improvements. The park has already become a Mecca for the workers and when further improvements are made it will be one of the most important Socialist enterprises in this country.

The visitor is immediately impressed with the importance of this institution in fostering the spirit of solidarity among the workers. They and their families mingle together and come to know each other. There is also the consciousness that by this co-operation they are building up an institution that belongs to them. Here recreation, play, amusement, education and solidarity all combine to enlist the cooperation of Socialists and sympathizers. What is being done in Reading is a suggestion of what is possible in every city where Socialists win a large measure of power.

Chairman Hoopes introduced William Hovetter, one of the Socialist councilmen, who spoke of the importance of the park to the working class and the success thus far achieved. Jim Maurer kept the audience laughing as he told of the early days of Socialist activity in Reading. He concluded his address with a note

of defiance by declaring that even if the capitalist parties combined against the Socialists in the next election "we will lick them both."

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader of New York, was the principal speaker of the day. He spoke of the economic changes that are compelling the masses to think. In Reading the chain stores are practically victorious and the speaker called attention to the fact that the old merchants had generally opposed the Socialist movement on the ground that Socialism would force them to "divide up." Oneal declared that it was not even a matter of dividing up for the merchant now. He is compelled to surrender all he has to the masters of chain store capitalism.

The speaker closed with a plea for the Reading Labor Advocate, the local Socialist weekly, and for The New Leader as the national Socialist party paper. Eight yearly and eight half-yearly subscriptions for The New Leader were obtained.

### Heywood Brown Accepts Socialist Nomination

(Continued From Page One)  
that the only difference between a republican and a Democrat is that one is in office and the other wants to be. Hoover's record of doing absolutely nothing for unemployment is precisely the same as that of Mayor Walker. Indeed so cruel has been the attitude of the major parties in regard to the jobless that they weren't even willing to have the subject mentioned. People were supposed to starve discreetly and in silence. If you get hit by a Mississippi flood you may become an object of public concern but if the even wider catastrophe of business depression afflicts you you can go down three times, or even three hundred, without any interference from public officials.

For the time being, I will leave the water power issue to candidates of our party who, like Louis Waldman, our candidate for Governor, have made an intensive study of the subject.

**Plenty of Rayon**  
Personally, there is nothing I like better than talking against prohibition, but I don't see where I am going to get a chance this time because all the candidates in this district are wet. Thank God, we agree on something! The hypocrisy about prohibition is part of the usual political tendency to pretend that if you don't mention a thing it will somehow cure itself.

I am appealing for votes to all people who feel that drastic remedies must be adopted to relieve the unemployment situation. This is a silk stocking district I am told but there is plenty of rayon still in it. After all, it's only one block from the hopeless crowds milling around re employment agencies on 6th Avenue to the big houses and hotels of Fifth.

This is no "camel in a Needle Eye" affair. Anybody can join; everybody can help; and you can all hang around. This is not an escapade. I am not just a comic columnist out for a lark. This fight is going on and it won't end until we win. It might as well be now.

The appearance of our town is the symbol of our worth.—Professor Reilly.

The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense, or wages, of labor.—Adam Smith.

## Ill. Socialists Frame Planks For State Fight

### Campaign Will Open August 24th at White City Park—Dailey Is New Secretary

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
CHICAGO.—Declaring the Socialist Party the political instrument of the workers of hand and brain, and the farmers, in their demands for better food, better homes, better working conditions, sufficient rest, more education, steady employment, social security, and increased liberty; and declaring the constant increase of unemployment the Socialist Party of Illinois enters the 1930 campaign with the following constructive program: Unemployment relief by the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance and shortening of the work day; old age pension legislation; the passage of an anti-yellow dog contract bill; farm relief by the establishment of state owned stock yards, elevators, etc.; establishment of a state owned bank; increased taxation of large incomes; free education from kindergarten to university for all bona-fide residents with physical education but no military training; repeal of Criminal Syndicalist Act; payment of convict labor at current labor rate; passage of law protecting installment buyers from losses; abolition of capital punishment; adoption of a new state constitution; and holding a referendum on the prohibition question.

The State Executive Committee at its meeting in Chicago elected Hudson S. Dailey of Chicago as state secretary to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of W. R. Snow, who is now a district organizer in Wisconsin. Mr. Dailey who was active in the Socialist movement of Indiana will take office August 1st and will relieve Mr. H. V. Halushka, the acting state secretary.

Dailey's first undertaking will be to complete arrangements for the state campaign rally to be held at White City park, Sunday, August 24th at which Frank B. Metcalfe, Wisconsin candidate for governor and George Koop, the Illinois nominee for Governor, will be the principal speakers.

### Estelle Smith Takes Stand in Mooney Case

(Continued From Page One)  
he had a suitcase, which she lifted—she said it weighed 45 pounds; he told her to put it down, as it might "strain the lens of his camera."

"Later on," she testified, Billings told her that he had nothing to do with the Preparedness Day explosion, but that the suitcase contained acid which he intended to use to damage automobiles for purposes of sabotage. She says Fremont Older knew this, and that she supposed the information was contained in the affidavit of repudiation which she signed in 1929; that she signed the affidavit without reading it, and wished "partially" to take it back. When asked why she repudiated her former testimony, she said that Older had persuaded her to do so, that she "might" have been mistaken in identifying Billings, and wished to give him another chance.

Capt. Coff made a poor witness for the prosecution. He "could not remember" just how McDonald identified Billings. Finally McKensie dismissed him with the contemptuous remark, "You are as bad a witness as McDonald is."

Former Policeman Hextrum, now insurance commissioner, made a straightforward appearance in marked contrast to the two witnesses preceding him. He told of McDonald's coming to him with the story of seeing the two men with the suitcase, he acknowledged that it was his duty, on finding a material witness, to take him to headquarters, and that he had not done so; it was quite apparent that he had not believed McDonald at the time, and had not considered his word of any value to either side of the case.

The Edeaux mother and daughter, specialists in "astral bodies," are under police guard and may be brought in to testify again. The only persons not permitted to come and testify are the two most concerned—Mooney and Billings. Constant requests by the attorneys for their appearance have been met with denials and postponements.

Meanwhile, at San Quentin, Warden Holohan forbade newspaper interviews with Mooney, saying that "the publicity he is getting is meat and drink to Mooney and I don't mean him to get any more swelled head than he has now."

#### Wage-Less Work Offered

DETROIT—(F.P.)—Work without wages is the latest solution of Detroit employers for the unemployment problem.

"Laborers wanted to work for room and board, at once," was an advertisement of the Mutual Investment and Finance Company in the magnificent Union Trust Bldg. Workers are shipped from this office to a farm located over 30 miles from here where they are put to work tearing down old buildings and erecting new ones.

# The JIMMIE HIGGINS CONTEST

A competition to discover who is the best worker for Socialism—the best JIMMIE HIGGINS—in the United States will be held by the Socialist Party of America from Sept. 1, 1930, to March 1, 1931.

"What did Jimmie Higgins do? He did everything, anything. Whatever the Party wanted to be done. That was Jimmie's job."—BEN HANFORD.

"Jimmie Higgins is the fellow who does the hard work in the job of waking up the worker."—UPTON SINCLAIR.

## 55 Awards Every Socialist Will Treasure Will Be Given The Winners

### FIRST AWARD

#### A TRIP TO "RED VIENNA" AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS

En route to the congress days in London with the leaders of the Labor Party, a visit to Paris and the scenes of the Paris Commune, thence to Germany with its great cooperatives and Social-Democracy, and finally to the citadel of Socialist inspiration—Vienna—A glimpse of the future Socialist state and a seat as a fraternal delegate in the World Congress of the Workers—All traveling and living expenses paid.

### SECOND AWARD

#### A Year at Brookwood Labor College or Term at the Rand School

A full-time course in Socialism and Trade Unionism—Sociology, Economics, Journalism, Public Speaking, Socialist and Labor Theory and Practice. Instructors to include Norman Thomas, Algonon Lee, A. J. Muste, Morris Hillquit, Harry W. Laidler, David J. Saposs, Louis Stanley. Maintenance as well as tuition paid for.

### THIRD AWARD

#### A Trip to the Summer Conference of the L. I. D.

Four beautiful days in the mountains at Camp Tamiment, Pennsylvania, there to meet with the leaders of Socialist, radical and liberal thought of the nation. Conference takes place in June, 1931. All expenses, fare and maintenance paid.

### FOURTH AWARD

#### The Complete Works of Upton Sinclair—All Volumes Autographed

"The Jungle,"—the Uncle Tom's Cabin of wage slavery, the book that stirred the universe—"Love's Pilgrimage," one of the greatest love stories of modern literature—"Boston," a historical novel of the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy—"The Journal of Arthur Sterling"—"100 Per Cent: The Story of a Patriot"—"King Coal"—"The Metropolis"—"Oil"—"The Brass Check"—"The Goose-Step"—and other volumes.

### FIFTH AWARD

#### A Library of 25 Socialist Classics—All Cloth-Bound

Marx' "Capital"—Hillquit's "History of American Socialism"—Beard's "Economic Backgrounds of the Constitution"—Shaw's "Intelligent Women's Guide to Socialism"—Oneal's "Workers in American History"—Bebel's "Woman"—Laidler's "History of Socialist Thought"—A new, as yet unpublished work by Norman Thomas—and seventeen other volumes.

### FIFTY ADDITIONAL AWARDS

Ten copies of "Eugene V. Debs, A Man Unafraid," by McAlister Coleman, with original signatures of Debs and autographed by the author.	Ten copies of the famous novel, "Jimmie Higgins," autographed by the author, Upton Sinclair. An epic of war-time Socialism.	Ten copies of "History of Socialist Thought," personally autographed by the author, Dr. Harry W. Laidler.	Ten copies of "Is Conscience a Crime?" personally autographed by the author, Norman Thomas.	Ten copies of "Meyer London, An East Side Epic," personally autographed by the author, Harry Rogoff.
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Awards will be made on the following basis, most importance being given to the items near the top of the list.

- 1—Number of new members of the Socialist Party obtained.
- 2—Number of new members of the young Peoples Socialist League obtained.
- 3—Number of new subscribers to the following Socialist papers: New Leader, Reading Labor Advocate, New Era, Schenectady Citizen, Labor World, American Labor News, Der Wecker, Proletarec, Raivaaja and Spravednost.

The following members of the party will act as judges of the contest:

Mrs. Meta L. Berger	Morris Hillquit	James H. Maurer	Charles Pogoralec	William Stone	Norman Thomas
William W. Busick	Daniel W. Hoan	Ralph McAllister	Clarence Senior	Emanuel Switkes	Lilith Wilson
James D. Graham	Alfred Baker Lewis	James Oneal	Joseph W. Sharts		

#### A Contest Open to All

Any member of the Socialist Party, old or new, any person who joins at once, may enter the contest and be eligible for a prize. There is no length of party membership requirement, no age, sex, or territorial limitation. No more than two main prizes can go to persons in any one state.

The worker in the ranks will have no competition from comrades in paid organization positions. No one who is now working full time for the Socialist Party, the Y. P. S. L. or any party paper mentioned above is eligible for a prize.

Members wishing to enter the contest must notify the National Office, fill out and return the entrance blank countersigned by the secretary of his local organization. Progress reports must be sent in every week to the national office. At regular intervals, the National Office will make reports on the standing of the contestants.

Application for membership blanks (1928 blanks must be used) must be sent in to the National Office after persons have been elected by the local. Only those blanks showing that the applicant was proposed by the contestant will be credited him. Name and address of the local secretary must be shown on each card. The cards will be returned to the local secretary for filing, immediately after the National Office has recorded them.

Subscriptions to papers must be sent in to the National Office with cash or money order for them to be credited. They will then be forwarded to the proper paper.

### JIMMIE HIGGINS CONTEST

September 1, 1930—March 1, 1931

#### NOTICE OF ENTRY

to be filled out and mailed at once

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA,  
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

I am going to double my efforts for the Socialist movement in the next six months and continue them thereafter. I wish to be considered eligible for the trip to Red Vienna, or one of the other Jimmie Higgins contest awards. I agree to send to the National Office every week reports of my progress and to abide by all the published rules.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

Name of Local .....

Signature of secretary of local .....

Fill Out and Mail This Blank

## Socialist Party of America

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

## 19 Rochester Unions Favor Labor Party

But Four Oppose New Party, 41 Fail to Take Any Action

By Clair H. Walbridge  
ROCHESTER, N. Y. (FP)—Growth of labor party sentiment among upstate New York unionists was reflected again in the canvass of local unions ordered by the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Union. Of 23 unions which voted on the proposal to divorce labor from the reactionary Republican machine, 19 were for the labor party and four against.

The deplorable lack of spirit in the Rochester labor movement was indicated by the failure of 41 local unions to take any action, 22 laying the proposition on the table, six holding no meetings and three having no quorum. Two locals, postal clerks and letter carriers, are forbidden by constitution to take action on political matters. Many of the unions were visited by the central council committee two or three times before enough members could be found to hold a meeting. Among unions endorsing the labor party are:

Lithographers, barbers, boiler-makers, carpenters local 2160, elevator constructors, floorlayers, jewelry workers, lathers, machinists, metal polishers, meatcutters, plumbers and steamfitters, steam engineers, stove mounters, typographical, garment workers, cooks and waiters and upholsterers.

### Matter Referred Back

The central body's committee, headed by Richard Heaphy, vice president of the metal polishers international union, made these points in its report:

"The committee finds that the large majority of labor unions have a very poor attendance at their meetings, some no longer holding meetings while in others officers are unable to get a quorum, thereby indicating the lack of spirit and cooperation in the movement necessary to protect the movement as a whole." Contrasting the "large employers and bankers, who, through their associations and the Chamber of Commerce have absolute control of the economic life of the workers of Rochester," the committee's report calls for forming a labor party "to the end that the confidence and spirit of the membership will return."

Opponents of independent action in the council overreached themselves in a bitter 3-hour fight held behind closed doors when instead of voting down the report they amended it to throw the subject back into the local for a referendum vote. Progressives, pleased, pointed out that this is the first time the rank and file have been permitted to determine a question of policy for themselves on a major issue.

### Kovaleskie In Opposition

No betterment in working conditions in Rochester shops and factories can be expected, proponents of the labor party asserted, until action is taken to build up an independent working class political organization to rally the enthusiasm and energy of unionists. If the industrial depression continues and the deadlock is maintained in the city council, a local labor party would stand an excellent chance of success, they argued. Other groups in large industrial centers are striving for a similar party, they pointed out.

