

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The French Flyers' Achievement—The Trade Union Congress and Empire Trade—France and William Randolph Hearst—Creating False Conflicts—The 64 on Unemployment

MAIL THE FLYERS!

It was a very great achievement when Captain Dieudonne Coste and Mr. Maurice Bellonte after careful planning and long waiting for the right moment made the first successful non-stop flight from Paris to New York. Once more it has been proved that the race of men in this our day has the cool-headed courage to march its inventive power in the realm of external nature. If only we could manage our relations with one another as well!



Norman Thomas

While the difficulties of the westward flight which has cost brave lives before success crowned the Coste effort make it unlikely that we shall soon see any frequent or regular westward flights in peace or war the great improvements in airplanes, air knowledge and the art of flying make it clear that it is from the air that the greatest terrors of new war will come and that the Atlantic is no longer a sufficient barrier for those who refuse to learn the ways of peace.

BRITISH UNIONS AND TARIFFS

IN a world made once more to seem smaller by Capt. Coste's success it is on the whole a misfortune and a backward step that British trade unions by a card vote of 1,878,000 to 1,401,000 adopted the report recommending the development "as far as possible" of "such economic relations between the constituent parts of the British Commonwealth as will be to our mutual advantage." The trouble lies not in these cautious words but in the fact that this cannot be done without discriminatory tariffs against other nations and hence tariff wars. Mr. Bevin is right that Socialists are not thick and thin old fashioned free traders and that under some circumstances, at least temporarily, "public ownership of industry might require the defense of a tariff," but that is not the situation that exists in the capitalist British Empire. It is very doubtful whether protectionist interests in Australia and Canada, to say nothing of Nationalist India, will permit a very effective development of imperial preference. The attempt to bring it to pass may lose Britain other markets, so that the sick industries of England will find more economic harm than help in the new experiment which almost certainly will psychologically play into the hands of imperialists, not Socialists. But the effort toward empire trade may somewhat hurt American trade and Anglo-American relations. In which case we may profitably remember that we began it by our high tariffs, of which the worst is the tariff of 1930.

MR. HEARST'S EXPULSION

THE French government made a mistake quite in line with some of our own follies by inviting William Randolph Hearst to leave its territories. It is at once childish and tyrannical when a great government refuses to tolerate the presence of foreign critics even if they be unfair critics on its soil. Nobody knew Mr. Hearst was in France until the French put him out. Al Smith could have told Premier Tardieu that Mr. Hearst wasn't as dangerous as all that. As a matter of fact, while we have no love for Mr. Hearst or his papers we believe that he and they did a public service to the world in publishing the terms of the secret Anglo-French naval agreement two years ago, for which he is now expelled from France. Thus they helped to defeat an agreement which would have intensified naval rivalry and tremendously augmented international ill-will, especially between the United States and Great Britain. There does not seem to have been anything especially blameworthy in the way in which the Hearst correspondent got the document. Is it possible that the French government is showing the uneasiness of a guilty conscience?

FARM AND CITY WORKERS

ONE of the games which it is evident that capitalists are going to play is to set farmers and city workers in sharp antagonism. A beautiful illustration of this I have found in that conservative capitalist Republican paper, the St. Paul Pioneer Press. This paper since it is published in a great agricultural state naturally and properly is concerned about the plight of the farmers. In commenting on my candidacy for Congress in the Sixth District in Brooklyn some time ago it said in effect that a city Socialist like other city men could not represent or help the interests of the farmers. It had the courtesy to print a statement from me in reply. But in commenting editorially on that statement it played up to the farmer as landlord and capitalist and insisted that city workers were getting the good side of the present economic situation, what it calls "a very favorable situation for industry on which industrial labor thrives that Socialism does not wish to see changed." How many millions of unemployed and underpaid workers recognize this "very favorable" situation? At least farmers have to rarely wonder where the next meal is coming from. By thus trying to set farmers and city workers in opposition the St. Paul Pioneer Press and others of its kind consciously or unconsciously hope to keep both farmers and city workers from examining our city landlordism, banking and credit and production for profit rather than use from which both farmers and city workers suffer. Actually there are few practical issues one could name in which working farmers and city workers do not have similar interests as against absentee owners. Plenty, peace and freedom cannot be won for the group without the other.

OUR RULERS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

WHEN ex-Ambassador James W. Gerard named the sixty-four real rulers of America he was realistic enough to name big capitalists as rulers. Somebody had the bright idea of asking these rulers what they would do about business depression and unemployment. The New York Times sent out a questionnaire. There were very few who replied. Many of our rulers did not know what to say. A few indulged in such banalities as the statement that what we need is "more work and less talk," which will comfort the unemployed who have been looking for work.

Now this failure of our rulers to have any ideas that they were willing to express is not accidental or insignificant. It is proof of the breakdown of the capitalist system. Senator Couzens of Michigan who says that he was converted to the need of active measures against unemployment by what he himself saw when as general manager of Ford's he discharged several thousand workers, told a truth most capitalists concealed when he said that if capitalism is to endure it must abolish unemployment. That is precisely what capitalism cannot do and remain capitalism.

Students Study Law's Majesty First Hand on Picket Line

COLLEGE students, organized by the student groups of the Socialist Party to help picket the children's dressmakers' strike, which there is a strike in progress, in a letter addressed yesterday to Police Commissioner Mulrooney, charged that they had been abused and manhandled on the picket line by the police, and called upon the Commissioner to make an investigation and explanation of what they characterized as the "boorishness" of the police.

The letter, which was signed on behalf of a group of 25 by Kathleen Boyle, Ethel Lurie and Frances Marmarosh, students at Hunters College, and Ben Haskell and Lawrence Rogin, of Columbia University, reads as follows:

"Dear Commissioner: For college students who have heard phrases about the 'majesty' and impartiality of the law it was a revelation to picket the

last three mornings in the Children's Dressmakers' strike. The amount of filthy abuse and manhandling that the picket line was subjected to by the police, makes any theoretical right to picket a mockery. 'Monkeys,' 'bunch of prostitutes,' 'filibusters,' were some of the choice epithets No. 12477 hurled at us. This same guardian of the law interprets it in a fashion all his own. When one of our picket line stopped a worker to talk to her, he pulled the girl bodily away, pushed her into the hall, and growled to the picket, 'Walk on.' 'Can't we talk to them?' the picket asked indignantly. 'No, you can't, keep moving.' 'Why any police officer should be allowed to actually nullify law, why such shameful language and boorishness should be permitted in a policeman who is after all supposed to be the servant of the people, is something that we would like you to explain.'

NEW LEADER

With Which Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

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A Challenge To Gov. Roosevelt

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

We urge upon your attention a crucial state of affairs in New York City which requires a type of investigation which we have not got and which is not in sight. From apathy and indifference to our repeated demands for investigation public officials of both old parties have gone to feverish and largely futile activity. We have investigations and investigators galore stepping on one another's toes and getting nowhere. Not one of them is comprehensive. Commissioner Higgins' investigation of one or two departments is discounted in advance as an investigation of Tammany, by Tammany and by Tammany. The District Attorneys of the five counties composing the greater city have never worked together and they have never really worked at all. In New York and Kings they have failed to find indictments on evidence on which the Federal District Attorney has not only got indictments but at least one conviction. The Cooley case, in spite of his acquittal, after a prosecution by a young assistant district attorney not up to the job, revealed a shocking state of affairs in the probation office and a negligence, if nothing worse, on the part of judges of the General Sessions, some of whom are under popular suspicion for other reasons. Nothing has been heard of the investigation of the probation office by Mr. James Owen, a man whom in the strictest sense Mr. Cooley made.

You yourself showed lack of confidence in District Attorney Crain by superseding him in the Ewald case. After weeks of indecision yesterday it was apparently decided that the Attorney General's investigation was to be confined to that one case. You also requested one of the two Appellate Divisions which between them divide jurisdiction over the city to investigate the Magistrates' Courts in

New York and the Bronx. Legal authorities doubt whether the investigation can go into the question of the appointment of these magistrates. It is, at any rate, absurd to investigate the system only in two counties when it is the same system in all five counties. It is even more absurd and inadequate to stop investigating the courts with Magistrates' Courts. Apparently well founded suspicion attaches to the purchases of judicial nominations and even to the conduct of judges going as high as some of those on the Appellate Division itself. If this suspicion is unjust it should be removed by the interest of good government and confidence in the courts. It cannot be removed by any investigation you have so far authorized. Neither can it be removed by a private bar association inquiry privately financed.

Nor are the courts alone under fire. The chief criticism of them is that they also are parts of the system which controls the whole city. Investigation must go to the Mayor's office itself. He himself futilely brought charges against his own Department of Markets and Bureau of Weights and Measures. He himself as a member of the Sinking Fund Commission had to give his consent to the pier leases for which ex-Judge Vause got a fee which he says that he split though he has not said with whom. The Mayor himself was responsible for the Equitable Bus franchise, for the appointment of magistrates now under fire, for the secret reappointment of marshals whom he had previously removed from office, and for the conduct of the departments under him. Scarcely one of these departments has escaped more or less definite charges against it. The conduct of the Board of Standards and Appeals and of the tax assessors has been seriously attacked. The Mayor and Comptroller themselves are authorities for the statement that condemnation proceedings have broken down

as a protection to the public. It is notoriously a matter of common belief that favored politicians get inside tips of the location of future school buildings, boulevards, etc., to their immense profit. We believe that at this time an investigation of the Linden boulevard in Brooklyn will show some remarkable evidence of this state of affairs.

This is only part of the story. It touches only things wrongfully done and not the things left undone which should have been done by the administration entirely controlled by the Curry-McCooley-Flynn triumvirate, to the first named of whom the Mayor publicly pledged loyalty and obedience. This is the situation which cries out for adequate investigation. It should not be left as a football of party politics. Speaking as Socialists we again declare that there are fundamental issues which we want to discuss rather than charges and counter charges. We are less anxious to say "I told you so" about the past than to get action for the present. We believe that failure of the last Legislature to act properly is to be divided between both parties. The more need for amendments now. What should be done is for the Legislature to organize a comprehensive investigation of the city. Under existing conditions and constitutional arrangements this is not an affront to local home rule but the only way in which New York citizens can get the facts which will enable them to strike the fetters of misgovernment from them. If the Legislature will not act you have powers to institute a fairly satisfactory inquiry. The situation, however, in our judgment calls for a special session of the Legislature.