Enemies of the labor party, headed by Vice-President Emanuel Kovaleskie of the New York State Federation of Labor, declared that labor must first build up its industrial organization in Rochester, that the jobs of many union workers depend on their continued allegiance to the old line political parties and that building an independent party would be a heavy expense in the coming municipal election of 1937.

Union printers, whose local twice has gone on record for the labor party, were indignant over the stand taken by Richard Seymour, council delegate. He was charged with representing the Republican County Committee rather than his union.

## Los Angeles Socialists Held for Mooney Protest

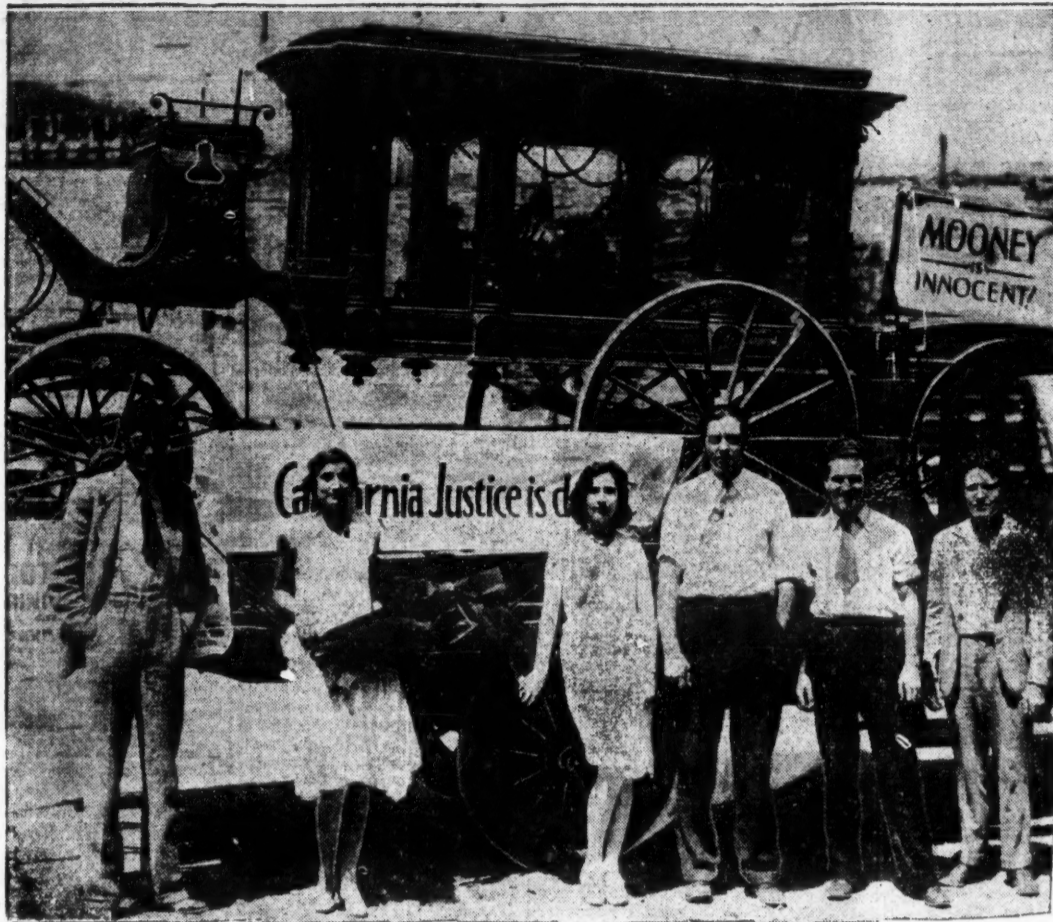
Socialist novelist.

"We were merely making a delivery when we were arrested," Busick said. They were taking signs advertising the Mooney meeting to an address on Brooklyn avenue and were on the way to the Trinity Auditorium when the arrest took place.

Ironically enough, when the Socialists were taken to the City Prosecutor's office, the truck and hearse were parked directly behind the private limousine of Governor C. C. Young, whom they were condemning for not pardoning Mooney.

Perhaps the funniest thing that happened when Busick and Gwatkin and Officer Lucius returned to the truck from their visit to the office of the city prosecutor. Standing in the curious throng gathered about the vehicle was Officer Pfeiffer, one of the most valiant members of the "red squad," he said sorrowfully to

## Los Angeles Socialist Leader And One Other Arrested For Advertising Shame of Mooney Imprisonment



... It's against the law in Los Angeles to voice sentiments against injustice. ... William Busick and Joe Gwatkin, Socialists, did it. ... They landed in jail. Hearse carried banner "California Justice Is Dead." Byron Humphrey, Evelyn Theed, Mrs. Dee Busick, William Busick, Joe Gwatkin and Stanley Rogers before "take-off."

## I. L. G. Strikers Win as Balto. Poor Are Bared

Dressmakers Settle With 17 of 24 Struck Shops—City's Rent Evictions Jump

BALTIMORE.—(FP)—Evictions of the poor for non-payment of rent have sharply risen, in Baltimore, in the course of the unemployment panic, according to official figures made public by Chief Constable Doyle. These statistics have attracted immediate notice because they tend to prove the assertion made in the course of the strike of members of the International Ladies Garment Workers by Edward F. McGrady, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, that "one-third of the working men and women in Baltimore are living in poverty; their wages do not supply the necessary food, clothing and other necessities of life." He added that there is another third whose incomes allow them only the bare necessities and usually not enough for proper nourishment to maintain them in health.

The number of rent cases, formerly about 35 per day, has jumped to 120 per day. Evictions for non-payment of rent, normally 10 per week, are now 35 to 50 per week.

### Many Shops Settle

After one week's strike 17 out of Baltimore's 24 shops signed up with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and two more are expected to sign shortly. Over 60% of the Baltimore garment workers are women and girls who had been getting around \$10 a week.

According to Jacob Halpern, vice president of the union, the workers won recognition; definite hour limits of 44 this year and 40 year after next; six legal holidays; time and a half for overtime; equal division of work; compulsory arbitration machinery; and a price committee to meet with employers and fix rates. No minimum wage is set in the agreement. The employers withdrew the clause which had brought on the strike, in which they had insisted on the right to reorganize their shops and fire anybody they wanted each season.

Workers who have returned to the job are assessing themselves 10% of their wages to carry on the fight in the other shops, and picket them each morning before work. The five most obstinate manufacturers are among the largest in the city.

Busick, "you have some standing in this community. How could you do a thing like this?"

Before Busick could answer, the "red squad" officer leaped onto the truck and tore away the "California Justice Is Dead" signs from the hearse.

This advertising, coupled with house to house distribution of the New Era in a special Mooney-Billings edition, caused Trinity Auditorium to overflow and several hundred persons to stand outside waiting for word of what the speakers inside had said.

## Textile Workers Facing Double Problem of Spies And Strike Need in South

Enka Corp. Fires 12 Men for Sympathy with Unions—Spies are at Work

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—(FP)—Despite elaborate espionage and paternalism, the Enka Corp., one of the largest rayon plants in the country, is unable to stave off union activities among its workers.

Between twelve and fifteen persons have been fired recently for union sympathies. Among them is Police Sergeant Bob Patton, who encouraged organization among the workers; George Shaw, union electrician, and a young boy named Cassidy. Young Cassidy was discharged because his father's carpenter's union card was found in his coat pocket. The Asheville Central Labor Union claims 700 joined the union at Enka.

The workers at the mill are spied on inside and outside the mill gates. Any one not reporting for work gets a visit from the personnel department and if he stayed home for any reason that the company does not think valid he gets his walking papers.

### Police Well Armed

The Enka police force numbers 90. Half are undercover men who work in the mill as operatives. They are guaranteed \$110 a month, which is made up of their regular pay of about \$80 as mill workers and \$30 from the superintendent of police.

The company employs a labor operative named Abernathy to obtain information for them. Abernathy, who handled the Gastonia strike, now works out from Charlotte, N. C.

Enka police are equipped with gas bomb guns, shells, gas bilbies, a big club that ejects gas when it strikes a worker's head, handcuffs, 44-caliber Smith and Wesson pistols, and blackjacks. As the Enka village is unincorporated, the police are paid by the corporation, and deputized by Buncombe county. They also carry commissions as social corporation guards from Gov. Gardner.

Frank L. Conders, Enka superintendent of police, came to Asheville in 1905 as a strikebreaker in the railway clerks' strike. Conders also has a magistrate's commission and tries cases at Enka.

Often workers come out of the departments have to be led as they cannot see, because the chemicals and acids affect their eyes temporarily. The chemicals are so strong that money carried in the pockets or policemen's badges turn a dull brown.

### No Dogs, Unions Allowed

Restrictions reach out of the mill into the homes of workers who live in the company village. No one living in Enka village is allowed to keep a dog, cat, chickens, or have a garden. No noise is permitted in the village at night. No one but residents are permitted to park in the village, and not even residents can remain in a parked car in front of their own homes at night. Workers who expect visitors, be it a personal friend or relative, must notify the company if the visitor is to stay over night.

Public opinion in Danville, which

Gorman Admits Conflict Near as Danville Mill Boss Ignores Demands of 4,000 Knitters

DANVILLE, Va.—(FP)—Can 4,000 cotton mill workers be welded into a permanent textile union without strike, when their demands are contemptuously tossed in the wastebasket and their leaders are fired, one after another?

This is the problem facing the United Textile Workers in Danville, seat of the Riverside and Dan River mills, 90% of whose employees it claims as members of a union founded only last February. A 10% wage cut put over on Danville workers through "industrial democracy" scheme led to the call for union organizers to come to Danville. It was not "invited," Green and other A. F. of L. leaders have been anxious to point out.

The Danville situation has stirred interest in labor circles throughout the country because of reported statements of President Green and others that "we bring peace, not the sword," and that they do not intend to resort to strike. Danville union leaders declare that the Green statements represent his own interpretation of the south's industrial crisis.

Half of the rest operating but three days a week. To strike now would mean to play into the hands of the bosses, they state. But Vice President Francis J. Gorman of the U. T. W., in charge of the Danville situation, and local union officers disclaim the "no-strike" attitude. They declare no other policy will bring President Fitzgerald, mill boss, to deal with the union.

### Union Leader Optimistic

Gorman is optimistic about the key position of Danville. "In case of a strike in Danville," he said, "workers would strike in mass all over the south. The situation would be so big that it would be impossible for the A. F. of L. or independent unions to handle it. In Danville alone 12,000 persons would have to be fed.

"We regard Danville as one of the most important situations in the south; we realize also that what we are doing here is pretty much of an experiment. We are not committed to a no-strike policy in Danville. If the management does not respond to our present methods, other means will have to be taken."

Geoffrey Brown, A. F. of L. industrial engineer, unsuccessfully interviewed President H. R. Fitzgerald several months ago to feel him out on establishing a modified B. & O. union-management cooperation plan in his mills. The Y. W. C. A. has been barred from the mills and the pass of Industrial Secretary Ray Hudgins canceled.

### Public With Organization

Union rallies, chautauquas, socials, 2 women's committee and parades have been relied on to stimulate union enthusiasm. Local union officers are agreed that strike is impossible during the industrial depression and feel hopeful that the local will be able to keep together a strong unit of determined workers.

## Business Slump Hits European Rail Workers

Employees in Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and Sweden Fight Unemployment and Oppression

The world wide business depression and unsatisfactory working conditions are reacting unfavorably on widely separated branches of the International Transport workers Federations according to the latest report of the Federation.

"Polish railway authorities" the report declares, recently proposed, on the grounds of an alleged fall in traffic, to cut down the work of the railway shompen to 5 and in some cases 4 days a week. As a result of a strike of shompen, and representations made by the Polish Railwaymen's Union, which regarded the measure as unjustified, the Transport Ministry has just issued a decree limiting the cut to two days in the month.

"The Czechoslovakian State railway authorities have of recent months been dismissing large numbers of employees, and putting others on short time. Nearly 10,000 railway servants are affected by these measures, which the authorities justify on the grounds of reduced traffic and increased personnel costs. The railwaymen's unions have protested to the Minister of Railways, the Minister for Social Affairs and the Acting Prime Minister, demanding that the dismissals should cease and that all men already dismissed should be reinstated.

### French Porters Protest

"The French railwaymen's federation has published a manifesto protesting against the way in which the sleeping and dining car attendants are exploited. In particular exception is taken to the way in which the Sleeping Car Company interprets the French social legislation, and to its refusal to recognize the trade unions. Wages are also at the hunger level. Cleaners get 25.50 to 29 francs a day, head waiters 75 francs a month, and sleeping car attendants 200 francs a month. Other grades being in proportion. The staff must also bear the cost of cleaning materials, washing of linen, and breakages, the Company actually charging them for these more than it pays itself. The manifesto appeals to the users of the railways, and the public authorities, and urges the staff to organize in defence of its rights.

"The Swedish Union of Catering Staff of the Sweden-America Steamship Line presented some time ago a demand for improvement. As negotiations have proved fruitless a strike has been declared, about 500 to 600 of the men concerned, mainly butchers, makers and scullions. The company's steamers run between Gohemburg and New York.

is largely molded by the mill workers themselves in this one-industry town, is for the unionists. The fact that the mill force is not concentrated away from the rest of Danville in a mill village but is scattered throughout the town helps the union cause.

## Hose Knitters, Employers Sign New Pact

Wage Cut, Increased Earning Power and Unemployment Insurance Feature Agreement

A national agreement intended to stabilize the hosiery industry has been signed here by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and the Union Manufacturers Association.

The agreement, immediately effective and supplanting the present pact, is the result of concessions by both parties.

The union has taken a wage cut of from five to twenty per cent. but has gained unemployment insurance to be maintained by the employers. Extension of the two-machine system also is expected to permit the workers to make up the cut in wages.

More than 16,000 workers are affected by the new agreement which they ratified in a referendum. The mills that are a party to the agreement produce more than fifty per cent. of the industry's total output. The lowered labor costs are expected to enable the union mills to better meet the competition of non-union mills and eventually draw them into the union manufacturers association. The closed shop is granted the union. This concession alone is expected to double the union membership in a year as previously only certain classes of workers were enrolled in the union.

The arbitration machinery and ban on strikes effective under the old agreement are carried over in the new one. Dr. Paul Abelson remains as impartial chairman of the industry. The unemployment insurance funds will be created on lines indicated by Dr. Paul Douglas, of Chicago.

The first immediate effect of the new agreement was observed in Philadelphia when the H. C. Aberie Hosiery Company resumed operations.