Respectfully yours,
LOUIS WALDMAN,
NORMAN THOMAS,
JACOB PANKEN,
B. C. VLADECK,
HEYWOOD BROWN.

Treachery Is Revealed 7,000,000 Unemployed In Federal Trade Board When Census Was Taken

Commissioner Tried to Frame Sale of Municipal Light Plant

By LAURENCE TODD

WASHINGTON (FP)—Documentary evidence of amazing treachery in its own staff will be considered by the Federal Trade Commission at its meeting of the first week in September. This treachery involves E. J. Adams, a lawyer placed on its payroll at \$4,600 a year, last January, by Commissioner Humphrey. The Commission, under direction from the Walsh resolution adopted by the Senate nearly three years ago, has been investigating the public utility companies' war upon municipal ownership. Adams, upon the letterhead of the Commission itself, has been trying secretly to frame up the sale of the municipal power and light plant at Eugene, Oregon, to the P. W. Chapman Company. The Chapman concern has offices in a dozen cities, and is engaged in handling public utility securities. As a side line, it purchased the United States Lines and the American Merchant Lines of steamships from the government, a year ago, and is operating them. By strange coincidence, Adams was employed as personal assistant to General Manager Dalton of the Merchant Fleet Corporation of the Shipping Board when those negotiations were in progress.

Commissioner McCulloch, in charge of the investigation of propaganda by the utility companies against municipal ownership, has received clippings from Eugene daily newspapers, and copies of one or more confidential letters on Federal Trade Commission stationery, from Adams giving the outline of his enterprise. It is assumed that the Commission will call upon the officials and citizens of Eugene for originals of Adams' letters, and that Adams will be called upon to explain a telegram which he sent to the Eugene Register, on July 2: "Agreement with Chapman company, New York, prevents disclosure industrial program until price fixed. Survey essential to fix price and McClain wired me Saturday Board would not consider sale of property and offers no cooperation in appraisal. This effectively blocks proposition."

In No Position to Buy Adams, as a sworn officer of the Federal Trade Commission and a lawyer at that, was in no position to enter into any business such as the buying of a low-rate municipal competitor from the path of the power trust on the Pacific Coast. A federal statute enacted in March, 1917, loosely drawn, provides \$1,000 fine or six months imprisonment, or both, for federal officials and employees who accept any salary from private sources. But whether he was to have received any payment before getting out of the federal service or not, his attempts under this "agreement with Chapman" (Continued on Page Three)

Dabbling Droolidge Says:

SOUTHAMPTON, August 30th.—Lack of work is one of the chief causes of unemployment. Just as lack of money is one of the chief causes of poverty. When there is no work to do, idleness increases and when there is no money to be had, poverty increases.

This does not necessarily mean that poor people are necessarily without work. Many poor people work hard but do not make as much money as other people who do not work so hard. However it is good for poor people to work as hard as they can so that there will be more for rich people who do not work as hard. The future prosperity of the country depends upon keeping poor people hard at work and rich people in a position where they can take most of what the poor people make. This is a hard and fast economic law upon which the Republican administration has flourished. Besides it teaches the poor people to be thrifty. America was built on thrift. If a poor man does not have as much money as a rich man, he will not spend as much money as a rich man spends. In the majority of cases the sun rises in the East and sets in the West. In the case of wheat production Nebraska alone is something like 415,000 acres above the five-year average.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

"We Are All Socialist Now," Says Pres. Butler,—"If...!"

IF allowed to define Socialism according to his own taste, then Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, is content to wear with a smile the red shirt which Secretary Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation has just put on him. At the same time, he does not wish to be considered a Communist, he explained to an audience at the fashionable summer resort of Southampton, L. I.

Turning from his duties as host to Sir John Simon, chairman of the British commission whose report on India has aroused so much dissatisfaction among Indian nationalists, Dr. Butler undertook to define the difference between the two great social systems which he found were competing for world supremacy: liberalism, which he said had been misnamed capitalism, on the one hand, and Communism on the other.

"Tolerance of opposing doctrine

and a willingness to hear and to discuss it are essential elements of liberalism itself," said Butler. At the same time he insisted that violence and international disturbance must be left out of the Communist program "if Communism . . . is to get a hearing in the court of public opinion." The implication was that if these elements remained in the Communist program, "liberalism" need feel no qualms about "failing to give the program a hearing"; that is, suppressing it. The audience was left wondering whether Communists have a right to free speech or not.

But Communism cannot be disregarded in any case, was Butler's conclusion. Should it permanently establish itself in an area "which occupies almost one-sixth part of the globe and which makes place for perhaps 150,000,000 human beings," "it is certain that the whole world would feel its effects," he warned.

Stewart Admits Figure May Have Run as High As 9,000,000 Persons

WASHINGTON (FP)—Census Director William M. Stewart, worried by the protests that have been raised within and outside his bureau since he announced that 2,508,151 persons were jobless and unable to find work when the count was officially taken on April 1, has admitted in a radio address that the number of jobless on that date was perhaps 7,000,000 to 9,000,000.

Here is what Stewart said on Sept. 2: "While the count has not yet been made, it is probable that about 49,000,000 people told the census enumerators last April that they had some gainful occupation. Some of them were not actually engaged in this occupation at the time of the enumeration; some were sick; some were on vacation, and some reported that they could find no work to do, though they were able and willing to work, and were looking for a job. There were others who, while they were working, were not working full time, being idle part of the days of the week or part of the normal working hours of each day."

"It is probably true that under present normal industrial and business conditions there are not more than 40,000,000 or 42,000,000 people in this country who, on a given day, are at work full time at a gainful occupation. Figures indicate that during last April there were more than 2,000,000 people who usually work at a gainful occupation who had no job, people who were able to work and looking for a job, but could not find it."

By his own statement Stewart confessed that his first announcement that there were 2,508,151 persons unemployed and seeking work was misleading. The number on vacation in April was very small; the number of workers idle because of sickness was likewise negligible. But the number working part time, and the number idle because of temporary shutdown of the mine or plant employing them, was very great. Proof of this is seen in the detailed reports issued monthly by the U. S. Employment Service, from industrial towns throughout the country, in which "part-time operation" and "reduced time schedules" are a commonplace in a score of big industries. Even more effective proof is furnished by the reduction in retail buying in every line of merchandise used in the homes of wage workers.

One of the gravest anxieties of the administration at the present moment is the possibility that this shrinkage in the home market will continue through the fall and winter months, as families find their credit exhausted when the last wage earner is unable to keep his job. As the buying power of the mass of people is reduced, the demand for production of goods is reduced, and employers will lay off more of their workers. Winter (Continued on Page Three)

Waldman Insists Governor Explain Choice of Bertini

Governor's Naming of Bertini to High Court Under Fire of Socialist Candidate—Did Tammany and Curry Dictate Designation? Chief Executive is Asked

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT has been requested by Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor, to make public all the facts concerning his appointment of Amadeo Bertini to the Court of General Sessions in October 1929. Mr. Waldman urged that the present public interest in the method of appointment, and nominations of judges requires that the Governor indicate the record in the Judge Bertini case.

Judge Bertini was appointed October 17, 1929, to succeed Judge Francis Mancuso who had resigned his judgeship eight days previously as a result of the scandal involving the State Banking Department and the City Trust Company, of which Mancuso was president. Judge Bertini's quick appointment took the legal and civic world by surprise. He had had no public record. At the time, Ferdinand Pecora, former assistant district attorney, was being mentioned, but it was reported that Mayor Walker was opposed to his appointment. Soon after Bertini's nomination he was ordered by U. S. Customs officials to pay additional assessment of \$2,236.37 on material which he said was sold to have undervalued on October 7th, 1929, when he brought it into the country.

If present scandals and revelations are not to result merely in political smoke, but are to have some lasting value in real reform, Mr. Waldman declared yesterday "it is the duty of the Governor to make public the record showing upon whose recommendations he appointed Judge Bertini. What survey or investigation did the Governor make before picking Mancuso's successor? What standards and criteria were set up by which Mr. Bertini was judged? To what sources of information did the Governor go? Did Mr. Bertini's district leader and county leader Curry submit Mr. Bertini's name? Who were Mr. Bertini's sponsors?"

Waldman's Statement Mr. Waldman's statement follows: "To get to the bottom of the domination of our courts by the Tammany-McCooley political ring it is important to rid ourselves of the present method of appointment as well as nomination for election. No intelligent action by the next legislature can be proposed, nor can public opinion be aroused to the necessity for thoroughgoing reform in that field, unless people become familiar with existing methods. It must be made clear that the evil lies deeper than the existence of an indiscreet magistrate or district leader here and there."

It now appears that the Governor will not yield to the demand of the Socialist and civic organizations for a city-wide investigation that would bring to light all the relevant facts. It is also obvious that the limited power conferred upon Attorney General Ward, even coupled with powers delegated by the Appellate Division of the first department to ex-judge Samuel Seabury as its referee, cannot and will not probe the entire story involving the appointments of magistrates throughout the city. It certainly cannot cover the entire field of appointments and nominations of candidates for the county and general sessions judges as well as the city and supreme court judges.

"It becomes of increasing importance that the record showing upon whose recommendation various appointments were made to the judiciary to be made public. I believe that there is nothing that will give the people more light than the revelation of those upon whose recommendations appointments and selections to judicial office were made. For if the selection of a judge on the inferior as well as the superior and intermediate bench depends upon the say-so of the district leader or the county boss it is quite obvious that that gives them the undisputed power for collection of payments."

Roosevelt O. K'd Bertini "A year ago about this time, due to the revelations by the Governor's Moreland Act Commissioner, Robert Moses, and the corrupt practices of the banking department and the graft paid to

Camden Socialist Again President of Plate Printers' Union

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CAMDEN.—For the third consecutive year, Herman F. Neisser, of 907 North Thirty-second street, Socialist candidate for Congress, has been re-elected president of the International Plate Printers, Die Stammers' and Engravers' Union of North America. The re-election was received here today from Boston where the international union has just closed its annual convention. Others elected were J. Paul Krozer, Chicago, first vice-president, and William Kelly, New York, second vice-president.

Neisser was nominated for Congress from the First District at the recent state convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey. Included in his platform are old age pensions, unemployment insurance, public ownership and public utilities.

The Camden man was boomed for the Senatorial nomination of the Socialist Party but withdrew in favor of Henry Jager of Fallside, in North Jersey.

In his younger days, Neisser was a well-known basketball player and athlete.