The Aberie firm, employing 1,500 workers, although not a party to the new agreement, will operate as a union mill paying the new union scale and contributing to the unemployment insurance fund.

The Aberie mill was the center of a five months strike against a wage cut in which one striker was killed and many injured.

## Jurisdictional Peace Plan Lacks Teeth

A. F. L. Building Pact Must Gain Approval From Foes of its Provisions

NEW YORK.—(FP)—Several hurdles have to be jumped before the plan adopted at Atlantic City for national settlement of jurisdictional disputes in the construction industry can become an accepted fact.

The Atlantic City plan sets up a board of trade claims, to consist of the executive council of the building trades department of the A. F. of L. and an equal number from the National Association of Building Trades Employers. This board is to decide jurisdictional disputes that are brought to it, but there are important limitations on its power to render decisions.

In the first place, it is to recognize decisions rendered in the past by the A. F. of L., by its building trades department, and by the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards, which is now defunct and which the proposed board would replace. In the second place, local systems of jurisdiction, which may or may not be at variance with the above-mentioned national system, are exempted from the plan.

In New York, for example, the setting of rods for reinforced concrete is done by metallic lathers, who are recognized to be in possession of the work. But outside New York City the work is generally done by laborers. If now the metallic lather employers of New York wish to keep the metallic lathers in possession of the work in that city the union's jurisdiction cannot be contested. But if the metallic lather employers and the union of another trade, say the laborers, wish to bring before the national board a request that laborers be used in setting rods for reinforced concrete, they may do so.

The New York building industry—both unions and employers—has been the chief advocate of local jurisdiction. The international unions and the National Association of Building Trades Employers, with which the New York Building Trades Employers' Association is not affiliated, have contended for one single system of jurisdiction for the whole country. Before the proposed plan can become effective, it must be accepted by New York. Whether the present agreement, which satisfies both sides though their positions are mutually irreconcilable, can become permanent, will be doubted by many.

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# THE PROPERTY TAXATION RACKET

The Difficulties and Evasions in the Assessment of Property Values; University of Pennsylvania Professor Proposes New Taxation Basis

By Karl Scholz

of the University of Pennsylvania; an address delivered at the summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment.

THE general property tax is the chief source of tax revenue for state and local fiscal purposes in the United States. It is an ad valorem tax, presumably based on the theoretical concept that ownership of property, regardless of origin or source, gives evidence of economic power and is thus an indicator of ability to pay taxes. Ownership of property is a privilege, a mark of distinction, and for the enjoyment of this invidious distinction, the property owner should be willing to contribute to the support of the government, which protects his so-called property "rights."

In actuality, the general property tax has resolved itself primarily into a levy on a valuation of real property or real estate, including land as such and improvements on land. The tax on personal property values in one form or another is largely evaded, since it is becoming increasingly difficult to discover the many existent forms of personal property. This is particularly true since the modern business corporation has developed to its ripe of importance in American economic life, for it has largely separated legal ownership of property rights, in the form of stocks and bonds, from the actual possession of material wealth. The many profound economic changes of the past century and a half since the Industrial Revolution have modified the concept of property for purposes of taxation until today we are tending once more to the primitive idea that real property or real estate ownership is the best indicator of tax paying ability. Nevertheless, in most states the attempts are still made to ferret out all types of personal property and levy against them. This is well illustrated in the assessment manuals issued by State Tax Commissions, setting forth what property is to be assessed and what evidence of value is to be used. In Minnesota, for example, assessors are required to place a valuation on foxes, skunks and other wild animals in captivity as well as on stands of bees, that these may be properly taxed. The Arkansas manual of 1927 calls special attention to jewelry, watches and diamonds which "are articles of luxury and pleasure more than business, and should be well assessed and required to pay their just portion of taxation." Particularly illuminating is the argument advanced for assessing bank notes as set forth in this manual. "If one had a million dollars in notes, it could not be said of him that he was without property and under no obligation to contribute to the support of the government, whose protection and remedies give these notes all their value." Would that the author of this statement might have been in some of the European countries during the period of post-war currency inflation. Perhaps because the line of demarcation between real and personal property

cannot be sharply drawn in the case of grave yards, these are generally exempt from property taxation.

**The Evaluation of Property** In spite of detailed assessment and taxation provisions included in laws and administrative rulings, personal property, whether in the form of movable objects or in the form of titles to wealth, by and large, escapes the general property taxes, and real property values bear the brunt of the levy. Uniform tax rates are usually levied against such property values within a given taxation district. Consequently it becomes the problem of paramount importance to every owner of real estate that his property be equitably evaluated, relative to all other properties. If property is inequitably assessed for purposes of taxation, no uniform tax rate can approximate an equitable apportionment of such taxes.

In practically every state of the Union in which property taxes are still in vogue, the law prescribes that property shall be assessed at its fair present value. Numerous adjectives have been incorporated in taxation laws as explicated to convey this idea of fair present value. Actual value, full value, true value, market value, fair cash value, full and fair value, fair value in money and many other convenient explanatory combinations are recorded on the statute books of various states. They read like so many abstract moral concepts which the assessor is to bear in mind as his professional goal, but do not tell him how he may achieve this goal. A recent investigation into the statutory value concepts set forth in the laws of the forty-eight states of the Union revealed no less than

twenty one different designations of value to be made the basis of assessments. But in no instance was there a clear indication as to how such idealistic values are to be ascertained.

In actual practice the principle that selling price of real property is the soundest evidence of present value for purposes of taxation has attained almost universal acceptance. It has been recognized by courts and is the basis of all expert opinions on property values. Thus the Pennsylvania law pertaining to the subject prescribes that in all cases the assessors "shall value the property at such sums as the same would in their judgment bring at a fair public sale thereof." According to the Minnesota taxation manual previously referred to "nothing measures values more accurately than the prices paid for property by a willing buyer and accepted by a willing seller under normal conditions" but there is no attempt to explain what constitutes either a willing buyer, a willing seller or normal conditions. The North Dakota law states that assessments shall be made at their true and full value, meaning thereby the usual selling price at the place where the property to which the term is applied shall be at the time of the assessment. It is pointed out in the 1930 assessment manual of this state that selling value is "to be distinguished from economic value by which is meant the amount upon which the property earns or is able to earn a fair return. Assessors are not authorized . . . to assess property at its economic value."

The few foregoing illustrations, which might be multiplied indefinitely, are indicative of the chaotic conditions existing in the statu-

tory and administrative provisions pertaining to valuation for purposes of taxation.

**Selling Price and Assessment** A moment's reflection should show that the concept of actual selling price is for numerous reasons frequently inapplicable to making present-day assessments of real property. In the first place, many real estate improvements, particularly in central urban areas, are of a highly specialized nature, and are built to endure over a long number of years. They are probably owned by corporations with perpetual succession and there is little likelihood of their being placed on the market and sold. Not only do industrial and business properties remain in the same ownership from generation to generation, but with the growing popularity of housing corporations, the possibility of discovering a ready market for individual dwellings is becoming increasingly difficult.

The multi-family dwelling, developed by housing corporations, is rapidly replacing the individual dwelling in our urban communities. From 1921 to 1928, inclusive, the percentage of families provided for by new residential construction in 257 cities of the United States in single-family dwellings declined from 58.3 per cent of the total, while the multi-family dwelling percentages increased from 24.4 to 53.7 per cent. Apartment houses are increasingly replacing individual homes in American cities, and in consequence individual home ownership is declining, relatively speaking, while complex housing units, continuing in a single possession from one generation to another, are multiplying. Under such conditions, it is obvious that actual selling prices of real property are becoming increasingly in-

adequate as evidence of value for purposes of taxation. Furthermore, when a highly complex property is transferred, even if the legal consideration involved in the transaction should be made known to the assessor, which is frequently not the case, the selling price may be meaningless as evidence of fair present value. The circumstances surrounding such a transfer are often shrouded in mystery, and only the property initiated are admitted to the innermost secrets.

But while on the one hand real estate units in our cities are becoming more complex, and actual selling prices of such units are even poorer evidence of value for purposes of taxation, many small properties, which are still somewhat standardized and the ownership of which is transferred from time to time, may be assessed at or near their actual market value. It is manifestly to the interest of the owners of complex property units to adhere tenaciously to the 18th century legal selling price fiction, for it offers an admirable opportunity to shift taxes on to the shoulders of the small property owners. The writer's attention was recently called to a large mining property on which the assessment had not been changed since the Civil War, for it had continued in the possession of the same family, now multi-millionaires, from generation to generation. At the same time small home owners in the vicinity of the mining property were being taxed on the purchase price of their homes for school and road building purposes, "in accordance with the law."

As property units increase in complexity and possession under the corporate form of business or organization continues in perpetuity, it would seem that the legalistic

"selling price" basis of valuation of property has become obsolete and untenable.

**"Scientific" Valuation**

In recent years much has been said and written about a scientific approach to the problem of property valuation for tax purposes. Prompted by this scientific spirit, advocates of sound assessment have insisted on separate valuation of land and of improvements on land. The majority of the states of the Union today prescribe such separate valuation. But merely to set down two value opinions where formerly one sufficed can scarcely be called a step forward in the solution of the property taxation problem. Unless a sound basis of valuation of land as such and of improvements on land is devised, separate valuation of the two elements making up real estate is rather meaningless. To place an arbitrary valuation of four dollars per acre on "only land, so termed because it is not especially adapted to any particular purpose or use either present or prospective" and "the only purpose or reason which can be assigned for its existence, insofar as it is at present known, is to hold the balance of the earth together and to give additional area to the earth's surface" as is done in Arkansas, is surely not indicative of any scientific valuation procedure. In Louisiana salt water marsh lands "too low and boggy to be subject either to reclamation or for use for cattle grazing" are assessed at three dollars per acre, but how such a valuation is arrived at is difficult to tell. Worthless land is apparently taxed in various states, while much of the economic value of land escapes taxation, in whole or in part. It is this economic value, indicative

of the economic rent yielded by land, in spite of the statement of the North Dakota Assessment manual to the contrary, which should be made the basis of land valuation for purposes of taxation.

A novel property tax experiment has been in effect in the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, since 1913. Under the law enacted by the state legislature in that year, cities of the second class in the State of Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh and Scranton) were authorized to levy differential tax rates on land values and values of improvements. The avowed purpose of this so-called graded tax law was to gradually shift taxes from building values to land values. The differential rates for municipal taxes were applied gradually, until in 1925 and subsequently the tax rate on building values has been one-half that levied on land values. But the evidence of value used in making assessments has not been changed. It is still that prescribed by the Pennsylvania law of 1841.

The selling price principle constitutes the basis of assessments in Pittsburgh today, even as it does throughout the United States. It is apparent that as a relatively larger tax is imposed on the selling price of land, this selling price tends to be depressed. If all the economic rent of a tract of land were taxed away, its selling price would become nil. Theoretically it would be impossible to tax away the value of land by levying a definite rate on the actual selling price of the land, for as the selling price of the land approached zero, the tax rate would have to approach infinity.

In reality the Pittsburgh graded tax serves as an admirable illustration of the fact that the attempts to shift taxes from building values to land values, by using actual market prices, are largely futile. Whereas assessments of land in Pittsburgh, based on selling prices, increased only thirteen per cent from 1913 to 1925, building assessments based chiefly on market values of new building construction increased sixty-one per cent during the same period. Although a fifty per cent higher tax rate was applied to land values than to building values in 1925, the actual tax shifted from building to land values in that year, as compared with 1913, was less than six per cent.

**The Remedies Proposed**

What then is the way out of the property taxation snarl? How may we achieve a greater degree of equity in property taxation for local tax revenue purposes? In reply to these questions it may be well to consider both temporary and permanent remedies for a highly unsatisfactory situation.

Existing laws in practically every state of the Union prescribe separate valuation of land and of improvements on land for purposes of taxation. Where such statutory provisions do not yet pertain, as in the state of Pennsylvania, efforts should be made to encourage such legislation. But to provide by law for separate valuation of land and of improvements on land, is only a first step in the right direction. It must be followed up by requiring of assessors the adoption of sound, sympathetic methods of procedure in arriving at valuations. The successful carrying out of such provisions is

predicated on the assessors' ability to perform their duties intelligently and adequately. The function of the assessor must be raised to a higher plane than that on which it rests at present. Merit and not politics should be made the guiding principle in the selection of this all important public official.

Furthermore, the assessor must be provided with the proper tools to perform his duties accurately and faithfully. He must recognize the basic difference between fixing sound values, as is done by rate making bodies, and finding sound values, upon which taxes are to be levied. He must, furthermore, be made to understand the basic differences between the detriments of land values, and of building values, respectively.

Land values are derived from the desirability of land in different locations for various uses. It is this relative desirability of land for various purposes which should be carefully gauged by the assessor in arriving at his judgment of land values. Building values, on the other hand, reflect costs of construction or of replacement and should be evaluated on this basis, making adequate allowance for depreciation.

It would take me too far afield to enter into a detailed analysis of what I consider sound methods of procedure in making valuations of land and of buildings for purposes of taxation. Suffice it to say that a careful classification of various types of buildings as well as of different grades of land is a first requisite of a thorough valuation analysis. Furthermore, for valuation comparisons, the adoption of definite unit concepts, in terms of which value opinion may be expressed, is highly essential. Standardized, systematic methods of property valuation are employed in a number of American cities today, and in consequence inequities in property assessments are reduced to a minimum. Having arrived at the valuation of land and buildings separately, by employing systematic methods of procedure, legislation should be encouraged, allowing differential tax rates to be applied, not merely to land and to improvements on land, as is done in Pittsburgh, but also to different kinds of land, depending upon the basic sources of its value. To tax land into use may be a perfectly sound principle to apply to urban land, deriving its value from its location, but it is equally unsound to tax mineral and timber lands into use, for this would tend to encourage their exploitation and depletion. It is indeed a shortsighted policy which advocates the indiscriminate taxation of lands into use.

But more equitable assessments of property and differential tax rates, desirable as they may be as a first aid to an unhealthy taxation condition, cannot be regarded as a permanent taxation remedy. The careful differentiation between the values derived from incomes reflecting human labor and those representing social products should ultimately lead to the adoption of tax rates on property values not created by individual efforts. The economic rent from land is one source of such values.

The ultimate remedy of the property taxation situation, as I see it, will be found in a recognition of the social justice, inherent in the principle that tax revenues, to be applied for collective benefits, should be derived, as far as possible, from socially-created values.

## Green Retracts "Red" Label on Pioneer Youth

Correcting his statement to the Congressional Committee investigating communism, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, expressed regret yesterday that he has confused Pioneer Youth of America with the Young Pioneers, a communist children's organization under investigation by the Fish committee.