Panken To Plan Fight Monday Eve

Conference Is Called—Marx Lewis Campaign Manager in 14th District

Steps to inaugurate an intensive campaign to send Jacob Panken to Congress from the 14th Congressional district, and to elect to the State Legislature Algernon Lee, August Claessens, and Pauline Newman, candidate for legislative offices in that district, will be taken at a joint meeting of the branches in the district to be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday afternoon, September 6, at 2 o'clock. The Institute will be held under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science and the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Departing from the procedure of former campaigns, when every member and friend of the party was called upon for general service, and nothing was done to coordinate the efforts and systematize the work, Socialist party and Rand School officials have determined on the Institute as a means of accomplishing two important aims:

1. Organize the party machinery so that all volunteers will do the work that is most essential, and in a way that by experience has been found to be most efficient and sure to bring permanent benefits to the organization.

2. Furnish both to party speakers, candidates and those who will do canvassing and other work requiring contact with citizens with the material and arguments in support of the major issues upon which the State, congressional and city campaign will be conducted.

Unemployment insurance, electric power rates, old age pensions, prison reform, and other subjects on which a wealth of material has been gathered by the Municipal Research Bureau of the Socialist Party will be made available at the first few weeks will be devoted mainly to the work of organizing the district for victory. In the meantime headquarters for the general campaign will be established, the exact location to be determined at a meeting of the campaign committee which will be held immediately after the joint meeting Monday night. A number of places have been given consideration, but a final decision is being held up pending the action of the campaign committee. Formation of various committees which will be appealed to special groups in the district, not only for votes but for organization work before the voting takes place, has already been undertaken.

As the campaign gets under steam, branch headquarters will be opened in various parts of the district, special committees will establish their own headquarters, and everywhere the Socialist appeal will be stressed and the election of tried Socialist public officials urged.

Among the questions to be taken up next Monday night will be the method of organization, a plan having been drawn up by Lewis for submission to the meeting, finances, and the selection of special committees to operate under the jurisdiction of the campaign committee, which will be elected at the meeting, for special work, such as hall and open-air meetings, literature, canvassing, publicity, advertising, finances, etc.

Jacob Panken, Algernon Lee, August Claessens, Marx Lewis, Pauline Newman, Julius Gerber and others will be on hand to give the work of carrying the 14th district an impetus that will help carry it across to victory.

In the meantime, assurances of support have come to Panken from various individuals in the district, most of them non-Socialists whose support helped Panken carry that congressional district by a majority of 707 votes when he ran for reelection to the bench three years ago. Panken's popularity has grown with the three years and has been strengthened by the conviction that Tammany Hall counted him out in the 2nd and 4th Assembly districts, which enter into the municipal court district. Resentment at the means used to defeat him on election day will help Panken not only retain his former vote, which gives him a plurality, but will bring additional support to him.

Waldman Asks That Gov. Roosevelt Explain

(Continued from Page One)

its head, Superintendent Warder, by the City Trust Company, General Sessions Judge Francis Mander, one of the bank's directors, was forced to resign his high office under indictment. As his successor, Governor Roosevelt appointed Amadeo A. Bertini. Mr. Bertini had never held any public office, and was not, as far as the public and the bar generally know, of caliber to occupy a place on the bench of this court which has general criminal jurisdiction, passing upon the rights and liberties of citizens, including the charge of murder. The Governor's appointment of Mr. Bertini, on October 17th, 1929, three weeks before election, amounted to a credential and certificate of qualification to the candidate from the Governor as far as the voters were concerned.

"The fact and the record covering many questions bear directly upon the present movement of the public and the bar to rid the courts of political domination. Nothing is more vital to the general welfare than restoration of public confidence that the men who administer our criminal and civil laws are not made by an invisible government of district leaders."

First Campaign Institute Meets This Saturday

Machinery, Technique of Campaigning Subjects of Gerber, Claessens, Lewis

SOCIALIST party members throughout the city will draw their lines for the coming political contest and mobilize all of their energies to insure a maximum of work at the first session of a three session institute which will be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday afternoon, September 6, at 2 o'clock. The Institute will be held under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science and the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Departing from the procedure of former campaigns, when every member and friend of the party was called upon for general service, and nothing was done to coordinate the efforts and systematize the work, Socialist party and Rand School officials have determined on the Institute as a means of accomplishing two important aims:

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Laidler, Hofses, Coleman to Talk At Eden Conference

Biemiller, Stanley Are Also on Program for Meeting This Week-End

Socialists from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts will gather at Camp Eden, the Socialist camp at Cold Spring, New York, to analyze the experience of Socialists in office in Europe and the United States and to discuss next steps in furthering the cause of Socialism in this country. The conference is unofficial and was called by an arrangement of the Socialist Party consisting of Louis Stanley, chairman, contributing editor of The New Leader, instructor in trade unionism at the Rand School of Social Science; Leonard Bright, secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action; Max Delson, candidate for Senate; Theodore Shapiro, member of the Kings County Committee, and Elizabeth Stuyvesant, secretary of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Norman Thomas has endorsed the conference in his weekly column in The New Leader.

Further information about the conference may be obtained from Louis Stanley, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 4622, or Jack Altman, Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 3004.

The complete program follows:

First Day: A Critical Analysis of Socialist Experience in Office. Saturday, September 6, at 3 P. M.

1.—The Independent Labor Party and the British Labor Government. Speaker: Dr. Harry W. Laidler, co-Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, just returned from an investigation in England. Discussion leaders: Theodore Shapiro and Jack Altman.

2.—The Social Democracy in Germany and Austria. Speaker: Dr. A. Lipschitz, American correspondent of the Sozialdemokratischer Pressendienst. Discussion leaders: Harry Rannacker and Gunther Haile.

Saturday, September 6, at 8 P. M.

3.—What Price Municipal Socialism in America? Speaker: Raymond S. Hofses, editor of the Reading Labor Advocate and member of the Reading School.

Second Day: On the Road to Socialism. Sunday, September 7, at 9:30 A. M.

1.—Applying Fundamental Principles to Immediate Issues. A. Fowler, Speaker, McAlister Coleman, of the Committee on Coal and Power. Discussion Leader: Max Delson.

b. Taxation. Speaker: Harry J. Rosner of the Municipal Reform Bureau. Discussion Leader: Sol Perrin.

c. Housing. Speaker: Robert Delson. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Helen L. Alfred.

d. Old Age Pensions. Speaker: Sol Barkin, Columbia University. Discussion Leader: Harry Delson, Columbia University.

e. Unemployment Insurance. Speaker: Andrew J. Biemiller, University of Pennsylvania. Discussion leader: Leonard Bright, Secretary, Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Sunday, September 7, at 2:30 P. M.

2.—Neglected Steps in Socialization.

a. The Family Allowance. Speaker: Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Secretary of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Discussion Leader: Elizabeth Dublin.

b. Capital Levy. Speaker: Lawrence Rogin, Columbia University. Discussion Leader: George Marshall.

c. Socialization of Banks. Speaker: Louis Stanley, contributing editor, The New Leader; instructor, Rand School. Discussion Leader: Henry J. Rosner.

Plight of Jobless; Banker's Costly Zoo

IRVINE, Ky.—Penniless and his two acres of corn and garden crops ruined by the long drought that has hit this country, Pat Gabbard left his wife and two children on their little farm and came here in search of work.

"I am willing to work for as little as 25 cents a day," Gabbard told one merchant. The man was advised there was no work to be had in town. Gabbard went to various other places here, but was told that no help was needed.

Unless this farmer finds work during the next two days his family will be without food, they said. Neighbors living near Gabbards, who are slightly more fortunate, are said to be sharing their food with the destitute family.

Help Needed

Last week Oregon Socialists appealed through The New Leader for financial help to enable them to take advantage of the election law which requires the Secretary of State to print the names of candidates, the platforms, and arguments for all political parties in pamphlet form. The pamphlet is then mailed to every registered voter in the state.

The cost is about \$200. Some contributions have already been sent by air mail. The fund must be available by Sept. 15. Others who can help the Oregon comrades are urged to do so immediately. Mail all contributions to the state secretary of the party, Charles Kolb, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.

Socialists File Full Ticket in New York City

Complete List of Nominations as Filed with Board of Elections

THE Socialists of New York City will contest every office open at the coming election, according to the nominating petitions filed by the party office with the Board of Elections. The nominations as filed with the board follow:

New York County

Justice of the City Court—Marion Severn
Justice Municipal Court, 3rd District—Edward P. Gollub

Representatives in Congress

11th C. D.—Walter Dearing
12th C. D.—Marx Lewis
13th C. D.—Donatello Scudino
14th C. D.—Jacob Panken
15th C. D.—Leonard C. Kaye
16th C. D.—August Claessens
17th C. D.—Edward Brown
18th C. D.—Edward P. Cassidy
19th C. D.—August Claessens
20th C. D.—Frank Force
21st C. D.—Frank R. Crosswaith

State Senators

12th S. D.—Morris Goldovsky
13th S. D.—Edward McNamee
14th S. D.—Algonquin Lee
15th S. D.—Joseph W. Hughes
16th S. D.—Bernard Fester
17th S. D.—George Steinhardt
18th S. D.—George Steinhardt
19th S. D.—Reinhold Niebuhr
20th S. D.—Max Delson

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Max Delson
2nd A. D.—Louis Lieberman
3rd A. D.—Joseph W. Hughes
4th A. D.—Morris Markshild
5th A. D.—William T. Hade
6th A. D.—Harry Friedman
7th A. D.—Simon Berlin
8th A. D.—Pauline Newman
9th A. D.—Samuel Sedman
10th A. D.—William E. Bohn
11th A. D.—Harry Friedman
12th A. D.—Bertha H. Matly
13th A. D.—Charles C. Weber
14th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
15th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
16th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
17th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
18th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
19th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
20th A. D.—Nina Hillquit

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15th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
16th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
17th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
18th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
19th A. D.—Nina Hillquit
20th A. D.—Nina Hillquit

Kings County

County Judge—Alexander Kahn
Borough President—Harry W. Laidler
District Attorney—Morris Rosenbaum

Representatives in Congress

3rd C. D.—Joseph A. Weil
4th C. D.—Abraham Zucker
5th C. D.—Joseph M. Cohen
6th C. D.—Norman Thomas
7th C. D.—Benjamin Jackson
8th C. D.—Harold M. Miller
9th C. D.—Wilhelmus B. Robinson
10th C. D.—Abraham I. Shipiloff

State Senators

10th S. D.—William M. Feigenbaum
11th S. D.—Jacob L. Afros
12th S. D.—Arthur W. Breckinridge
13th S. D.—Louis Sadoff
14th S. D.—Charles C. Weber
15th S. D.—David Breslow
16th S. D.—Harry Schuchman
17th S. D.—Samuel L. Mallman
18th S. D.—David Friedman

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Marjorie Dorman
2nd A. D.—Morris Goldovsky
3rd A. D.—Hyman Hanes
4th A. D.—Meyer Greenwald
5th A. D.—David M. Cohen
6th A. D.—Harry Krizer
7th A. D.—Paul A. Frank
8th A. D.—David M. Cohen
9th A. D.—Robert J. Bobrick
10th A. D.—David M. Cohen
11th A. D.—Agnes Laidler
12th A. D.—Frank Smith
13th A. D.—Henry J. Rosner
14th A. D.—Abraham Belsky
15th A. D.—David M. Cohen
16th A. D.—Joseph P. Viola
17th A. D.—Joseph A. Kirck
18th A. D.—Mortimer Blumenreich
19th A. D.—Wenzel Hoenig
20th A. D.—Simon Wolfe
21st A. D.—Theodore Shapiro
22nd A. D.—Samuel H. Friedman
23rd A. D.—Hyman Hanes

Bronx County

Surrogate—Morris Glantz
Representatives in Congress
22nd C. D.—Louis Orr
23rd C. D.—Louis Orr
24th C. D.—Louis Orr

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Abraham Mollin
2nd A. D.—Julius Umansky
3rd A. D.—David M. Cohen
4th A. D.—Henry Fruchter
5th A. D.—Henry Fruchter
6th A. D.—Beymour Goodman
7th A. D.—Irvine M. Knobloch
8th A. D.—Irvine M. Knobloch

Queens County

Surrogate—Elizabeth Stuyvesant
County Clerk—Elizabeth Stuyvesant
Justice Municipal Court, 1st District—David M. Cohen

Representatives in Congress

1st C. D.—Sofus W. Christensen
2nd C. D.—Tucker P. Smith
3rd C. D.—Sofus W. Christensen
4th C. D.—Nathan Fine

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Erich Steinberger
2nd A. D.—Edward F. Clarke
3rd A. D.—Edward F. Clarke
4th A. D.—Adella Keen Zemetkin
5th A. D.—George Friedman
6th A. D.—Ernest Negretti

Richmond County

Sheriff—Charles M. Ferweda
State Senators
24th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
25th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
26th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
27th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
28th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
29th S. D.—Erich Steinberger
30th S. D.—Erich Steinberger

Nemser Chosen To Direct Vladeck Congress Campaign

Candidate Proposes New Campaign Methods—Doubts Value of Street Meetings

SPEAKING to a well-attended 8th Congressional District meeting of party workers at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum on Tuesday evening, September 2nd, B. Charney Vladeck, Socialist candidate for Congress declared: "Our campaign will be a novel, interesting and important experiment which should prove fruitful not only in the coming election but for future campaigns as well. I think it is high time we discarded some of the old methods which still persist with us only because of our inertia and failure to think up new methods more suited to present-day conditions as well as to change popular psychology."

He went on to state his disapproval of open-air meetings which he said were usually ineffective and had little, if any, lasting results. Realizing, he said, that he was attacking a "sacred" and traditional party institution dear to the hearts of "old-timers," he nevertheless felt that sentiment of this kind ought not to interfere with the conducting of efficient campaigns. Another objection to open-air meetings, he said, was the lack of good speakers who could represent the party position in an interesting, intelligent and responsible way.

He pointed out that in a Congressional District consisting of 340 election districts and comprising

180,000 voters, open-air meetings could at best reach only an imperceptible fraction of the voters. He emphasized the need for an extensive canvassing campaign which would bring the party into constant personal contact with individual voters.

"Our purpose primarily will be to get our candidates in as close a personal contact with voters as possible."

Although he favored indoor mass meetings, he believed that even these should be limited in number and should not be the expression of our work, but the climax of our canvassing activities."

Nemser Elected Manager

Comrade Hyman Nemser, a young, able and experienced campaigner and candidate for Assembly in 16th A. D., Kings County, was elected manager of the 8th Congressional District campaign. Headquarters have already been opened at 6610 Bay Parkway. It is expected that in the next few days 12 or 15 sub-headquarters will be established in other sections of the district which is one of the largest in the country both in area and population. Comrade Joseph Stein was elected treasurer.

The canvassing work is to be conducted jointly by Comrades Emil Bromberg and Harry Haskel. Canvassing lists are ready for distribution and volunteers are being invited to come to the headquarters on Sunday morning, September 7th, when assignments will be given out.

The meeting closed with a stirring address by Alexander Kahn, Socialist candidate for County Judge in Kings County.

Treachery Is Revealed In Federal Trade Board

(Continued from Page One)

"company" to use his Federal Trade position as a "background from which to act as an agent for the power trust is regarded in Washington as little less than sensational.

Eugene's power and light system is based on highly efficient modern equipment, including a new power dam on the McKenzie River near at hand. Its rates are so low that housewives purchase electric ranges as readily as do the women of Ontario. Cities in other sections of Oregon are forced by the Byllesby and other power trust groups to pay as high as double the Eugene rates.

On July 1 the Eugene Water Board, the municipal authority in charge of the plant, issued a statement calling attention to local gossip concerning Adams' letter-writing, and to the fact that he had even written to C. A. McClain, the general superintendent and secretary, requesting McClain's aid in consummating the deal. The superintendent replied firmly in the negative, and pointed out that there was no reason why Adams' suggestion that important new industries could be brought from the East to Eugene should have any connection with a sale of the low-rate electric plant.

This "new industries" bait, by the way, is used by the power trust in most of its attempts to wipe out municipal plants. Kansas City, Kan., which turned down such an offer on June 16 this year, was told the same story of "industries that would come only if the power business were privately owned.

Would Break Promises

"Within the last few days," the Water Board stated, "there have been telegrams and long distance calls to citizens of Eugene, urging them to arrange in some way for engineers and accountants representing those who wish to purchase the plant to be invited to come here. . . . It would seem that there is a determined attempt by some interests to carry out a subtle campaign of propaganda

In a letter to George H. Morran, prominent department store proprietor and advertiser, Adams wrote on June 10: "I fully realize that it will not be easy for the people of Eugene to agree to the sale of the electric system after all they have gone through to get it where it is, but if it can be used to pay off all the bonded indebtedness of the city and still keep the rates down to the present rates as a maximum that can be charged during the life of the permit or franchise which is necessary for the buyer to operate, and at the same time secure a great industrial impetus and investment that should make Eugene the outstanding industrial city of the state outside of Portland, and maybe in time approach that, it will mean much to the people there."

"The system was built and developed to lower the rates, which the Oregon Power Co. would not do. That object has been attained. . . .

"I wish the people there through the Chamber or in some other way would organize the community into a Eugene Industrial Development Association. . . . This will get the people all to thinking of industries and give a mailing list that can be advised from time to time of movements that seem necessary to promote the main object. . . . For instance, suppose the proposition that is made by these people in the East (Philadelphia and New York) should appeal to the business men of Eugene" and should be opposed for any reason by those that are wedded to municipal ownership and operation; how would the message get to the people except through the papers which might be partial and prejudiced? . . .

He closes with a hint that, unless the plant is sold, the new industries cannot be had.

Manitoba I.L.P. Draws Up Farm Program

WINNIPEG, Man.—(F.P.)—Declaring that the farmer and industrial worker are suffering from the hands of the same exploiters—the financial clique—the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, in special convention assembled, added to its platform an agricultural plank. It reads: "Agriculture, like industry, is a social service. The I. L. P. advocates the application of such measures as are necessary to bring about an order of social and economic justice, and as immediate policies the following:

"1. Extension of the principle of social insurance to cover the natural risks in farming.

"2. Legislation to facilitate the organization and operation of agricultural cooperatives for production, distribution and credit.

"3. Legislation to abolish the abuse of dealing in futures on commodity exchanges, and the market manipulations which are injurious to the producer and consumer alike."

The insurance proposal means that a farmer who has plowed, prepared and seeded his land should be paid for that work if the crop is destroyed by hail, frost, wind or drought. Economic justice demands payment for work performed.

Second Broun Headquarters Opens Doors

Preparations Go Forward for Big Dinner at Level Club on September 21

HEYWOOD BROUN'S HEADQUARTERS, Hotel Algonquin, New York City—Complaints have arrived via friends of Broun from the Republican Congressional Committee that Heywood Broun, Socialist candidate for Congress in the Seventeenth District, Manhattan is making him a veritable nuisance to Mrs. Ruth Pratt, Republican Congresswoman from that District. And the Democrats are likewise looking upon Broun's campaign with anxious eyes.

Which is just too bad for the old parties and just too good for the Socialists. Broun is carrying on an attack which is many-sided, unexpected and extremely difficult to laugh off. By this time, there are few in New York or outside the town for that matter, who are not convinced that Heywood is in deadly earnest in this campaign. All sorts and varieties are coming in daily to pledge their support and to volunteer their services for active work from now until election day.

Broun, himself is working overtime every day, Sundays and holidays included. This past week he talked to the members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at their get-together at Brookwood Labor College, made a rousing address to the striking rain-coat makers of Local 20 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and vigorously criticized the new New York City's Free Employment Bureau is being managed. In all of this he showed himself thoroughly conversant with the problems which confront the industrial workers and proved himself a most effective Socialist propagandist.

Socialist Headquarters Opened

During the week the Socialists who have branches in the District opened headquarters in the Hotel Hargrave at 112 West Seventy-second Street, where Miss Helen Gibson will be in charge and will register volunteers. This is in the heart of Broun's District and the new headquarters will work in close cooperation with the Broun-for-Congress-Non-Partisan Committee at the Algonquin.

Much newspaper space was given to the announcement that Ruth Hale, Mr. Broun's wife who was an active campaigner for suffrage and other progressive causes will be his non-partisan campaign manager. This is the first time in the history of politics in New York City that a woman has been a political campaign manager. McAlister Coleman, Socialist candidate for State Senator in the Seventeenth District will continue his work for Broun at both headquarters.

Workers for Broun are busy with preparations for a dinner at the Level Club on West Seventy-third Street which will be held on Sunday, September 21st under the auspices of both the Socialists and the Non-Partisan Committee. At this dinner Alexander Woolcott, author and dramatic critic will preside and Norman Thomas, B. Charney Vladeck and Judge Jacob Panken and Heywood Broun will speak. Tickets at three dollars may be obtained at the Hotel Hargrave headquarters. And if you are wise, you will make your reservations at once.