Mr. Green said in a letter addressed to Walter Ludwig, Director of Pioneer Youth, "I referred to the communist youth movement only. I did not have in mind 'Pioneer Youth.' Mr. Green continues, 'is a most commendable organization and has received the endorsement of international organizations, state federations of labor, city central bodies, and local trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I have no hesitancy in heartily endorsing this movement and I wish very much that our friends everywhere may distinguish between 'Pioneer Youth' and the 'Young Pioneers.'"

Pioneer Youth conducts a camp for workers' children near Kingston, N. Y., as well as city club activities. Camps are also conducted

## Chicago Federation Asks Mooney To Be Labor Day Speaker

CHICAGO—(FP)—Confident that Tom Mooney will be out of San Quentin by Labor Day, the Chicago Federation of Labor has wired to him to be the headline speaker at the big Labor Day celebration in the Grant Park stadium. Warren Billings, convicted with Mooney on perjured evidence for the San Francisco preparedness parade explosion, was sent a similar telegram.

Only worldwide protests, including the stoning of the American embassy in Petrograd under the leadership of Lenin, prevented the sentence of death by hanging from being carried out on Mooney and Billings. They have now served fourteen years in the penitentiary for a crime they did not commit.

ed by the Baltimore and Philadelphia branches and play activities are being conducted this summer among the mill workers' children in Marion, N. C. The organization was founded six years ago by a group including Norman Thomas, a present member of its Board of Directors.

## Workmen's Sick and Death Fund to Hold Picnic in N. Y. Sunday

The United Branches of Manhattan of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Workmen's Singing Society of New York, the Worker's Gymnasium and Sport Club of New York will hold a grand combined picnic on Sunday, August 10th, at Martin Kane's Park, Clason Point. There will be activities of all description. The singing society has arranged for an unusual musical program and the sport society for an athletic program. Special games have been arranged for the youngsters. The arrangements committee looks forward to greeting all the progressive working men and women in New York at this gala festival. Don't miss it.

## People's Lobby Scores Hoover Jobless Plan

WASHINGTON—(FP)—President Hoover's appointment of a committee on jobless statistics is "to seek some method of covering up the bluff the administration has been laying out about unemployment," charges Professor John Dewey's People's Lobby, which denounces him for not calling Congress to do something effective about unemployment.

"President Hoover," says Secretary Benjamin Marsh's statement, "has again shown not only his cosmic stupidity in holding he can fool five million unemployed into thinking they are working, but his

## Vancouver Elects Mac Innis, Socialist, House of Parliament

VANCOUVER, B. C.—(FP)—Unionists have elected Angus MacInnis, street car motorman, to the Canadian parliament on the Independent Labor Party ticket. MacInnis, 20 years a member of the street car men's union and five years a Vancouver city alderman, is an avowed Socialist.

The I. L. P. platform on which the successful laborite stood calls for social ownership of industry and advocates "all palliatives and reforms that will ease the road of transition from capitalism to socialism." Unemployment is characterized as a "social disease inherent in our present social system which socialism alone can solve and cure."

MacInnis' campaign was marked by the emergence of Marxists who for years had been experienced in provincial politics but this is the first time labor had elected a member from British Columbia to the federal parliament. A Communist candidate in the same election polled 3 per cent. of the total vote.

immoral subservency to the multi-millionaires and billionaires for whose chief benefit he assumes this country should be run." Unemployment insurance is an imperative need, continues the statement.

## Union Cooperation Plan Tried by Pump Concern

CHICAGO—(FP)—The only unionized pump making plant in the United States is now under the union-management cooperative plan first tried out extensively on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad.

It is the Yeomans Bros. Pump Co. of Chicago, makers of sewage ejectors, bilge pumps and house pumps of all kinds. The agreement is between the company and the International Association of Machinists.

The union promises to use its best efforts for plant economy and improved production while the company promises to stabilize employment so far as possible and to let the workers have some share in the resulting benefits.

The company has been working far below capacity with only 30 men in the machine shop against a normal of 50, according to Business Agent J. J. Uhlmann of the machinists. O. S. Beyer, engineer for the machinists international office, points out that competition from non-union plants had made it hard for the company to keep up its end.

Radicals declare that the cooperative plan is nothing but a speed-up device with the union putting the pressure on its members and the boss benefiting, but both union and managerial exponents of the plan claim that employment has been more stable where it was in force and that in some instances actual cash benefits to the workers have resulted.

## Pioneer Youth Holds Annual Mid-summer Conference

By Jack Herling

RIFTON, N. Y.—The annual Midsummer Festival and Educational Conference of Pioneer Youth took place at the summer camp at Rifton, New York, last Saturday and Sunday. Over a hundred campers, sons and daughters of workers in many industries, staged a series of sketches portraying life at camp, as well as in the world outside.

Early Saturday evening, parents and members of Pioneer Youth gathered for a picnic supper under a giant maple on the camp grounds. Campers and visitors proceeded to the various divisions of the camp where songs, recitations, and a great campfire were the order of the evening. Spirituals and labor songs were sung by the children and then the entire procession started back to the social hall to view the arts and handicrafts exhibition, the products of the children's skill.

The feature of the exhibition were many toys, made by children in Marion, North Carolina, recently organized as the first southern club of Pioneer Youth. Two of the children who played such an important part in last summer's labor agitation in the South accompanied by Agnes Sailer, Pioneer Youth leader, came to spend the rest of the summer. Nell King, age 11, and L. T. Baker, age 12, were the arrivals from the South, as ambassadors to the workers' children in the North.

Walter Ludwig, executive director of Pioneer Youth began the Sunday morning discussion with a report of his activity at the Baltimore, Philadelphia camps of Pioneer Youth as well as of the P. Y. activity in New York City.

One of the most interesting experiments in New York is being conducted at Bleecker and 11th streets at the Bleecker Gardens, where Pioneer Youth takes those in who try to do away with.

a number of apartment houses, recently converted from old style tenements. About twenty-five children from the surrounding tenements have joined in a club, said Mr. Ludwig, called the Back-Fence Club. They have been given the right to use the wading pool, instead of having to sneak in by climbing the fence, and a vacant apartment has been given them to be used as club rooms.

Mr. Ludwig described in detail the work in Marion, under the able leadership of Agnes Sailer of the City and Country School in New York. The many difficulties of overcoming a hostile and suspicious town, the inbred prejudices of the children and workers themselves, were vividly described. The growth of tolerance toward Negroes, for instance was evident in that a sketch of the life in the South when three children were eager to play the role of Negroes, an almost unheard change in fundamental attitude.

The children take their labor training into the schools. Many of them declared with feeling that none of their themes or compositions on the strike or the labor movement as they have already come to know it, were ever called for by their teachers. Pioneer Youth in the South is therefore a forerunner in progressive education as well as in the labor movement.

Fannie Cohen, educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and a member of the Board of Directors of Pioneer Youth, gave a stirring account of the first beginnings of Pioneer Youth and the great difficulties of the first summer at camp.

She made the distinction between Pioneer Youth and other organizations connected with a party. Pioneer Youth takes those in who try to do away with.

would not perhaps join the other organizations. Miss Cohen emphasized the need for intensive development in New York City before branching out elsewhere. Only in case of a special project like that in North Carolina should extension of activity be undertaken.

Alexis Fern, formerly director of the Stetson School, and now in his first year as camp director of Pioneer Youth, gave an inspiring talk on the need of the development of character, of the child's capacities, instead of the old-line tactics of unquestioning propaganda. The way of development lies not in the direction of children's activities. Children will not become men and women of character by having their activities regimented or by keeping them amused. Growth, declared Mr. Fern, lies not in a putting on from the outside but by a development, an expansion from within.

Harry Rubenstein, of the Board of Directors, in reply to Mr. Wax, parent of one of the campers, reiterated that the educational object of Pioneer Youth was to teach the child to think for himself, not that of mere obedience. Ray Koch, counselor at the camp, remarked on the great similarity of effort between Pioneer Youth among children and of Commonwealth Labor College at Mena, Arkansas, among young men and women. At his college, said Mr. Koch, there is of course a greater emphasis on the labor movement at such. In closing, Walter Ludwig said that "the attendant result of our method is to be that of sympathy and activity in the labor movement. Not a blind adherence to any particular ideology is our aim. To attempt to inculcate such a loyalty would be a continuation of the blind obedience we are trying to do away with."

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## Sure, I'm Running Again

A FRIEND of mine in spite of the fact that he is a staunch Republican and a press agent to boot, has some interesting comment to make on the now infamous Fish Committee investigating what is humorously called "The Red Menace" in America.

Says he, "If there were a flood on the Wabash River and a Congressional Committee were appointed to investigate it, even a group of Southern Congressmen would not advocate sweeping the flood back into the River. What they would do would be to look over the dams and try to determine what caused the breaks and make some sort of engineering recommendations looking to a prevention of the catastrophe. But such a simple idea as this has apparently never entered the so-called mentalities of the Fish Committee. Now I got pretty mad about the sort of junk that the Fish mongers have been handing out and I decided to make a little investigation on my own hook. I looked up the vote cast for William Z. Foster when he ran for President in 1928. I found that it was around 48,000. Hardly enough men, women and half-wits to overthrow any decent government. The interesting thing to me was that the twelve States which gave Foster the vast majority of his votes were the twelve States in which 80 per cent. of the strikes were pulled off during that year. It seems to me there might be some connection between eighty per cent. of the strikes and around eighty per cent. of the Communist vote. But this is much too subtle for a Fish investigator. The members of the committee and their staff of trick investigators have got to make it appear that the entire country is filthy with Communists. Otherwise their per diem, expense accounts stop and they have to go back to some honest way of making a living. They are peddling hokum to the effect that there are hundreds of thousands of members of the Communist or Workers Party in these United States whereas the official and unimpeachable figures show that there are only 6,500 members of the Workers Party and about two thousand affiliated with the Lovestone and Cannon groups. Tote up the cost to the tax-payers of investigating such a small and insignificant group and you will probably find that it costs around five dollars to investigate each and every Communist."

But speaking of running for office, boys and girls, I'm at it again. This time it's for State Senator in the Seventeenth District of Manhattan, New York. I'm practically a virgin candidate for this office. I mean I've never run for it before. In a way it's a demolition as last time I ran for U. S. Senator. Now Albany instead of Washington is my goal and I just can't get up any enthusiasm for Albany. It's all hills and when you speak on the streets there you are on an inclined plane like the famous side-hill gopher of the Ozarks so that your lower leg gets longer than your higher leg in order to preserve your balance. But it doesn't really make any difference, because if I'm like the rest of the State Senators I won't go to Albany much. I know a Democratic State Senator who has to have a Boy Scout show him where the Capitol is every time he goes to Albany which is about once a year.

I don't know just what State Senators do except to vote for appropriations for bridges in Cattaraugus County. They seem to be a small body of morons completely surrounded by alcohol. Their main function is to kill all measures looking to the welfare of labor which by any miracle have gotten through the lower house.

I've run in this district before only this time I was running for Alderman. Then, as now, I was running against a ticket headed by Mrs. Ruth Pratt.

One thing you've got to say for Mrs. Pratt, she kept her promise about not committing herself to anything, before or after election. I have a dim recollection that she takes a firm stand against first degree murder, arson and mayhem but outside of that, her attitude towards issues still remains a mystery. A gent named Oberholzer of Arkush or Pennypacker or something is running against me on the Democratic ticket. And it is just too bad for him that the four election districts in Central Park can't cast any votes. He would be sure of sweeping the entire sheep vote at all events.

Anyhow we're going to put on a pretty hot campaign. My favorite place for speaking in this district is in the rear of the horse of General Sherman's statue in the Plaza opposite the lady who is taking a bath right out in public. This gives me a splendid opportunity to drag in references to the Republican and Democratic parties and what I think of them.

My neighbor Sam across the page beat me to it in his column last week. He asked you to hustle out and get a lot of subs for THE NEW LEADER. I second the motion with enthusiasm.

You know this isn't a half bad paper, even if I am a member of the staff. Every week there is something in it that you can't get anywhere else. Two bucks a year isn't much to pay for intellectual and oftentimes spiritual refreshment. You pay more than that for one round of the other sort of refreshment, that is if you go in for that sort of thing, which I trust you do not, it being very hard on your constitution.

So be the nice boys and girls that I know you are and rush out and drag in five or ten subs. I won't get mad even if you drag in twenty. This paper ought to have a circulation around one hundred thousand. There are more than 200 magazines that have a circulation of more than one hundred thousand and at least eighty newspapers and look at the darned things. Look at "Liberty" or "Breezy Stories."

And hold your nose when you look. Matt Wolf is all wrong about the importation of pulpwood. It shouldn't be barred because of any cooked-up yarn about forced labor. It should be barred because of the stuff that's printed on it. The man who said, "If this be 'Liberty' give me death" said plenty.

After all two dollars invested in keeping alive the cause for which THE NEW LEADER stands isn't much of a sacrifice. None of us is getting what anyone would call princely salaries. We've cut expenses to the bone. We've held high the red standard of Socialism at a time when the fighting was pretty hot and now that things are looking up and we're on the march again it would just be silly to go off and leave us in a hole. I know that the response to Sam's eloquent appeal will be generous and surprisingly large. He has a big following and he deserves it. Now let's see if you readers of this column can't put the Chatterboxes to shame by turning in twice as many subs for THE NEW LEADER as Sam's crowd digs up.

I'll make this offer. To the reader of this column who fills the blank on another page with the most names of new subs and writes my name in the corner I will give free, gratis, for nothing, a copy of my book, "Eugene Victor Debs, a Man Unafraid," with an original autograph of Gene's given me by Theodore Debs pasted on the fly leaf.

McAlister Coleman.

## From Our Foreign Correspondent

# British Labor In Office

## A Record of Difficulties Coupled With Accomplishments; Cross-Currents Of Dissatisfaction Appear

By Harry W. Laidler

(Concluded from Last Week)  
London, England.

TURNING to the industrial situation, what has labor done? Some social reform measures have been passed and many measures are still waiting for favorable action. Fenner B. 'way, left wing critic, was of the opinion that, while the government in its domestic policy was much slower than circumstances warranted, it nevertheless had accomplished in one year more than any Conservative or Liberal government would have accomplished in five.

1. It extended the Widow's pension act. Under the Conservative administration, the Widow's pension act covered less than 50,000 widows. Labor extended the act to apply to some 480,000, about ten times the original number. Over 150,000 additional had been brought under the act during the preceding month. The act provides 10 shillings a week until the child leaves school or after the woman has arrived at 55 years of age.

2. The government extended the unemployment insurance act. When it got into office Labor found some 30,000 men refused unemployment insurance on the ground that they were not seeking work. Many had been denied unemployment insurance by the arbitrary act of petty officials. The burden was on the worker to prove that he had sincerely sought work and in many instances the committees became inquisitorial bodies. The act has now been changed and an unemployed worker can, under the present act, obtain relief unless he rejects a job that is offered him, where conditions are suitable, or unless he fails to apply for a job when notified of its existence. The act also increases the benefits for younger workers to 17 shillings a week, 9 shillings additional for a wife and 2 shillings for each child.

3. The government has pledged to reduce the hours of employment of miners by half an hour a day. The present day's work for miners is longer than in most countries of Europe—eight hours at the coal face, or about 9 hours a day down the pit. The coal bill provides for the rationalization of mines and for such a regulation of prices as may yield a minimum profit to groups of mines. Under the quota system provided for in the act, the Ministry of Mines decides how much coal can be produced in the various mines, and has power to compel amalgamations.

The I.L.P. feels that the bill does not go far enough. Particularly it dislikes the feature authorizing the increase of prices. It declares that it was a mistake for the government to have first entered into

negotiations with the coal owners and that as the Liberal party had pledged itself to the nationalization of minerals—though with private operation—labor could have passed a bill providing for such nationalization.

The bill is now being man-handled in the House of Lords which is insisting on various amendments opposing amalgamations and the reduction of hours.

In the fourth place, there is the slum clearance bill. The majority of working class houses in England are probably over a half century old. Some are from 60 to 100 years, and in rural districts many are found between 200 and 300 years old. During the war the building of houses practically ceased. After the war there was a tremendous demand for new dwellings and, as a result, over a million and a half houses were constructed, calculated to rehouse about a fifth of the population.

The government has increasingly regarded housing as a social service. It has subsidized local housing to the extent of 11 to 12,000,000 pounds a year. This subsidy is continuing to increase and local authorities are putting up houses at the rate of 50,000 a year. Municipal governments are probably the largest landlords of working class houses in Great Britain or in any country. Private building is expensive and has been restricted considerably by the laws preventing the raising of rents. It no longer pays a private builder to build working class houses except to sell, to speculate with, even though such builders are also subsidized. This private capitalism has not tackled the slum problem. With the exception of the garden cities there is probably no city where the slums are not a serious menace. In attacking the problem, according to minister of Health Greenwood, great difficulties have been thus far encountered in closing, demolishing the houses that cannot be reclaimed, in buying the land and in building houses in their place.

Former administrations granted subsidies on the basis of houses built. The Labor government is making grants on the basis of persons displaced from an area and rehoused elsewhere. It maintains that in relieving overcrowding the house yardstick is an inadequate one. Arthur Greenwood has introduced a comprehensive housing measure that was being considered during our stay. His success will depend on the money he can secure from the treasury and the degree of cooperation he receives from the local authorities. If his plans go through the slum problem will be well on its way to solution within the next decade.

(5) Arthur Greenwood and the Labor party are likewise tackling the problem of health in general. The state has during the last few years, established numerous maternity and child welfare centers, for expectant mothers. Little service,

however, is rendered by the state to children between one and five. The Labor government is striving to give health and educational services to this group through the development of nursery schools, etc. It is planning to extend the Health Insurance Act so as to comprise those above the age of 15. The mortality rate of children has greatly decreased in recent years, but there is still a problem of the ill and maimed children who survive. The Ministry is giving its attention to this problem. Today the occupation of rearing children in England is the most dangerous occupation in the country. There is no reason why this should be so. The Ministry of Health is now conducting an examination of the death of every mother following confinement. This is having a salutary effect on the treatment of confinement. The government is giving increasing attention likewise to pre-natal clinics, and to the care of the child during the first few days of life. "If we can ensure health treatment to the children until they are ready for school," declared Mr. Greenwood "great health advances will have been made."

"Sooner or later," maintained the Minister of Health, in his Toynbee Hall lecture, "we must have a unified system of health insurance. Much relief is now administered by approved societies. These societies are concerned with treatment of illness and not primarily with preventive measures. Emphasis must increasingly be placed on prevention."

"Further, the medical profession must be modernized. Most of the doctors engaged in taking care of the sick under the insurance act are overworked and overdriven. They have become rusty in their profession. We are now planning the construction of one of the most important post-graduate medical schools and hospitals in the world. We hope through this school to make it possible for the doctors periodically to study in this college and in this way to reeducate the medical profession in the country. The school will be part of the University of London, and will be administered by the University, by the State and by the medical profession. It should also help materially in matters of research."

When Labor went into office it found many overlapping services. There was the Board of Guardians attending the sick poor and local authorities taking care of the sick because they were sick irrespective of whether they were poor or not. The Board of Guardians had nothing to do with prevention. The Labor government abolished the Board and amalgamated the functions into county councils. It also provided for the reduction of grants to the councils unless they conducted their job with efficiency.

The Ministry of Health is likewise giving attention to mental treatment and is enabling the local authorities to take early steps in

case people show signs of "queerness."

(6) The government is still considering the increase in school age from 14 to 15, with maintenance for children in their fifteenth year who would otherwise be at work. There has unfortunately been a hitch in this legislation. At the solicitation of Snowden the bill was temporarily withdrawn, on the ground that maintenance money was not available, but the trade unions have gotten vigorously back of this legislation, and it is being reintroduced.

(7) The government is raising the income tax to provide for many of its increased social services.

(8) Of course the most important domestic question is that relating to unemployment. Unfortunately the Labor government has not as yet been able to reduce the number of the unemployed. In a recent statement Ramsay MacDonald attributes this failure to reduce the line of the unemployed to the international situation and of course, this situation has played its part.

"When we came into office," declared the Prime Minister, "we set to work to do two things. Firstly to strengthen and improve the structure of industry and to change the relationship between industry and finance in order to increase the prosperity of our great trades and their capacity to provide steady employment."

"Secondly, to stimulate all useful schemes of work for those who were unemployed."

"If the general condition of things in the world had remained unchanged, our work would now have proved itself by the results it produced, and I feel confident that figures of unemployment would by now have been below the million point." "Last winter, however, the world plunged into an industrial and agricultural crisis which sent the figures of unemployment bounding up not only here, but in America, Germany and other industrial nations as well."

"Our opponents have used, and will use, this crisis as a stick with which to try to beat us. Well-informed people know that its causes were quite outside our control. We are facing up to the emergency with determination."

Mr. MacDonald declared that the government was consulting with local authorities with a view to make as much work as possible available next winter and that it had called a conference of the three parties to discuss the problem. The Liberals had accepted; the Tories had refused to confer.

The Labor party also blames the Tories for their opposition to the Budget, which opposition is holding up numerous appropriations.

But when all is said and done, it now seems probable that the party made a mistake in appointing J. H. Thomas to the job of relieving the unemployment situation. Thomas is the least socialistic of the members of the cabinet, and seems

incapable of working consistently and persistently on any comprehensive program of relief. He was likewise incapable of team work with Sir Oswald Mosley and John Lansbury, supposedly the other members of the triumvirate appointed to make recommendations regarding the situation. The attacks on the administration by the I.L.P., which is emphasizing the need for greatly increasing the purchasing power of the masses and by Oswald Mosley, who resigned because of the government's failure to adopt his program and the mounting numbers of the unemployed from week to week are necessarily making this question the most discussed question in Great Britain at the present time.

The failure of Labor to reduce the number of unemployed and the raising of tariff walls in America and other countries have led many former free traders to urge a tariff against the foreigners under the shibboleth "free trade within the Empire." An increasing number of trade unions are going on record in favor of a protection policy, while Phillip Snowden and others are renewing their agitation for free trade. The I.L.P. on the other hand, is urging the development of government import boards as a means of protection as well as of economical and scientific purchasing. It is freely predicted in many circles that Great Britain will go protection within the next few years and the question may well be a means of bitter controversy and division in the years immediately ahead.

Many of the measures of the Labor government are in committee stage. Many are being blocked by the House of Lords. The process of legislation is slow. A number of social reforms have already been placed on the statute books. A number are in the offing. But no fundamental change has been made in industrial relationships. This has discouraged many members of the party. They feel that the Labor party should bring to the fore some important piece of socialistic legislation which will probably be defeated, but which will make it possible to go before the country with a militant message to the workers, instead of remaining in office and confirming their legislation to merely ameliorative measures.

The moderates, on the other hand, maintain that such a cause would deal a blow at many constructive international policies which labor has started and many social reforms which are now being slowly passed from committee to committee, from House to House. Labor owes an obligation, they claim, to remain in office and do what it can, rather than running the danger of returning the government to the reactionaries. In the meanwhile the other parties as yet for them to appeal to the country. What the next twelve months will bring forth no one with certainty can predict.

## Why We Fought

RIGHT now when readiness for war on the grandest scale ever known is being pushed throughout the capitalist world, effective work in spiking the imperialist guns can be done with the facts contained in C. Hartley Grattan's *Why We Fought?* (Vanguard Press, \$2.50). Grattan summarizes and brings down to date the excellent job of debunking the gruesome conflict of 1914. That America was heels over head in war activity before the formal declaration on April 6, 1917; that Admiral Sims was sent to arrange for naval cooperation with England while America was still technically at peace with Germany; that Wilson's reelection campaign managers put him over with the slogan "He kept us out of war," while secretly they were working day and night to get the country into war via the peace proposal route, are some of the valuable points brought out.

Most interesting, however, are the chapters showing the economic connections which slowly dragged America into the fiery furnace.

"Economics provide the dynamics of history," says Grattan. "The World War is on all fours with every other war in having an economic foundation. Every reputable historian who has dealt with it regards the diplomacy, the propaganda, the alleged aims and objects for fighting, as mere secondary structures based on the foundation of money and trade."

That America would eventually enter the war on the side of the Allies, if they needed such assistance, was pre-determined by one fact: most of the big bankers were pro-British by business and social connections, and had been so for years. T. W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Co., said: "Our firm has never for one moment been neutral. From the very

start we did everything that we could to contribute to the cause of the Allies."

H. P. Davidson, also of the house of Morgan, declared: "Some of us in America realized that this was our war from the very start." Otto Kahn stated that from August, 1914, he took his "stand unequivocally with the Allied cause."

Hardly had the war begun when Charles Schwab made the Bethlehem Steel Co. "one of the strongest industrial allies of the British government" by guaranteeing to Lord Kitchener that he would sell control inside of five years. Early the next year E. R. Stettinius of the Diamond Match Co. was head of a control Allied purchasing organization spending \$10,000,000 a day—much of it in the United States.

Since the British fleet controlled the seas, American manufacturers and business men could sell very little to Germany. Hence their total accounts with the Allies grew into the billions, and with their accounts grew their sympathies. The German U-boat campaign, the sinking of the Lusitania, and the cocked-up yarns about Belgian atrocities, only provided "moral" excuses for plunging into bloodshed to safeguard these accounts.

In the coming war, the capitalists of America will send the workers to fight, not for old accounts, but for future trade and raw materials to exploit.

## Nebraska Body Seeks Party

LINCOLN, Neb.—(FP)—A labor party is urged by the Nebraska Craftsman, official organ of the Lincoln Central Labor Union, A. F. of L., in a sweeping criticism of the A. F. of L. policy of rewarding alleged friends of labor and attempting to punish labor's enemies politically. "If the non-partisan policy were sound why is it that it has failed after these many years to secure for its adherents that which they sought," the journal asks. "Here is the best test and judged by this it is a failure."

## The Chatter Box

### A Storm Song

DO YOU know how the great storm came,  
My child with the frightened eyes . . .  
You only remember the crooked flame  
Stabbing through the splintered pane,  
The trees like tethered beasts in pain,  
The wind whipped mad by a lash of rain,  
The sea undone and howling wild . . .  
But you do not know how it came, my child . . .

For withering days, the glutton sun  
Gorged himself, and lapped and drank  
The meadow meat and milk and wine,  
The river deep and the forest dune,  
While grain drooped thin and the gardens shrunk,  
And the sea sands stank with weed and brine . . .

The sod paled white, the hills hung wan,  
For withering days the gourmand sun  
Sucked and sapped in his seat on high  
Stuffing and packing his belled sky.

But gluttons are neither good nor wise,  
Here on earth or there in the skies . . .  
They eat and drink beyond their fill,  
They feast and gorge themselves until  
Their very inners overspill . . .

Oh there are gluttons of a form  
Uglier than the stupid sun . . .  
And they will have another storm,  
My child . . . a wilder one . . .

Then all the winds that howl their pain  
Under the slashing of the rain,  
And all the seas that toss about  
Under the tempest's thudding knout,  
And all the crashing in the skies . . .  
Will sound like timid tiny cries  
Of children frightened by surprise . . .

Now that Mac Coleman, my felicitous co-scribe across the page has taken up the circulation cudgel, I shall forbear on that most pressing matter until next week. Give him a hand boys, if only to keep track with him of that now trackless dynasty of cats . . . I may say however that last week's appeal has been fruitful of splendid response. I'm saving them all up for a bang-up announcement . . .

So I am forced into making some more wise comments about this and that . . . Whom, who or what shall it be . . . ?

Communists . . . naw! . . . It's too hot . . . And then they are mostly all in camp making up new thumb and nose gestures for visiting investigators.

Wall Street . . . shucks . . . The poor boys are finding it terribly thin down there . . . what with over-expanded offices . . . and all the suckers trimmed right down to the bone . . .

Stalin . . . aw well . . . this business of trying to make a country fit into Communism is a job worthy of a Canal Street bushelman . . . and I'm certainly rooting for a good fit . . . even if the job takes four or five, five year plans.

Tammany Hall . . . Jimmy . . . and the boys . . . let them be . . . They'll be sweating enough before next election day comes around. They say, you can't keep a ripe smell down . . . And all the dumps in Christendom couldn't give forth such a concentrated stench as is breaking forth now from the Wigwam Worthies . . . And anyway who wants to bear with it during these dog days . . .

The trouble with our own . . . well . . . who wants to keep shouting against the walls of Babylon in the hope of tearing them down. I'll just keep on hoping that our derelict comrades will see the old light and mend the error of their conduct . . . I'm a joiner and a stickler . . . not a howler or a buster-up. The militants will understand . . .

So what is there left to do except to dig down in the contrab drawer and pull forth a verse or two.