New members of the Broun Non-Partisan Committee joining during the week are:

Stuart Chase
Paul H. Kellogg
Lee Simonson
Maurice Wertheim
Floyd Dell
Edna L. Wallon
Gilbert Gabriel
Emmer Rice
Keith Morgan
Ed Wyse

Charles Butterworth
Harry Richmond
Sidney Blackmer
Erin O'Brien-More
Lenore Ulrich
Carolyn Hancock
Mary Strydom
Millicent Green
Amos R. E. Pinchot

The great instrument in the furthering of the democratic ideal is education. But it must be education in public spirit and honesty of purpose.—J. H. Murrhead.

Waldman to Open Campaign In Bronx Sept. 8

100 Open-air Meetings Weekly Planned by Rejuvenated Party Organization

IF Bronx street corners have been enlivened during the last three months as never before since 1917 it is only a portent of what is to happen during the months of September and October, according to the energetic leaders of the Bronx County Socialist Party, Dr. Louis A. Hendin and Louis Weil, campaign manager and County Organizer, respectively.

Several events of major importance to Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are being arranged, the first of these being the joint conference of delegates of civic and labor organizations in the Bronx with delegates of Socialist Party branches. The opening session which will perfect a working organization for the duration of the campaign, will be held on Monday evening, September 8th at 8 o'clock, at the headquarters of the Bronx County Committee, 1167 Boston Road. Louis Waldman, standard bearer of the Socialists of New York State in this campaign has agreed to be present to open the sessions and speed the Bronx Socialists and their friends and co-workers on to victory.

At the first session it is expected that subcommittees will be elected to manage the various phases of the campaign; election district organization, house to house canvassing, street corner and hall meetings, radio addresses, wholesale distribution of literature and vivid campaign posters. The small corps of speakers who have been keeping the Bronx awake during the hot season, spreading themselves hundreds, will now be relieved by the addition to their ranks of at least fifteen seasoned speakers. These will come from the civic and labor organizations which have already signified their intention of aiding the Bronx Socialists by joining the conference.

From now until election the ten street corner meetings per week held during the summer will be increased to over a hundred. Socialist week will be celebrated late in September in the 5th Assembly district where Henry Fruchter is already the leading contender for the assembly post. Meanwhile David Kaplan continues to burn the candle at both ends along with Sol Perrin, Murray Gross and Dr. Abraham Melin the stalwarts who are the backbone of the Bronx Socialist organization.

Plans for an intensive congressional campaign in the 23rd and 24th districts where Samuel Orr and Louis Weil are the candidates are already in full operation, requiring only more funds to carry them through to a successful conclusion.

Holmes Backs Waldman for N.Y. Governor

Immaterial Who Two Old Parties Name, Liberal Minister Declares—Praises Party

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, who led and organized the non-Socialist forces behind the campaign for Norman Thomas for mayor last year, has announced his endorsement of Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor. In a letter to Mr. Waldman, made public at Socialist headquarters, Dr. Holmes, pastor of the Community Church declared "what candidates the other two parties nominate is a matter of not the slightest concern."

Dr. Holmes' letter follows: "Dear Mr. Waldman: "I am writing to congratulate you upon your nomination as the Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, and to pledge to you my enthusiastic and whole-hearted support.

"What candidates the other two parties nominate is a matter of not the slightest interest to me. They will in both cases be nothing but the respectable show-boys of the two most corrupt and disreputable gangs of politicians with which any state is cursed at this present moment. In contrast, you head a party of devoted idealists pledged to the public weal, and to a vision and program of reform which can alone bring permanent prosperity and happiness to our people.

"Furthermore, you are yourself, on your own merits—in knowledge, experience, ability, and high character—a worthy aspirant for the first office in the gift of the citizens of New York State.

"I look forward to an effective campaign and a triumphant vote. Success to you in every way! Believe me,

"Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) JOHN H. HOLMES.

Depression Mars Union's Labor Day

Green and Morrison
Stress Suffering That
Is Caused by Unem-
ployment Crisis

THE black shadow of unem-
ployment hanging over Labor
Day, 1930, was reflected in the
speeches of all labor groups cele-
brating the holiday. Pres. William
Green of the A. F. of L., who
spoke at the New York state fair
at Syracuse, urged private indus-
try to provide secure yearly in-
come for the worker, a 5-day
week, and old age insurance. He
did not mention unemployment in-
surance except in connection with
"purely seasonal industries," the
funds to be "jointly created."

Sec. Frank Morrison of the A.
F. of L., speaking before the Bal-
timore Federation of Labor, pointed
out the usually sweeping charac-
ter of the present depression,
which he said was caused by ma-
chinery displacing industrial work-
ers, mergers and chain stores dis-
placing clerks and salespeople, and
large-scale farming displacing
farmers. Thus non-consumers—
those with no pay to spend—
increase in all walks of life. Mor-
rison stated that an old age pen-
sion system was inevitable in the
United States, and he urged a
shorter working day and week.

Shorter Week Asked
Shorter working time with high
wages was also advocated by Pres.
George L. Berry of the printing
pressmen at Little Rock, Ark.; by
Pres. Charles P. Howard of the
typographical union at Houston,
Tex.; and by Pres. Joseph P. Ryan
of the New York Central Trades
and Labor Council, who followed
Gov. Roosevelt in asking for un-
employment insurance. Berry also
advocated legislation "to prevent
competition in labor between chil-
dren and able-bodied men." He
scored as false claims that pro-
sperity is just around the corner,
stating that inoculation of peo-
ple's minds with any such idea is
most dangerous.

While Morrison said that this
depression had not been marked
by charges that wages were too
high, Howard stated that the or-
ganized workers have recently
been confronted with demands for
wage reduction and the unorgani-
zed had suffered greatly all year
from "the moth-eaten industrial
philosophy of wage reduction and
increased hours." The unorgani-
zed, he pointed out, must depend
on the conscience of their employ-
ers for protection, and "business
has no conscience."

Davis Is Cheerful
A rosy picture, contradicted by
reports from all over the country,
was painted by Sec. of Labor
James J. Davis, who asserted,
"The old sweeping layoffs and
wage slashes have not been re-
sorted to in this period of depres-
sion. We may congratulate our-
selves," he declared, "on the spir-
it of cooperation that generally
prevails between American em-
ployers and workers."

Labor cannot get security
against the ordinary risks of mod-
ern industrial civilization without
political activity, declared Louis
Waldman, Socialist candidate for
governor of New York. Purely
economic organization is not
enough, he said.

On Boston Common a crowd
gathered to celebrate Labor Day.
John P. Frey of the metal trades
department of the A. F. of L. stated
that organized labor is deter-
mined to establish industrial lib-
erty like the political and reli-
gious liberty guaranteed to Ameri-
can citizens: the right of men "to
participate in determining the
conditions under which they shall
live and work." He attacked the
judicial theory established by
courts of equity that the wage
earners' right to organize indus-
trially is an entirely different
matter from the employers' right
to do the same. P. Harry Jen-
nings, New England organizer for
the teamsters' union, advocated
the 5-day week and unemploy-
ment insurance to be provided by
"organized industry."

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5:30 to 8 p.m., \$8.50 to 1.25
SUNDAYS 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Afternoon Tea 3 to 5 p.m.

C. P. L. A. Surveys Tactics To Be Followed to Win Unions For Progressivism

Oneal, Broun and Stan-
ley Among Those in
Discussions at Brook-
wood College

WINDING up the three day
Labor Day conference at
Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., ar-
ranged by the Conference for Pro-
gressive Labor Action, where uni-
versity professors, labor leaders,
Socialist Party adherents and pro-
gressives discussed the present
economic, industrial and political
trends and the policies labor should
adopt to meet them, Chairman A.
J. Muste, in a ringing declaration
on the purposes of the C. P. L. A.,
in answer to critics who opposed
criticism of the American Federa-
tion of Labor, declared that "since
the A. F. of L. is approaching its
fiftieth anniversary, it is very fit-
ting that we should ask ourselves
the question: What is the A. F. of
L. significance in the light of fifty
years of history?"

"The A. F. of L. cannot escape
its responsibility for the situation
in which the American working
class and the labor movement finds
itself," Mr. Muste continued. "Cer-
tain things should be pointed out
even if it means criticism. But
there is this critical point. The
moment something is said in op-
position to what we consider to be
false policies, every one begins to
flare up. Yet at the risk of this
antagonism the C. P. L. A. will
continue to stand up for what it
thinks right as the Socialists did
during the period when Debs was
alive."

"Is the A. F. of L. to die, to
be wiped out or to be revitalized
and new elements come in and re-
tain the name but make it a dif-
ferent organization? We don't
know, but we are against adopting
a cut and dried policy. We are
against a policy of destroying uni-
ons. There is no use spending
time at that when there are a
great many unions to be started
and built up."

Depression Analyzed
The opening of the Conference
on Saturday night was devoted to
an analysis of present economic
conditions and future prospects.
William L. Nunn, Economics De-
partment of New York University,
the principal speaker, did not see
much hope for betterment.

"The frozen inventories of mer-
chants and manufacturers are
thawing out," he said. "With the
consumption of goods now in the
market, factory wheels will begin
to turn. But even then the con-
sumption of goods will be greatly
retarded by the low purchasing
power of most of the industrial
workers and farmers, as well as
by lack of foreign purchasers. The
Autumn months will no doubt show
a slight recovery, but this will be
entirely a seasonal trend, and will
present indications, woe! not carry
over into winter."

As against the possibility of a
quick recovery, Mr. Nunn cited
the fact of world-wide depression,
coupled with the American tariff
and its cumulative reprisals. "The
present economic depression has
shown again the intellectual bank-
ruptcy of our politico-industrial
leaders and the defects of uncon-
trolled and planless production,
distribution and consumption," the
speaker concluded.

Tom Tippet, during the morn-
ing session on Sunday, sketched
the development of the new min-
ers union started by the breaking
away of the Illinois District from
the Lewis Illinois Mine Workers
of America. While there are pos-
sibilities for this new organiza-
tion to dominate the bituminous
field, Tippet explained, it must
change its tactics immediately and
become more aggressive. It must
cut away from the more conserva-
tive leadership which now domi-
nate it and place its trust com-
pletely in the hands of the progres-
sives such as Howat, Daack and
Powers Hagwood.

Broun vs. Lore
Following Tippet a lively tilt
developed between Heywood Broun
and James Oneal on one hand and
Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volks-
zeitung, on the other. Oneal gave
an outline of the steps to be taken
by progressives and radicals to
gain the confidence of their fellow
workers in unions and become in-
fluential.

"I am inclined to think," he
said, "that it is important for all
who see the opportunity that lies
ahead for them to guide their
propaganda, their agitation and
their approach to the problem that
will actually make converts rather
than follow the course that has
unfortunately been the history of
other progressive groups in this
country of becoming a pessimistic
sect—a sect that because of the
character of its approach to the
problem, because of the vindictive
attitude on the part of some of
our propaganda, instead of making
converts has actually raised bar-
riers against it."

N. Y. Unions Ask Aid for Unemployed

Labor Party Debate at
Buffalo Brings 5 Votes
for New Alignment

BUFFALO, N. Y.—(FP)—A
resolution urging President
Hoover to call a special session of
Congress to appropriate \$1,000-
000,000 for a public works pro-
gram to aid employment was
passed in the closing hours of the
convention of the New York State
Federation of Labor. The resolu-
tion also called on the president
to ask the governor of each state
to appoint a "council for work,"
in which labor should have an ef-
fective voice, and demanded a law
to the following effect: "In every
case where a corporation reduces
wages the income tax return of
that corporation (shall) be at once
made public."

The usual resolution calling for
a modification of the Volstead Act
to permit the manufacture and sale
of light wines and beers appeared
this year as a measure to increase
employment, and was referred to
the legislative committee of the
executive council. The committee
approved the resolution and au-
thorized its drafting in legal form
for submission to the 1931 legisla-
ture.

The spiciest session in an other-
wise dull convention was occa-
sioned by the debate on forming
an independent labor party, as
proposed in resolutions submitted
by C. J. Hendley of the New York
Teachers' Union and George Scott
of Rochester. A. J. Muste, dean
of Brookwood Labor College and
a teachers' union delegate, cham-
pioned the measure, but it lost by
a vote of 400 to 5.

The federation moved to make
effective labor's interest in the pub-
lic school system when it went on
record approving efforts of the city
labor organizations to have their
representatives included on school
boards.

Pat J. Commerford of the New
York City hoisting engineers was
elected vice-president of the federa-
tion in place of Thomas J. Cur-
tis, resigned, and a new vice-presi-
dency was created and filled by the
election of Thomas Lyons of Utica.
All other officers were reelected.

insurance fund to be made by em-
ployers entirely on a graduated
basis in order to penalize those
industries having excessive unem-
ployment. The unemployed worker
is to receive 40 per cent of his
wage and ten per cent addition for
a wife and five per cent additional
for each of his children, but the
maximum would be 60 per cent
of the worker's wage. Unemploy-
ment insurance would be paid for
a period of 26 weeks a year. A
worker employed a short time and
receiving less than 40 per cent of
his wage would be entitled to the
difference between the 40 per cent
and his earnings. Eligibility for
sharing in the fund would be based
on employment in the State and
payment by the employer in the
fund for 52 weeks. Workers who
enjoyed the benefits under this
plan would have the right to re-
fuse employment where a strike is
in progress or where they would be
asked to work for less than the
prevailing rate. The waiting period
before payment of benefits is
one week. A bureau of the Labor
Department of the State and an
advisory board of five members,
two each from labor and employer
and one representing the public
would administer the fund.

A Federal bill will also be drawn
up which will ask Congress to set
aside \$100,000,000 to subsidize one-
third of the expense of the State
funds and place the administration
of the appropriation in the United
States Department of Labor.

The facilities of Brookwood were
taxed by the more than one hun-
dred guests who attended the
three-day conference. Many had
to find lodging in Katonah and
among friends having residences
near by. Tennis, baseball, swim-
ming and hiking rounded out the
program and all were keen for
the session, after their hand at the
various sports.

Among those present were rep-
resentatives of the International
Ladies Garment Workers, United
Mine Workers, Amalgamated As-
sociation of Iron and Steel Work-
ers, Teachers Union, Bookkeepers,
Electrical Workers, Lithographers
Federation of Post Office Clerks,
Locomotive Engineers, Railway
Clerks, International Association
of Machinists, Pocketbook Work-
ers, Y.W.C.A., Social Workers, So-
cialist Party, Church League for
Industrial Democracy, Young Peo-
ples' Socialist League, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers, National
Child Labor Committee, Fellowship
of Reconciliation, Commonwealth
College, and Bronx Free Fellow-
ship.

(Note.—In a coming issue we
will consider the C. P. L. A. and
its activities since it was orga-
nized.—Editor.)

Plenty for Unionism To Do in Louisiana

BATON ROUGE, La.—(FP)—
Bunk-shooters and appeasement
artists who got off the hackneyed
line on Labor Day that American
employers accept the "philosophy
of high wages" had not been read-
ing the official statistics of Louisi-
ana. The fifteenth biennial re-
port of the department of labor
and industrial statistics showed
that the wage scales and hours
per day for certain occupations on
Dec. 1, 1929, were:

	Hours per day	Wage rate per day
Building laborers	8	\$2.00
Cannery workers	10	1.25
Clothing factory workers	10	1.25
Cotton-seed products workers	12	2.25
Ice, light and bottling workers	10	1.50
Workers in—		
Lumber plants	10	1.75
Naval stores	10	1.75
Oil fields	10	3.00
Rice mills	12	2.00
Sugar cane fields and on farms	12	1.25
Sugar mills (factory help)	12	2.50

These figures refer to a time be-
fore the recent wave of wage cuts
got well under way. Rates are
in all probability lower now.

People's Lobby Asks Jobless Aid of Green

**Urges A.F.L. Join De-
mand for Congressional
Action — Budenz
Opens C.P.L.A. Drive**

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Will-
iam Green, President of the Ameri-
can Federation of Labor, has been
invited, in an urgent letter from
the People's Lobby, of which Prof.
John Dewey is president, to join in
the demand that President Hoover
call Congress in special session
to provide immediate relief for the
unemployed.

The lobby proposes that federal
appropriations be voted for the
financing of unemployment pay-
ments which shall be administered
by the state governments as an
unemployment insurance system.
It has also asked the governors
of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio,
Massachusetts, California, Michi-
gan, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri
to summon their state legislatures
to meet in special session to pass
unemployment insurance meas-
ures.

"Unemployment cannot be dealt
with as a problem of organized
labor," the People's Lobby wrote
Green; "it would be manifestly
unfair to hold the American Fed-
eration of Labor, with its approxi-
mately 4,000,000 members, re-
sponsible for the present situa-
tion. There are over 47,000,000
persons over fifteen legally, gain-
fully employable in the United
States."

U. S. Income Illy Divided
"The primary reason for serious
unemployment in this country,
which has about two-fifths of the
world's income, is the mal-distrib-
ution of the national income, with
only about five-ninths going to 47-
000,000 workers, and four-ninths
going to property owners—the
major part of it to 2,000,000 per-
sons."

There are only a dozen big em-
ployers who have in the past ten
years set up unemployment funds
to take care of their own employes,
the lobby says, two-thirds of the
existing unemployment insurance
in industry was established by the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers'
Union. Yet in 10 foreign coun-
tries 45,000,000 workers are cov-
ered by compulsory unemployment
insurance.

Coincident with the invitation to
Green, the Conference for Progres-
sive Labor Action opened its drive
for unemployment insurance. Lou-
is Budenz, editor of "Labor Age,"
and leader of the C. P. C. A. cam-
paign, spoke at the first of a series
of noon-day street corner meet-
ings.

**Union Electrical
Workers Get Old Age
Pension in Chicago**
CHICAGO—(FP)—At a cost
of only 2.4¢ to the industry the
electrical workers of Chicago will
enjoy an old age pension system
and permanent payment for per-
manent disability, beginning Sep-
tember 4, the first payroll day un-
der the union agreement follow-
ing the operation of the agreement.
Over 6,000 members of Local 134,
International Brotherhood of Elec-
trical Workers, and hundreds of
members in other locals in the city
are to be benefited.

Apparently in an effort to dis-
credit the pension before it is even
tried out, the Chicago Tribune at-
tempted to make it appear that the
cost to the industry will be 12¢,
a more and heads its story: EL-
ECTRICITY COST IN CON-
STRUCTION TO BE ADVANCED.
Sec. J. W. Collins of the Electrical
Contractors Assn., which is spon-
soring the pension plan and which
includes most of the important
contractors in the Chicago area,
says:

Hosiery Union Going Strong In Reading, Pa.

Organization Drive is
Making Great Progress
— Socialist Party Is
Aiding

READING, Pa.—(FP)—Up-
heaval in the hosiery mills of an-
ti-union Reading seems to be near-
er than ever before, if the spon-
taneous interest of the workers in
mass meetings held under the aus-
pices of the American Federation
of Full Fashioned Hosiery Work-
ers is any criterion.

The agitation for organization,
which began in the Rosedale Knit-
ting Mill, is spreading to other
mills. At the Rosedale a cut of
35% in wages and the extension of
the working hours to 10 per day
have led to open dissatisfaction.
The non-union workers appointed
a committee to protest to the man-
agement against the cuts and
lengthened hours, but Pres. W. C.
Bitting of the company responded
by discharging the two leading
members of the committee. There-
upon the workers called on the
federation to assist them.

Noon day meetings with ampli-
fiers are being held at the gates
of the various hosiery mills, where
discontent is increasing. These
meetings are growing in numbers,
as are also the night meetings at
Keller's Park, owned by the local
Socialist Party, at Sinking
Springs, just outside the city. Sev-
en hundred workers attended the
noon day meeting at the Rosedale
Mill on Aug. 28, being addressed
by representatives Edward F. Cal-
laghan and Louis Francis Budenz
for the union. Twelve hundred had
attended two previous meetings
addressed by Gen. Sec. William
Smith and Callaghan.

Reading has always been a thorn
in the side of the hosiery workers'
organization. It is practically
100% non-union, and previous cam-
paigns have not met with any
great response. Today dissatisfaction
is even felt in the Berkshire
Knitting Mills, the largest non-union
concern in the industry. A
cowed working population has al-
ways been a feature of the Berks-
hire, the company "policing" the
plant during working hours with
armed guards at all times and
maintaining a rigid and extensive
card-index record of every work-
er. Toilets in the mill are also
baited with no partitions, so that
the foreman can keep tab of how
long each worker takes to go there
and can watch him at all times.