## White People Wonder

White people wonder at me . . .  
They say, "That colored girl would be pretty  
With her narrow nose and olive skin—  
If only her hair weren't kinky."

White people wonder at me . . .  
They say, "She's a quiet girl, refined,  
Works hard, has a good brain, too—  
But you can't trust these niggers,  
It's in the blood."

White people wonder at me . . .  
They say, "She wouldn't be reading  
Schoepenhauer and Li T'ai-to  
If there wasn't white blood  
In her somewhere."

Fools!

How well I remember my dark mother,  
Her frustrated life of toil and woe,  
Her bitter soul swelling  
With a ceaseless aspiration and hope  
For her children.

And my father—  
A shiftless, haphazard half-human  
Alabama bound on midnight specials  
Riding the swamps of secrecy,  
Atoning for the betrayal of his race  
By deserting his children and their mother.  
He was white.

RUBY WEBBS.

With which I shall bang down the top of the desk and hie me back to my sideline of making a living at twist drills, milling cutters and hacksaw blades . . . To have written a poem, pasted together a column, and then dictated some flattery diplomatic dunning letters to just so many slow paying customers, is my idea of being a captain of industry . . .

Someday, Mac or some other brilliant newsmen will grant the curious clamoring world the low-down on just how I do it . . .

Fellows . . . it's simply thrilling to be like me . . . There's good money in it too . . . And as Eddie says . . . I don't get much . . . but what I get is good . . .

And to think that it is to get readers for columns like this that Mac and I and the rest of the staff are plugging along for bigger and better circulation . . .

Hardly good tack . . . I'll say . . . But then there's the weather and what a handy thing that is to blame for all our sins of omission . . .

S. A. de Witt.

## DO YOU REALLY CARE TWO CENTS WORTH

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# Hell's Angels—Epic of Air—Opens at 2 Theatres

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## "Hell's Angels" to Premiere at Criterion And Gaiety Theatres

A four million dollar picture is due to open on Broadway at two theatres early next week, and bring to life the theatrical season which has been unusually dull these summer months. Howard Hughes, the young millionaire from Texas, whose former two ventures, "Two Arabian Knights" and "The Raquel" were both hits, will finally bring his massive production of "Hell's Angels" to both the Criterion and Gaiety Theatres. The picture is said to have taken three years to film, and contains some of the most thrilling air scenes that were ever shot. In the cast are Ben Lyon, James Hall, and a big assemblage of daredevil experts of the air, who bring to "Hell's Angels" the best work of their careers.

## Floyd Gibbons in RKO Theatres

Floyd Gibbons, the "Headline Hunter" of the National Broadcasting Company's nation-wide network, who has the distinction of being the fastest talker to ever discuss news events on the air, will appear in person at the RKO Keith's Palace commencing Saturday, August 23rd. Mr. Gibbons' history is a varied and colorful one; hailing from Washington, D. C. and the Georgetown University, he obtained his first position on the Minneapolis Star; then went to Chicago to join the Tribune, where his virile and fearless writing made him a prominent figure. He was allotted the important post of war correspondent to the Chicago Tribune during the World War, and became famous for his graphic description of the fighting on several fronts. It was during the battle of Belleau Wood in '17 that he had the misfortune to lose an eye. He remained in Paris after the Armistice as special correspondent for American syndicates.

He will give an interesting talk on his own life, and events of the day in that extraordinary magnetic style that has gripped the minds of millions throughout the country.

## Frederick Lonsdale Signed by M-G-M

One of the most important motion picture contracts consummated in some time, went into effect yesterday when Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer announced that Frederick Lonsdale had been signed to write exclusively for their studios. The contract, it was stated, negotiations for which have been under way for some time, is for a long term and will make certain that the work of the famous playwright will have a marked effect on the talking screen.

It was Frederick Lonsdale who gave the legitimate stage such outstanding successes as "Spring Cleaning," "The High Road," "Last of Mrs. Cheyne," "Monsieur Beaucaire," and other popular dramas. For many years he has been a vital influence in the theatrical world and is recognized today as one of the theatres greatest playwrights.

Lonsdale is at his best, when writing high society comedies. Several works of this sort which he has written have had world-wide audiences. His sparkling dialogue and quick tempo are highly praised by critics and students of the drama. Examples of his style may be found in "The Lady in Ermine," and "Aren't We All." His latest play, "Canaries Sometimes Sing," was produced in London last year and will be produced in this country soon.

## Star of Belasco's New Play



Lynne Overman has one of the leading roles in "Dancing Partner" the new play at the Belasco Theatre.

## "The Dawn Patrol" Smashes All Records at The Winter Garden

"The Dawn Patrol," First National's drama of the World War in the air, began its fifth week at the Winter Garden Thursday morning (August 7). Some interesting statistics have been compiled by the Winter Garden management about this picture, which has shattered all records for attendance and receipts at the Garden, so far as either legitimate shows or pictures are concerned. (The Winter Garden, before Warner Bros. took it over, housed Shubert musical attractions.)

By Wednesday night, it is expected, more than 224,000 people will have seen "The Dawn Patrol."

These figures are amazing, inasmuch as the Winter Garden is only a 1,000-seat house. They have been made possible by the fact that for the first three weeks of its run, nine performances of "The Dawn Patrol" were given daily. The picture has played to more than capacity every night of its run, and to virtual capacity during the morning and afternoon hours of each day since July 10.

## Schmeling's First Talkie Premieres at The 8th St. Playhouse

Max Schmeling's first talkie, "Liebe Im Ring," ("Love in the Ring"), produced in Germany just before he left for America where he won the World's Heavyweight Championship, will have its American premiere at the Eighth Street Playhouse commencing this Friday, August 8.

While the film is mainly a German sound film, there are sequences with dialogue in English, French and Portuguese. Schmeling speaks German and English.

This film marks the opening of a season of German talkies at the Eighth Street Playhouse. Several of the most ambitious and successful Ufatone films will follow later in the season.

Supporting Schmeling in this film are: Olga Chekova, Kurt Gerzon, Renata Muller and Max Machon, Schmeling's trainer.

On the same program the playhouse is offering the sound version of Charlie Chaplin's "Carmen"; "Brahms" and Mickey Mouse in a "Barnyard Concert."

## Revival At 55th Street Playhouse



Above is a scene from "Kriemhild's Revenge" the sequel to "Siegfried" now at the 55th St. Playhouse.

## Blatt & Nicholas' First Production of Season To Be "The Up and Up"

With the singing yesterday of Percy Kilbride, Joan Blair, Frank Dee, Jacob Frank, Elizabeth Taylor, Michael Markham and Lotta Burnell, Edward A. Blatt and M. J. Nicholas completed casting for "The Up and Up," the new Martha Madison and Eva Kay Flint play.

Howard Lindsay is directing and rehearsals began yesterday morning. The play will open in Philadelphia on the 25th of this month and reach New York two weeks later.

## "Kriemhild's Revenge," Sequel to "Siegfried," At the 55th Street

"Kriemhild's Revenge," a Ufa production, will have a return engagement at the 55th Street Playhouse beginning next Friday, August 8th.

This film is the sequel to "Siegfried" and the second of the two parts picturizing "The Nibelungenlied," the old German myth. "Kriemhild's Revenge" is one of the most elaborate of the Ufa productions. Thousands of extras were employed to portray the Nibelungen and the Huns, and enormous old German castles and palaces had to be built on the large space of the Ufa studios near Berlin.

Fritz Lag, who also created "Siegfried" and "Metropolis," was the director. The cast of well-known Ufa stars includes Margarete Schoen (Kriemhild), Hans Schlettow (Hagen), Rudolph Klein Rogge (Attila), Theodor Loos (Gunter), Paul Richter (Siegfried), Bernhard Goetzke and George John.

A musical score of themes from the Wagnerian operas "Gotterdammerung" and "Siegfried" will accompany the presentation of the film.

## Sam Jack Kaufman Stays On at Fox's B'klyn—Big Stage Bill

Sam Jack Kaufman, who is arousing such enthusiasm among the patrons for his splendid conducting and novel "mastering," again takes charge of stage affairs introducing Fanchon & Marco's "Eyes." In this "Idea" are such well known performances as Billy M. Greene, annoyed by Eddie Clifford in "But, Is It Art?"; Six Candrea Brothers, artistic trapeze artists; Paul Olsen, who dances uniquely with Miss Clara Bow-zo, the dummy; Don Carroll, singing songs you'll understand; Bob and Eula Burroff's personality dancers; Keo, Toki & Yoki, Japanese risley, piano and vocal workers; and those optical attractions, the Sunkist Beauties.

Bob West has everyone singing this week. He's got a batch of new song slides and does some new tricks at the organ.

"Cheer up and Smile" with Olga Bacalanova is the feature presentation.

Season of Russian Films Inaugurated by Fliesler At 5th Ave. Playhouse

Joseph R. Fliesler, managing director of the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, as well as the Eighth Street Playhouse, announces that the public reception of Eisenstein's "Old and New" was so heartening that he will inaugurate a season of Russian films at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse.

This week the theatre will offer a film transcription of Maxim Gorki's famous novel, "Cain and Artem." This story tells of a queer twisted relationship between the Russian longshoreman Artem, a bully, and a Jew-bater—and the Jewish peddler, Cain, persecuted, ridiculed and victimized.

Fliesler will offer shortly "China Express," "Pamir," "Lenin's Address," "The Law of the Siberian Tsar,"

## In Two Openings



Ben Lyon has one of the chief roles in "Hell's Angels" which will open at two theatres for an indefinite run—the theatres are the Criterion and the Gaiety.

## "De Lawd's" Private Trumpeter

"Gangway! Gangway for de Lawd!" With this thrilling announcement, C. Wesley Hill who appears as "Gabriel" in "The Green Pastures" holds his audience spellbound nightly at the Mansfield Theatre, where this "divine" comedy is still playing. He says that he gets more thrill out of delivering these lines each performance than does the audience. That's a matter of opinion!

This accomplished actor, who was last seen on Broadway in "Porgy" when he played the captain of the fleet, began his public career as a barker with a medicine show. He was foisted upon the unsuspecting yokels out in the sticks as a Kickapoo Indian boy, and did his stuff from the tail of a wagon while the "Doc" expounded the virtues of snake oil.

But when he discovered that he had other thespian talents besides playing straight for the "Doc" he left the medicine outfit flat, and buck and winged his way into a real honest to goodness "hall show"—none other than "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

These happenings culminated at the Chicago World's Fair in 1892. Since then he has toured this country almost continuously appearing in such perennial favorites as "The South Before the War"; "Old Kentucky"; "Slavery Days"; and "Old Tennessee," and a long period in vaudeville. Besides "Porgy" Mr. Hill has more recently appeared on Broadway in "Shuffle Along" and "Runnin' Wild."

As everybody knows, the author very properly has provided "Gabriel" with a horn. It is true the horn is only a stage "prop." Nevertheless Wesley Hill keeps it well shined, and in perfect condition although he has never blown it. He actually puts it to his lips in the first act, and De Lawd gently cautions him, "Watch yourself, Gabe!" And Gabe protests that he wasn't going to blow, but only wanted to get the feel of it. Hill confided to a friend recently that he wondered what would really happen should he slip and accidentally emit a blast.

## "Queen High" Musical Hit Picturized at the Paramount Theatre

The definite trend of the movies away from literal adaptation of successful musical comedies to the screen is shown by "Queen High," which comes to the New York Paramount on Friday, August 8th.

Personally supervised by Schwab and Mandel, who created the stage success of the same name, "Queen High" becomes the forerunner of a series of film farces with music. Charlie Ruggles appears as the great garter magnate who loses a bet and becomes butler to his partner, played by Frank Morgan. Others featured in the cast are Ginger Rogers, Stanley Smith and Nina Olivette.

Rubioff will present his symphonic interpretation of Spanish Classics as conductor of the Paramount Orchestra. Jesse Crawford will present an organ concert of popular numbers.

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"CHEER UP AND SMILE" with Olga Bacalanova

SAM JACK KAUFMAN BOB WEST BILLY M. GREEN PAUL OLSEN DON CARROLL FANCHON and MARCO'S

## At the Rialto Theatre



Kay Francis has been seen in many pictures on Broadway lately. At the Rialto she supports Ronald Colman in his new picture, "Raffles."

## "Our Blushing Brides" Held Over at Capitol For Second Week

Beautiful Joan Crawford has been packing them in all week at the Capitol Theatre by her captivating and glamorous performance in "Our Blushing Brides," with Robert Montgomery, Anita Page and Dorothy Sebastian. Consequently this romantic story of three girl chums, in their dangerous fashion parade of love and laces, will hold over for another week.

Chester Hale's "Invitation to the Dance," on the stage, produced under the personal supervision of Louis K. Sidney and featuring Joyce Coles, Ivan Triesault, Philip Tiltman and the Capitol Ballet, Corps is an exquisite story in pantomime that has been enthusiastically received at every performance.

## "Common Clay" Held Over at Roxy's

So enthusiastic has been the audience reaction to "Common Clay" the Fox Movietone drama which inaugurates the new and greater movie season now current at the Roxy Theatre, that S. L. Rothafel, "Roxy," has decided to extend its engagement for a second week. It is the screen adaptation of the Harvard prize play which brought such success to Jane Cowell in the stage play. Lew Ayres brought into prominence by "All Quiet on the Western Front" is co-featured.

The stage production will be retained in conjunction with the feature film. The principal number is a one-act comic opera by Irving Caesar called "La Ticker," one of the most unusual pieces of entertainment to be seen on any local stage. The theme is an operatic burlesque on the stock market.

A colorful reflection of the season is portrayed by an elaborate production called "A Summer Idyll." It is in three scenes and features in the cast of Singers and dancers, Patricia Bowman, Beatrice Belkin, Dorothy Miller, William Robyn, the Ballet, the Chorus and the Roxettes. Selections from Herbert's "The Fortune Teller" are contributed by the Roxy Symphony Orchestra.

## Premieres at 8th Street Playhouse



Max Schmeling's first picture "Liebe im Ring" (Love in the Ring) will have its first American showing at the Little Arty Theatre on 8th St. It is a German sound film with English Dialogue.

## "Bride of Regiment" First Time at Popular Prices at Both Strands

"Bride of the Regiment," with Vivienne Segal, Allan Prior, Myrna Loy, Walter Pidgeon, Louise Fazenda, Ford Sterling and Lupino Lane in the cast, will come into the New York and Brooklyn Strand Theatres Friday August 8.

The picture, which is entirely in Technicolor, is based on Romberg's operetta, "The Lady in Ermine," and was directed by John Francis Dillon for First National. It is a Vitaphone all-talking play of a bride who on her wedding night is torn from her husband and forced to accept the attentions of a Colonel of an invading army.