John T. Wherett
(By a New Leader Correspondent)
NEWARK, N. J.—The Socialist
Party of New Jersey and Local
Essex County in particular have
sustained a heavy loss in the death
of John T. Wherett, of 609 Tum-
mer avenue, Newark. He died at the
Homeopathic hospital, East
Orange, early Sunday morning,
August 31. Death came after a
prolonged illness following an
operation early last spring. He
was in his 65th year. Burial took
place at 2:30 p. m. Wednesday,
September 3, in Fairmount Cem-
tery. Many old time party mem-
bers attended the funeral service
to pay a last tribute to their de-
parted friend and comrade.

John T. Wherett joined the So-
cialist Party more than 22 years
ago. From that time to the date
of his death he was one of the
most active and devoted mem-
bers. There were few elections
during all the years of his affilia-
tion with the party when his name
did not appear on the party ticket.
He was one of the five candidates
for City Commissioner of Newark
in the first Commission govern-
ment election.

Comrade Wherett is survived by
his widow, Lillian, Francis
Wherett, and three children, Mrs.
Alice E. Turner, John Douglas
Wherett and Gertrude L. Wherett,
and a sister, Gertrude L. Wherett.

Harry C. Parker
(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA.—Harry C.
Parker died here at the home of
his sons on August 28 at the age
of 66. He had been actively con-
nected with the Socialist move-
ment for more than forty years
and to the last his interest did not
abate.

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Panken To Plan Fight Monday Eve

Conference Is Called—Marx Lewis Campaign Manager in 14th District

Steps to inaugurate an intensive campaign to send Jacob Panken to Congress from the 14th Congressional district, and to elect to the State Legislature Algernon Lee, August Claessens, and Pauline Newman, candidate for legislative offices in that district, will be taken at a joint meeting of the branches in the district to be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, Monday evening, September 6, at 8:15 p.m.

In addition to the members of the 6th, 8th and 12th Assembly districts' branch, which cover the east side of the district, and of the Chelsea branch, which takes in the west side of the district, members of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Assembly district branches, and party members in other sections of the city who may wish to help secure representation in Congress for the Socialist Party will be invited to attend the meeting.

Marx Lewis, who is in charge of the campaign in that district, is mapping out an arrangement under which an election district organization, improvised where it cannot be made permanent, will be established in each of the 55 election districts constituting the 14th congressional district.

The first few weeks will be devoted mainly to the work of organizing the district for victory. In the meantime headquarters for the general campaign will be established, the exact location to be determined at a meeting of the campaign committee which will be held immediately after the joint meeting Monday night. A number of places have been given consideration, but a final decision is being held up pending the action of the campaign committee. Formation of various committees which will be appealed to special groups in the district, not only for votes but for organization work before the voting takes place, has already been undertaken.

As the campaign gets under steam, branch headquarters will be opened in various parts of the district, special committees will be established, and everywhere the Socialist appeal will be stressed and the election of tried Socialist public officials urged.

Among the questions to be taken up next Monday night will be the method of organization, a plan having been drawn up by Lewis for submission to the meeting, finances, and the selection of special committees to operate under the jurisdiction of the campaign committee, which will be elected at the meeting, for special work, such as hall and open-air meetings, literature, canvassing, publicity, advertising, finances, etc.

Jacob Panken, Algernon Lee, August Claessens, Marx Lewis, Pauline Newman, Julius Gerber and others will be on hand to give the work of carrying the 14th district an impetus that will help carry it across to victory.

In the meantime, assurances of support have come to Panken from various individuals in the district, most of them non-Socialists whose support helped Panken carry that congressional district by a majority of 707 votes when he ran for reelection to the bench three years ago. Panken's popularity has grown with the three years that have elapsed, and has been strengthened by the conviction that Tammany Hall counted him out in the 2nd and 4th Assembly districts, which enter into the municipal court district. Resentment at the means used to defeat him on election day will help Panken not only retain his former vote, which gives him a plurality, but will bring additional support to him.

Waldman Asks That Gov. Roosevelt Explain

(Continued from Page One)

its head, Superintendent Warden, by the City Trust Company, General Sessions Judge Frances Mancuso, one of the bank's directors, was forced to resign his high office under indictment. As his successor, Governor Roosevelt appointed Amadeo A. Bertini. Mr. Bertini had never held any public office, and was not, as far as the public and the bar generally know, of caliber to occupy a place on the bench of this court which has general criminal jurisdiction, passing upon the rights and liberties of citizens, including the charge of murder. The Governor's appointment of Mr. Bertini, on October 17th, 1929, three weeks before election, amounted to a credential and certificate of qualification to the candidate from the Governor as far as the voters were concerned.

"The fact and the record covering many questions bear directly upon the present movement of the public and the bar to the courts of political domination. Nothing is more vital to the general welfare than restoration of public confidence that the men who administer our criminal and civil laws are not made by an invisible government of district leaders."

First Campaign Institute Meets This Saturday

Machinery, Technique of Campaigning Subjects of Gerber, Claessens, Lewis

SOCIALIST party members throughout the city will draw their lines for the coming political contest and mobilize all of their energies to insure a maximum of success at the first session of a three session institute which will be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday afternoon, September 6, at 2 o'clock. The Institute will be held under the joint auspices of the Rand School of Social Science and the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Departing from the procedure of former campaigns, when every member and friend of the party was called upon for general service, and nothing was done to coordinate the efforts and systematize the work, Socialist party and Rand School officials have determined on the Institute as a means of accomplishing two important aims:

1. Organize the party machinery so that all volunteers will do the work that is most essential, and in a way that by experience has been found to be most efficient and sure to bring permanent benefits to the organization.

2. Furnish both to party speakers, candidates and those who will do canvassing and other work requiring contact with citizens with the material and arguments in support of the major issues upon which the State, congressional and city campaign will be conducted. Unemployment insurance, electric power rates, old age pensions, prison reform, and other subjects on which a wealth of material has been gathered by the Municipal Research Bureau of the Socialist Party will be made available at

these sessions of the Institute.

At the opening session Saturday and also on Sunday questions of organization will be tackled first. Julius Gerber, for many years the executive head of the Socialist Organization in this city, August Claessens, for a number of years the executive secretary and now the city organizer; Marx Lewis, present executive secretary and manager of numerous political campaigns, and G. August Gerber, who managed Norman Thomas' campaign for the presidency in 1928, Thomas' successful campaign for Mayor last year, and is the city and state campaign manager this year, will lead off a discussion on campaign and organization methods when the first session is held.

The title of the discussion to be had when the Institute convenes is "Nature, Elements and Methods of the Political Process." The years of experience of those who have been intimately in touch with the political processes and know how political machines operate will be placed at the disposal of the party members.

While having a special appeal to the more than 1500 members who have recently joined the local Socialist organization, the discussion and information will prove equally interesting and helpful to the older party members. Many of the members of the Young People's Socialist League are also expected to attend, since the discussions are intended to help train them for organization work.

Week-end Institutes taking up other subjects will be held throughout the month of September, so that when the campaign gets under way at the end of the month there will be a trained force ready to concentrate their energies. Admission to all sessions of the Institute will be free, and friends of the party are invited as well as members if they expect to help in the Socialist campaign this year.

Laidler, Hofses, Coleman to Talk At Eden Conference

Biemiller, Stanley Are Also on Program for Meeting This Week-End

Socialists from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts will gather at Camp Eden, the Socialist camp at Cold Spring, New York, to analyze the experience of Socialists in office in Europe and the United States and to discuss next steps in furthering the cause of Socialism in this country. The conference is unofficial and was called by an arrangement of committee of the younger element in the Socialist Party consisting of Louis Stanley, chairman, contributing editor of The New Leader, instructor in trade unionism at the Rand School of Social Science; Leonard Bright, secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action; Max Delson, candidate for Senate; Theodore Shapiro, member of the Kings County Committee, and Elizabeth Stuyvesant, secretary of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Norman Thomas has endorsed the conference in his weekly column in The New Leader.

Further information about the conference may be obtained from Louis Stanley, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 4622, or Jack Altman, Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 3094.

The complete program follows:

First Day: A Critical Analysis of Socialist Experience in Office, Saturday, September 6, at 3 P. M.

1.—The Independent Labor Party and the British Labor Government. Speaker: Dr. Harry W. Laidler, co-Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, just returned from an investigation in England. Discussion leaders: Theodore Shapiro and Jack Altman.

2.—The Social Democracy in Germany and Austria. Speaker: Dr. A. Lipschitz, American correspondent of the Sozialdemokratischer Pressendienst. Discussion leaders: Harry Rannacker and Gunther Halle.

Saturday, September 6, at 8 P. M.

3.—What Price Municipal Socialism in America? Speaker: Raymond S. Hofses, editor of the Reading Labor Advocate and member of the Reading School.

Help Needed

Last week Oregon Socialists appealed through The New Leader for financial help to enable them to take advantage of the election law which requires the Secretary of State to print the names of candidates, the platforms and arguments for all political parties in pamphlet form. The pamphlet is then mailed to every registered voter in the state.

The cost is about \$200. Some contributions have already been sent by air mail. The fund must be available by Sept. 15. Others who can help the Oregon comrades are urged to do so immediately. Mail all contributions to the state secretary of the party, Charles Kolb, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.

Board. Discussion leaders: Lawrence Rogin and Louis Stanley, who have recently studied the Reading situation on the spot. Skit: The Platform Plank by Plank or the Plank I Choose to Run On.

Second Day: On the Road to Socialism. Sunday, September 7, at 9:30 A. M.

1.—Applying Fundamental Principles to Immediate Issues. A. Power. Speaker, McAlister Coleman, of the Committee on Coal and Power. Discussion Leader, Max Delson.

b. Taxation. Speaker: Harry J. Rosner of the Municipal Reform Bureau. Discussion Leader: Sol Perrin.

c. Housing. Speaker: Robert Delson. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Helen L. Alfried.

d. Old Age Pensions. Speaker: Sol Barkin, Columbia University. Discussion leader: Harry Delson, Columbia University.

e. Unemployment Insurance. Speaker: Andrew J. Biemiller, University of Pennsylvania. Discussion leader: Leonard Bright, Secretary, Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Sunday, September 7, at 2:30 P. M.