## "Recaptured Love" With Belle Bennett at The Beacon Theatre

"Recaptured Love," Belle Bennett's latest starring vehicle, comes into Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th St., Friday, August 8. It is a Vitaphone all-talking production, a drama of divorce as it affects society.

"Recaptured Love" was adapted by Charles Kenyon from Basil Wood's play "Misdeal." John Adolfi directed. In the cast with Miss Bennett appear John Halliday, Dorothy Burgess, Richard Tucker, Junior Durkin and the "Sisters G." sensational German dancing team.

## THEATRE GUILD Presents THE NEW GARRICK GAIETIES

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

## JOURNEY'S END

HENRY MILLER THEATRE, 124 West 43rd St. Evgs., 8:30. Matinees, Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

## APOLLO THEATRE

WEST 42nd STREET, EVGS., 8:30 Mats. Wed and Sat. 2:30 to 3:30

## George White Flying High

Bert Lahr—Oscar Shaw NOTICE If no seats for this show, kindly phone box-office, 2400 Wisconsin, specify locations you desire, and we will reserve these seats, or nearest locations to them, at regular box-office prices.

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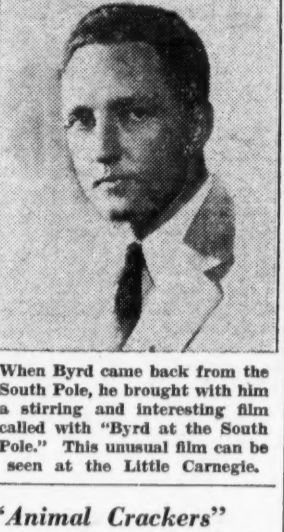
## "KRIEMHILD'S REVENGE" Sequel to "Siegfried"

"Directed by Fritz Lang, creator of 'Siegfried' and 'Metropolis' with superb German star cast! 'Kriemhild' is a magnificent piece of work... it is the majority of other films it is like a tintoretto painting being compared to a novice's effort!" N. Y. TIMES

## "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

## At the Little Carnegie



When Byrd came back from the South Pole, he brought with him a stirring and interesting film called "Byrd at the South Pole." This unusual film can be seen at the Little Carnegie.

## "Animal Crackers" To Follow "Raffles" At the Rialto Theatre

Following the current showing of "Raffles," starring Ronald Colman, at the Rialto Theatre, the management announces that "Animal Crackers" starring the Marx Brothers, will be the presentation.

With the incomparable advocates of amiable insanity is the pulchritudinous Lillian Roth featured in a number of recent Paramount successes. Victor Heerman directed.

## "Common Clay" Held Over at Roxy's

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

## "With Byrd at the South Pole" at Little Carnegie Aug. 13th

That colorful, witty and altogether delightful romance of New York in the gay nineties—"The Floradora Girl"—is announced as leading attraction at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th Street for the four days commencing Saturday, August 9. Marion Davies essays the part of a member of the famous Florodora Sextette and from all reports her undisputed comedy talents are given full play in this amusing tale of the days of tandem bicycles, busloads and ten-mile-an-hour, joy rides.

Beginning Wednesday and continuing through Friday, the offering will be "With Byrd at the South Pole." The weather being what it is, we can think of nothing more soothing than the opportunity of gazing, for an hour and a half, on the million or more square miles of ice which Byrd's cameras photographed. Aside from this however, patrons of Little Carnegie will be able to follow our courageous Rear Admiral from the start to the finish of his memorable trip to the Antarctic. Byrd's picture is one of those rare occasions in filmdom when real drama, rather than the Hollywood variety, may be enjoyed.

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Flying the air lanes at dawn!—To adventure—battle—sacrifice! The story of the air heroes on the Western Front.

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 6:10 A. M.—News Flash  
 6:15—Lila Oliver, violinist  
 11:00—Melodies of Today  
 12:00—Billboard Melodies  
 12:15—Beauty Hour  
 12:30—Dr. B. Lundenfeld, talk  
 12:45—Weissman's Entertainers  
 1:00—Symphony Program  
 2:30—The Cavaliers  
 3:00—International Hour  
 Mary Louise Kraus, German Mezzo  
 Bess Levick, Russian Soprano  
 Jean de Gola, Italian Bass-Baritone  
 Vera Muller, Swedish Soprano  
 Tom MacGovern, Scotch Baritone  
 4:00—Rev. Edward M. Tate, "What Price Happiness?"  
 4:15—Lulu Irving Mente  
 4:30—Jewish Hour  
 MONDAY, AUGUST 11  
 6 A. M.—9 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group  
 8:30—Buyers' Guide  
 8:45—Metropolitan Orchestra  
 9:45—Marmola Program  
 12:15—Judith Schenberger, pianist  
 12:30—"Headlines"  
 12:45—C. H. Hovey, flute  
 1:00—Fred Schlinger, songs  
 1:30—Socialist News  
 2:30—International Hour  
 Mary Louise Kraus, German Mezzo  
 Bess Levick, Russian Soprano  
 Jean de Gola, Italian Bass-Baritone  
 Vera Muller, Swedish Soprano  
 Tom MacGovern, Scotch Baritone  
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 4:30—Jewish Hour  
 TUESDAY, AUGUST 12  
 6 A. M.—9 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group  
 8:30—Buyers' Guide  
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 9:45—Marmola Program  
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 Tom MacGovern, Scotch Baritone  
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 4:15—Lulu Irving Mente  
 4:30—Jewish Hour  
 THURSDAY, AUGUST 14  
 6 A. M.—9 A. M.—Metropolitan Morning Group  
 8:30—Buyers' Guide  
 8:45—Metropolitan Orchestra  
 9:45—Marmola Program  
 12:15—Judith Schenberger, pianist  
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 4:00—Rev. Edward M. Tate, "What Price Happiness?"  
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INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U.  
and C. 23 West 31st Street. Penn.  
2032. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00  
M. Charles Stetsky, Manager.

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urer, H. Heib.

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dock 8616. Meets 1st and 3rd  
Mondays. A. F. L. Executive Board  
Meets, 5-30 P. M. M. Thel, Chairman;  
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THE ALMALGAMATED  
LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS'  
UNION  
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8011. Executive Board meets every Thurs-  
day at the office of the Union. Maurice  
W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Peckmutter,  
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ager.

**LITHOGRAPHERS**  
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OF AMERICA, New York Local 1, 205  
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Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's  
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Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thonen, Rec.  
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**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and  
Millinery Workers' International  
Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway,  
Phone Spring 4548; uptown office, 30 West  
37th Street, Wisconsin 1270. Executive  
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Local 584, U. M. W.  
Office, 201 W. 14th St.  
Local 584 meets  
2nd Thursday of the  
month 2:30 P.M. at  
Beechoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St.  
Executive Board meets  
on the 2nd and 4th  
Thursdays at Beech-  
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**PAINTERS' UNION</**

## NEW LEADER

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

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100 SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1930

## A Homecoming

THERE is a large over-production of wheat, the price falls to 60 cents a bushel, farmers do not realize the cost of production, the wheat is fed to hogs, and jobless workers in the cities are in need of bread. It is otherwise with corn. Because of lack of rain 400,000,000 bushels is the estimate of the ruined corn. The total loss on crops and cattle because of the excessive heat is estimated at \$500,000,000. Whether the farmer produces too much or not enough corn he is the loser. Facing starvation in one Ohio county, 200 farmers marched upon the county commissioners and demanded work at road building.

Now turn to a rosy day just two years ago. It is August 11, 1928, and Herbert Hoover is accepting the Republican nomination. He speaks to the farmers: "The most urgent economic problem in our nation today is in agriculture. It must be solved if we are to bring prosperity and contentment to one-third of our people directly and to all our people indirectly. We have pledged to find a solution."

There is also a message for the wage workers of the cities: "There is no guarantee against poverty equal to a job for every man. That is the primary purpose of the economic policies we advocate."

Ten days later Hoover is in his home town at West Branch, Iowa, and his first sentence was: "This is a homecoming."

Yes, Herbert, the election returns are rapidly arriving and "this is a homecoming" for the masses who keep you and the class you represent in ease and comfort. If they know the power of the ballot next November it will be a sorry homecoming for you and your class.

## Our Guide and Friend

A RECENT interview with Henry Ford recalls what the late Thorstein Veblen wrote of powerful American capitalists. He observed that there "is no branch or department of the humanities" in which the capitalist "is not competent to act as guide, philosopher and friend, whether in his own conceit or in the estimation of his underly population,—in art and literature, in church and state, in science and education, in law and morals."

In the interview Ford displayed that cocksureness which assumes that dollars and brains are synonymous. He discussed unemployment, history, art, economics, culture, education, literature and Communism. All these are not beyond the range of one man but when that man's only qualification for discussing them is the millions of dollars he has accumulated Veblen's cutting satire is apt.

The assumption in this country that the opinions of proprietors of pills and soap, of steel and oil, rubber and pig iron, are of any value outside of their own narrow range of business is a measure of our own intellectual degradation. Ford is not at fault. He merely accepts the estimate of himself made by those with dollarized minds. So he acts "as guide, philosopher and friend," expressing judgments that are no more useful than the vulgarisms who solicit them.

## Tipster Government

IN AN article on "Presidential Prosperity" in the August number of *Harper's*, James Truslow Adams traces the complicity of Coolidge and Mellon and of Hoover and Mellon in the stock gambling which ended with the collapse last October and the ruin of many players. He quotes from reliable sources over a number of years, showing that the Coolidge Administration had become an annex of the gambling. The Mellon family alone is credited with cleaning up \$300,000,000 before the crash.

It appears that Coolidge, although knowing little about the economic of capitalism, feared a

coming collapse. His role in cooperation with Mellon was to serve as optimistic tipster for the market till he could retire to the Berkshires. It worked. Hoover also had to follow the course of Cal but he could not forever postpone the inevitable. The crash came. Millions of inexperienced gamblers lost and the crash was followed by the industrial depression.

The author asks, "What is to become of the stability of government in its time-honored functions if it is to become a business-efficiency or a tipster's bureau?" We pass the question on to those who support the politics of capitalism.

## Jimmie's Panic

JUST as the Tammany robbers' roost was sitting pretty the light was turned on from so many quarters that the rats began to run to cover. Not a week passes now that "a trivial thing dressed up" does not exhibit some panic. This week a horse doctor who is said to have cleaned up two million dollars in ten years because of a "pull" before one city department went to trial. It is now practically certain that a magistrate paid \$10,000 for his place with indications that this is the Tammany rate for magistrical jobs. To ward off the curse Jimmie orders Commissioner Higgins to extend his inquiry into the Department of Public Markets and the Bureau of Weights and Measures where another Tammany boy has been caught with the goods.

There is little doubt in the minds of intelligent people that we are ruled by as fine a collection of pirates as ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat. The system bears heavily on the masses who in the last analysis have to pay the bills for enriching the Tammany exploiters. It enables men who in other callings would be failures to swine their way to wealth and power. The horse doctor who became a millionaire is an example of its fruit. It is about the nastiest thing that capitalist politics has spawned in this or any other country.

Jimmie's panic as one scoundrel after another runs for cover is amusing. Perhaps he fears that one of the boys will not live up to Matt Quay's definition of political integrity. "The honest man is the one who stays bought."

## IN A NUTSHELL

One aim of education should be to cure people of the habit of believing propositions for which there is no evidence.—Bertrand Russell.

Calvin Coolidge says: "When the country needs a little encouragement it can look at the condition of the Federal Treasury." That's right, Cal. If many of us looked at our purse we'd feel like jumping in the river.

I maintain that by far the most tragic thing about war is not its immorality, nor its cruelty, but its manifest and colossal futility and imbecility.—Arthur Ponsonby.

When Calvin Coolidge can receive two dollars a word for his mush and farmers get sixty cents a bushel for their wheat we know that the system is loney.

Laws and institutions are constantly tending to gravitate. Like clocks, they must be occasionally wound up, and set to true time.—Henry Ward Beecher.

You cannot fool us. Mussolini is the great man who brought on the earthquake. The jawbone of an ass still has its ancient potency.

Calvin Coolidge says: "In the meantime we have had five reductions in taxes." As this refers to the gentlemen of huge wads of cash you know who "we" are by this time.

Our present civilization is organized injustice and intellectual barbarism. Our progress is a march to a precipice.—John Boyle O'Reilly.

When Herbert Hoover makes that trip to the Rockies for his vacation a night ride through the deflated wheat belt will insure no unpleasant thoughts about those promises of "agricultural relief."

If a man is deprived of the right to vote he is disfranchised. If he is denied the opportunity to work he is also disfranchised in industry and one is as bad as the other.

Perhaps if Hoover will deliver another address assuring us that we have no classes and no class legislation, that prosperity is just around the corner, that Socialism is the bunk and that we have no government of the people, by the politicians and for the capitalist class, that will be helpful.

The valor that struggles is better than weakness that endures.—Hegel.

The unemployed at least have the leisure to figure out how to employ their votes to the best advantage next fall.

## SWEATED

Love and Joy knew her not;  
Only labor,  
With his hard whipping-knot,  
Was her neighbor.

Ceaseless she toiled, alone!  
Mammon her master;  
Strove she with hands of stone  
To labor faster.

More lagging grew her feet,  
Fesbler her breath,  
Ceased her tired heart to beat—  
Driven to death.

Maudie Sansom Carter.

## Don't Be a Lobster

Workers who will not help themselves are like lobsters or crabs, anyway. When a fisherman catches a bucket of these shellfish he does not have to put a cover on it to keep them from escaping. As soon as one crawls up to the top of the bucket and seems about to gain his freedom, all the other crabs and lobsters proceed to grab hold of his legs and pull him back down into the bottom of the bucket. In this way they are all kept safe for the fisherman. They save each other from freedom, and ultimately all of them get boiled alive, because they did not have brains enough to help one another.—Queen Silver's Magazine.

## Charity, Hookworm, Bolshevism

By Adam Coaldigger

GOD pity the rich. The poor can beg. And come to think about it, there is more blessing in begging than there is in giving.

A husky with a red face and strong breath bums you for a dime. He says he hasn't eaten anything since supper night before last. Or that he needs the particular dime to round out the price of a flop. Or to pay carfare to a place where somebody told him he can land a job.

Well, you give him the dime. And in return he gives a warm glow around the heart, for the small sum of ten cents—one dime—you have purchased satisfaction with yourself. For ten cents less, you feel a thousand dollars richer. For one dime you have bought a place among the philanthropists. In a small way, you have become the partner of Carnegie, Rockefeller, Rosenwald, Russell Sage and other illustrious givers.

By taking your dime, the bum bestowed a distinctive favor upon you. But in giving the dime, you corrupted the taker. Having learned how easy it is to pick up dimes, the deserving poor soon sink to the level of the undeserving poor. Once there, he becomes a specialist in hard luck tales and woe-begotten expressions and the sorrier he looks and the whinier he whines, the more dimes he picks up.

Thus the undeserving poor presently finds himself with more money than is good for him and being barred from society of the higher income classes by the nature of his profession, he takes to drink or dope or throws himself in the arms of low women.

In this manner millions of deserving poor have been degraded into undeserving paupers living on the fat of the land while millions of the most deserving poor have starved to death because they were too proud to beg.

So long as the givers content themselves with handing out dimes or at the most quarters, the damages wrought by charity are relatively small, but when tens and even hundreds of millions are given away for no better reason than that the party who accumulated them somehow forgot what he wanted them for, charity becomes devastating.

Take the case of my poor old friend Rockefeller, for instance. While on his way from

Cradletoen to Graveburg, this unfortunate man accumulated a fortune of over a thousand million dollars. Everything he turned his hands to turned to money and all of it stuck to him. He got his fingers in every pie and in the end every mortal being on this terrestrial plane out of the breech-cloth stage paid tribute to John D.

However, one morning John woke up with a start. It seemed he had forgotten something. He had. He had forgotten what he wanted that money for. Worse still, he had forgotten how to spend money. He couldn't invest his money without making more money than he knew what to do with. In short, there he was all dressed up—pocket full of kale, and nowhere to go.

So what does he do but, after spending 70 years of the only life he ever had pinching pennies out of his fellow mortals, start a foundation to ladle the money out with scoop shovels.

That done the wise men in charge of the foundation put on their thinking caps to devise ways and means of spending the Rockefeller fortune in a manner that might do more good than harm, and that's how they stumbled on to the hookworm.

The hookworm is mostly found south of the Mason and Dixon line. He thrives best in localities where folks go barefooted and privies are still regarded as dispensable luxuries. The way to find the hookworm is to step on him barefooted. That done, the hookworm throws his hooks into the sole of the foot and works his way up in the world until he reaches the intestines of his victim where he settles down and raises his family. When the young hookworms are old enough to go it on their own hook, they jump their board bill by passing through the colon out in the backyard where they lay in wait for bare-footed boys and girls to repeat the process.

Now to get the right low down on the hookworm, it must be remembered that they only attack bare-footed folks living in localities where there are no privies. Well, no shoes and no privies are the result of poverty, and poverty is the result of Rockefellerism—that is the system by which the poor are robbed for the discomfort of the rich.

However, instead of attacking the cause

of poverty, those Rockefeller foundationists attacked the hookworm and did it so successfully that it well-nigh killed the patient. An All-wise Providence had invented the hookworm to keep down the supply of cotton.

With the hookworm on the run, the South pepped up. Cotton acreage and the yield of cotton per acre increased. Soon the cotton farmers found themselves in the dilemma where they got less money for more cotton and the more cotton they raised, the less money they got.

But the removal of the hookworm prevented the South from going back to the good old easy ways. What they craved was more work and as they had worked themselves out of the job of raising cotton by raising too much cotton, hundreds of thousands of hookworm-cured tenant farmers and share croppers moved north to find work in industry.

The coal mines of the border states filled up with hillbillies and jay-hawkers black and white. Many others found work in the new textile mills nearer home. Quite a number ventured even as far as Detroit where they found work in the automobile factories.

Then trouble started. Soon there were too many miners and too many textile hands, too many automobiles and too many auto workers. Shutdowns, strikes, over-production, hell and damnation followed. Harried producers cut each other's throats to get each other's markets. Or were shooting their employees for trying to keep down the over-production which caused them to cut each other's throats.

Mr. Hookworm lies a-mouldering in his grave, but his soul goes marching on. Left in peace, he would have prevented the over-production of cotton. Murdered in cold blood by the Rockefeller charity, he revenged himself by throwing between four and five million workers out of their jobs.

Meanwhile, another branch of the Rockefeller Foundation had eliminated sleeping sickness in Asia when all that Asia wanted was to be left asleep. Now Asia has woken up. China is torn by civil war. India is seething with revolt. Egypt is making rough-house. By eliminating hookworm and sleeping sickness, the door was opened for Bolshevism. And Bolshevism means the end of charity.

## THE FATHER OF JIMMIE HIGGINS

National Office Contest Recalls Lifestory of Ben Hanford, the Perfect Socialist

By Wm. Feigenbaum

IT sometimes happens that a man who has lived becomes so completely identified with work he has done that it is impossible to separate the two. Conan Doyle, for example, will be remembered as the creator of Sherlock Holmes and Tribby will be known and loved long after the name of du Maurier, her creator, is forgotten.

These American Socialists who knew and admired and loved Benjamin Hanford will never forget him. But the younger men and women, and those who came into the movement after his death, knew of him more or less vaguely as the man who created "Jimmie Higgins." Indeed, there are tens of thousands who constantly use the expression, who refer to those whose work they admire as "Jimmie Higginses," who scarcely know where the name came from or what it means, and who sometimes believe that there really was such a man.

And they are right. There was a Jimmie Higgins, a man who had no desire in life other than service to the Socialist Party, whose one joy was to serve the party, who gave up time and energy and advancement and strength, and finally health and life itself for Socialism. His name was Ben Hanford, and although he was not as obscure as the Jimmie of whom he wrote in his immortal little sketch, although he had no idea he was describing himself (indeed, he was thinking about quite another man when he wrote "Jimmie Higgins"), although he wrote mainly to stir up his comrades to greater efforts, he succeeded in describing himself pretty accurately.

Ben Hanford was a union printer who drifted into the Socialist movement, who became one of the most eloquent advocates of Socialism in the United States and who was twice the running-mate of Eugene V. Debs on the Presidential ticket. In addition to his speaking for Socialism, he developed a vigorous literary style and wrote voluminously for the party press. He died January 24, 1910.

That is the bare outline of the story of his life. The flesh and blood with which the skeleton was clothed is the story of a soul so devoted, a spirit so on fire that those who knew him still thrill to his spirit two decades after his death, that even yet he is a living reality to those of his colleagues and comrades who knew the joy of his friendship.

One day a new member of the party approached Hanford and thanked him for what he had done for Socialism. Hanford laughed at him and said, "I have done nothing for Socialism. Socialism has done everything for me."

Hanford believed that, and it was true. Writing in the very throes of the dreadful illness that later caused his death, he said, "Not only do I owe my life to the Socialist movement,

"UNTIL I JOINED THAT MOVEMENT I HAD NEVER LIVED!"

Hanford was brilliant, a magnificent orator, a splendid writer and a man of incorruptible integrity. If he had been content to remain in the labor unions he would have risen high. If he had been willing to leave his class and seek success outside the ranks of the workers he would easily have gained such success. If he had gone into old-party politics there is nothing to which he might not have aspired.

But from the time he became a Socialist he declared that Socialism is life, and wrote that "Next to Socialism, the grandest and best thing in this world is working for Socialism." Hence, he had no other interest in life.

These were not the outbursts of an enthusiast newly converted to Socialism speaking in the ecstasy of conversion. He spoke thus when he first became a Socialist; he wrote those words sixteen years later when he was on his deathbed.

Hanford was born in Cleveland in 1861. His mother died in his infancy, and he was reared by his stepmother, a woman of rare beauty of character and to whom he was indebted for his high personal ideals.

Early in his youth he became a tramp printer, roaming the country for a week's or a month's or six months' work here and there. In 1879 he joined the Typographical Union in Chicago, and remained a loyal and militant trade

unionist to the day of his death. Toward the end of the 'eighties and the beginning of the 'nineties, he found himself with very little interest in life. A bachelor, earning a living wage with no philosophy of life, he felt himself drifting toward the gutter—or at least, he said so later.

At this period he was a member of his union in Washington, and he used to participate in the discussions at a Sunday night forum in the Typographical Temple on G street. He worked a bit in Philadelphia, and there he heard Socialist lectures by Abraham Cahan, and he met that matchless Socialist and trade-unionist, Fred Long, and between the two he began to think along Socialist lines.

One night he spoke rather vigorously at the forum, and a fellow unionist said to him, "Why, Hanford, I never knew you were a Socialist." Hanford indignantly denied that he was; but it was not long before Fred Long showed him that he was, and from that point, he later said, his life really began.

The New York Socialists began to hear about a little printer over in Brooklyn who was making eloquent speeches on the soapbox. He lived in a boarding house with Charles H. Matchett, later candidate for President, and Charles L. Furman. He was coaxed to run for Governor in 1898, and his campaign was a revelation. He toured the state from end to end, he

spoke at every crossroads, he brought his fire and energy and soul to the four corners of the state, he poured his whole being into every speech, and he made tens of thousands who had known nothing about Socialism receptive to the movement.

Again in 1900, and in 1902, he made the run for Governor, and in 1901 he ran for Mayor of New York. At all times he threw himself into the cause of Socialism with all his soul and being.

By that time he had become known as a brilliant writer. He was sent by the party into Idaho, there to speak and write about a now long-forgotten labor war. He was sent into Pennsylvania during the historic anthracite strike, and later into the bloody labor war in Colorado. Everywhere he went he spoke eloquently, with all his soul. From every seat of industrial warfare he wrote incisively, brilliantly, magnificently, creating militant sentiment in favor of the workers.

It was inevitable for him to become a national figure. He was candidate for Vice-President in 1904, and his campaign that year will not be forgotten by those who fought with him. He was on fire. His whole slender being throbbled with the spirit that seemed to burst from him. And great as was his soul, great as was his spirit, his intellect was greater yet. He was the greatest Socialist agitator this country has ever seen. He was the stuff of which great working-class leaders are made.

His exertions had become too great, and in 1905 he collapsed while on a speaking tour. He was never well again. He spoke occasionally, but from that time on he fought with a pen that was dipped in blood and tipped with fire. He lashed out at the things great and noble men hate; he held before his comrades the ideal that had meant so much to him.

He died fighting, for just before he died he signalled for a bit of paper and a pencil, and scrawled "I WOULD THAT MY EVERY HEART'S BEAT HAD BEEN FOR THE WORKING-CLASS AND THROUGH THEM FOR ALL HUMANITY." Thousands of old-timers got photographs of those words and framed them and cherish them today.

Ben Hanford was an intensely human man, with all the failings and shortcomings of a human being. He was a lovable man, and no one who ever knew him thinks of him except most affectionately. But he was a soul, a spirit, a sword and a flame. And as such the older generation of Socialists will cherish his memory and strive to be worthy of having had his friendship.

Those who did not know him must rely upon the things that he wrote for a picture of the man. He wrote a piece called "Fight for your Life!" that, but for a few changes here and there, might be fighting literature for today. He packed sarcasm, venom and good-natured bantering in "Don't be a Tomato," and pieces like "The Free American Workman and his Sacred Right to Work." Read

## Patriot's Progress

Drawn by William Kermode



(Continued from Last Week) In the Hospital. One of Many



Shipped Home



A Hero's Reward



Epilogue

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

## Jim-Crowing The Labor Movement

By Horace B. Davis

FAILURE to take in Negro workers on a basis of equality has resulted in hamstringing a whole section of the American labor movement, and will affect more and more unions in the future unless this bad habit is corrected. The warning contained in a report of the National Urban League now published under the title "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions," (by Ira Dea Reid, New York, \$1.175 pp. National Urban League, publishers.) Nominal equality is not enough, even when both colored and white belong to the same local as long as the best jobs are reserved for whites, the report indicates.

Although there were nearly a million and a half colored wage earners in trade and industry in 1920, the latest figures show only 16,658 organized into unions. Negroes make good trade unionists under the right circumstances, as has been shown repeatedly; about a third of the membership of the International Longshoremen's Association is colored, and in many other trades colored and white have struck and won shoulder to shoulder. But among the Negroes as a whole there is little sympathy for the organized labor movement. They may at any time be used as strikebreakers. They "threaten" the economic security of the organized group.

For this attitude of the Negroes the American labor movement is itself to blame. "Today no less than 24 national and international unions, 10 of which are affiliated with the A. F. of L., exclude Negroes from their membership through provisions in their constitution or rituals." Some unions have never faced the issue, but have failed to admit Negroes who applied; this has been the tactic of the plumbers. Locals will often refuse Negroes even where the national union would be willing to admit.

The study inquires what has been the official attitude of the A. F. of L. toward the organizing of Negro workers.

"It comprises a number of resolutions urging organizations of Negro workers; a protest here and vacuous decrees there against efforts of radicals at organization; segregated organization of Negro workers in certain occupations through local and federal labor unions; a few pleas for organization; the employment at various times of a few Negro organizers; and a total inability, if not unwillingness, to compel international unions to remove from their constitutions Negro exclusion clauses, or suffer expulsion from the federation." The present attitude is contrasted with that which led the federation to exclude the machinists union from membership until 1895, on the ground that union carried a constitutional ban on Negroes.

"The A. F. of L." concludes Ira Dea Reid, the author of the report, "with complacent self-satisfaction 'sits down,' having actually done nothing. In fact, among Negro workers the A. F. of L. has less power and influence than at any other time in its history."

The federation has provided for the issuance of separate charters to central labor unions, local unions and federal labor unions composed of Negro workers exclusively. But in 1928 there were only three Negro city centrals affiliated; while the number of Negro local and federal unions affiliated direct to the A. F. of L. has declined from 169 in 1919 to 21 at the end of 1929. Negroes have not demanded this segregation; aside from the Pullman porters (whose Brotherhood is not recognized as such by the A. F. of L., although its locals have finally got themselves admitted) and the dining car waiters, all of whom are colored anyway, "the organization of Negro unions has been a protest against the attitude of white organized labor in the United States toward Negro workers."

The importance of the south in any program of organization is stressed. The American Negro Labor Congress is mentioned as the only body which has been militant in its advocacy of Negro membership in trade unions. It is recalled that a Negro National Labor Union was organized as early as 1869. This earlier organization died out, however.

The arrangement is poor and the phrasing crude and spots. But there is a wealth of information which cannot be got anywhere else, and the restrained emotion of some of the writing gives it life and color.

his stuff: It's good rousing campaign literature and it will put backbone into you.

But most of all, Hanford is remembered for Jimmie Higgins. In that essay he wrote down his soul, and as he said, so do those who knew him say:

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

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