2.—Neglected Steps in Socialization.

a. The Family Allowance. Speaker: Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Secretary of the Women's Section of the Socialist Party. Discussion Leader: Elizabeth Dublin.

b. Capital Levy. Speaker, Lawrence Rogin, Columbia University. Discussion leader: George Marshall.

c. Socialization of Banks. Speaker: Louis Stanley, contributing editor, The New Leader; instructor, Rand School. Discussion Leader: Henry J. Rosner.

Socialists File Full Ticket in New York City

Complete List of Nominations as Filed with Board of Elections

THE Socialists of New York City will contest every office open at the coming election, according to the nominating petitions filed by the party office with the Board of Elections. The nominees as filed with the board follow:

New York County

Justice of the City Court—Marion Severn
Justice Municipal Court, 3rd District—Edward F. Gottlieb
Alderman, 1st District—Samuel P. Ulanoff

Representatives in Congress

11th C. D.—Walter Deering
12th C. D.—Marx Lewis
13th C. D.—Dominic Scudino
14th C. D.—Jacob Panken
15th C. D.—Leonard C. Kaye
16th C. D.—August Gerber
17th C. D.—Heywood Brown
18th C. D.—Edward F. Cassidy
19th C. D.—August Gerber
20th C. D.—Frank Force
21st C. D.—Frank R. Crosswaith

State Senators

12th S. D.—Morris Goldensky
13th S. D.—Edward McNamee
14th S. D.—Algonquin Lee
15th S. D.—Frederic W. Hughes
16th S. D.—Bernard Feinberg
17th S. D.—Algonquin Coleman
18th S. D.—George Steinhardt
19th S. D.—Reinhold Niebuhr
20th S. D.—Max Delson

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Max Edelson
2nd A. D.—Louis Lieberman
3rd A. D.—Joseph W. Zuckerman
4th A. D.—Morris Markfield
5th A. D.—William T. Hade
6th A. D.—August Claessens
7th A. D.—Simon Berlin
8th A. D.—Samuel Seidman
9th A. D.—William E. Bohn
10th A. D.—Bernie H. Malley
11th A. D.—Charles C. Webber
12th A. D.—Nina Hillgate
13th A. D.—Algonquin Coleman
14th A. D.—Nina Hillgate
15th A. D.—Sophie Segaloff
16th A. D.—Kurt W. Maltman
17th A. D.—Nina Hillgate
18th A. D.—Sophie Segaloff
19th A. D.—Elliott Rodon
20th A. D.—Abraham N. Weinberg
21st A. D.—Elliott Rodon
22nd A. D.—Fred Johnson
23rd A. D.—Mandel Freed

Kings County

County Judge—Alexander Kahn
Borough President—Harry W. Laidler
District Attorney—Eugene Rosenberg

Representatives in Congress

3rd C. D.—Joseph A. Weil
4th C. D.—Abraham Zuckerman
5th C. D.—Joseph W. Zuckerman
6th C. D.—Norman Thomas
7th C. D.—Benjamin Jackson
8th C. D.—August Claessens
9th C. D.—William B. Robinson
10th C. D.—August Claessens

State Senators

4th S. D.—William M. Feigenbaum
5th S. D.—Jacob L. Afros
6th S. D.—Eugene Breckinridge
7th S. D.—Louis Sadoff
8th S. D.—August Claessens
9th S. D.—Louis Sadoff
10th S. D.—David Breslow
11th S. D.—Harry Schuchman
12th S. D.—Kurt W. Maltman

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Marjorie Dorman
2nd A. D.—Frank S. Scharf
3rd A. D.—Myron Hanes
4th A. D.—Meyer Greenwald
5th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
6th A. D.—Harry Kritzer
7th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
8th A. D.—David M. Cory
9th A. D.—Robert J. Bobrick
10th A. D.—Agnes Laidler
11th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
12th A. D.—Henry Morris
13th A. D.—Abraham Bolsky
14th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
15th A. D.—Joseph F. Viola
16th A. D.—Jacob Aschard
17th A. D.—Morris Blumenreich
18th A. D.—Wenzel Hoenig
19th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
20th A. D.—Wenzel Shapiro
21st A. D.—Samuel H. Friedman
22nd A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
23rd A. D.—Eugene Friedman

Queens County

Surrogate—Morris Glantz
Representatives in Congress

22nd C. D.—Andrew J. MacLean
23rd C. D.—Samuel Orr
24th C. D.—Louis Weil

State Senators

21st S. D.—George McCallum
22nd S. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
23rd S. D.—Eugene Friedman

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Simon Perle
2nd A. D.—Abraham Mollin
3rd A. D.—Julius Umsky
4th A. D.—David C. L. Laidler
5th A. D.—Henry Fruchter
6th A. D.—Murray Gross
7th A. D.—Seymour Goodman
8th A. D.—Irving M. Knobloch

Richmond County

Sheriff—Charles M. Ferweda
State Senators

24th S. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
25th S. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
26th S. D.—Eugene Rosenberg

Members of Assembly

1st A. D.—Adolphe Muraiahain
2nd A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
3rd A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
4th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
5th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
6th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
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93rd A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
94th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
95th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
96th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
97th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
98th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
99th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg
100th A. D.—Eugene Rosenberg

Nemser Chosen To Direct Vladeck Congress Campaign

Candidate Proposes New Campaign Methods—Doubts Value of Street Meetings

SPEAKING to a well-attended 8th Congressional District meeting of party workers at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum on Tuesday evening, September 2nd, B. Charney Vladeck, Socialist candidate for Congress declared: "Our campaign will be a novel, interesting and important experiment which should prove fruitful not only in the coming election but for future campaigns as well. I think it is high time we discarded some of the old methods which still persist with us only because of our inertia and failure to think up new methods more suited to present-day conditions as well as to change popular psychology."

He went on to state his disapproval of open-air meetings which he said were usually ineffective and had little, if any lasting results. Realizing, he said, that he was attacking a "sacred" and traditional party institution dear to the hearts of "old-timers," he nevertheless felt that sentiment of this kind ought not to interfere with the conducting of efficient campaigns. Another objection to open-air meetings, he said, was the lack of good speakers who could represent the party position in an interesting, intelligent and responsible way.

He pointed out that in a Congressional District consisting of 340 election districts and comprising

ing 160,000 voters, open-air meetings could at best reach only an imperceptible fraction of the voters. He emphasized the need for an extensive canvassing campaign which would bring the party into constant personal contact with individual voters.

"Our purpose primarily will be to get our candidates in as close a personal contact with voters as possible."

Although he favored indoor mass meetings, he believed that even these should be limited in number and should not be the expression of our work, but the climax of our canvassing activities.

Nemser Elected Manager
Comrade Hyman Nemser, a young, able and experienced campaigner and candidate for Assembly in 16th A. D., Kings County, was elected manager of the 8th Congressional District campaign. Headquarters have already been opened at 6610 Bay Parkway. It is expected that in the next few days 12 or 15 sub-headquarters will be established in other sections of the district which is one of the largest in the country both in area and population. Comrade Joseph Stein was elected treasurer.

The canvassing work is to be conducted jointly by Comrades Emil Bromberg and Harry Haskel. Canvassing lists are ready for distribution and volunteers are being invited to come to the headquarters on Sunday morning, September 7th, when assignments will be given out.

The meeting closed with a stirring address by Alexander Kahn, Socialist candidate for County Judge in Kings County.

Treachery Is Revealed In Federal Trade Board

(Continued from Page One)

company" to use his Federal Trade position as a background from which to act as an agent for the power trust is regarded in Washington as little less than sensational.

Eugene's power and light system is based on highly efficient modern equipment, including a new power dam on the McKenzie River near at hand. Its rates are so low that housewives purchase electric ranges as readily as do the women of Ontario. Cities in other sections of Oregon are forced by the Byllesby and other power trust groups to pay as high as double the Eugene rates.

On July 1 the Eugene Water Board, the municipal authority in charge of the plant, issued a statement calling attention to local gossip concerning Adams' letter-writing, and to the fact that he had even written to C. A. McClain, the general superintendent and secretary, requesting McClain's aid in consummating the deal. The superintendent replied firmly in the negative, and pointed out that there was no reason why Adams' suggestion should be brought from the East to Eugene should have any connection with a sale of the low-rate electric plant.

This "new industries" bait, by the way, is used by the power trust in most of its attempts to wipe out municipal plants. Kansas City, Kan., which turned down such an offer on June 16 this year, was told the same story of industries that would come only if the power business were privately owned.

Would Break Promises
"Within the last few days," the Water Board stated, "there have been telegrams and long distance calls to citizens of Eugene, urging them to arrange in some way for engineers and accountants representing those who wish to purchase the plant to be invited to come here. . . . It would seem that there is a determined attempt by some interests to carry out a subtle campaign of propaganda."

Built to Lower Rates

In a letter to George H. Moran, prominent department store proprietor and advertiser, Adams wrote on June 10: "I fully realize that it will not be easy for the people of Eugene to agree to the sale of the electric system after all they have gone through to get it where it is, but if it can be used to pay off all the bonded indebtedness of the city and still keep the rates down to the present rates as a maximum that can be charged during the life of the permit or franchise which is necessary for the buyer to operate, and at the same time secure a great industrial impetus and investment that should make Eugene the outstanding industrial city of the state outside of Portland, and maybe in time approach that, it will mean much to the people there."

The system was built and developed to lower the rates, which the Oregon Power Co. would not do. That object has been attained.

"I wish the people there through the Chamber or in some other way would organize the community into a Eugene Industrial Development Association. . . . This will get the people all to thinking of industries and give a mailing list that can be advised from time to time of movements that seem necessary to promote the main object. . . . For instance, suppose the proposition that is made by these people in the East (Philadelphia and New York) should appeal to the business men of Eugene and should be opposed for any reason by those that are wedded to municipal ownership and operation; how would the message get to the people except through the papers which might be partial and prejudiced? . . ."

He closes with a hint that, unless the plant is sold, the new industries cannot be had.

Manitoba I.L.P. Draws Up Farm Program

WINNIPEG, Man.—(F.P.)—Declaring that the farmer and industrial worker are suffering from the hands of the same exploiters—the financial clique—the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, in special convention assembled, added to its platform an agricultural plank. It reads: "Agriculture, like industry, is a social service. The I. L. P. advocates the application of such measures as are necessary to bring about an order of social and economic justice, and as immediate policies the following:

"1. Extension of the principle of social insurance to cover the natural risks in farming.

"2. Legislation to facilitate the organization and operation of agricultural cooperatives for production, distribution and credit.

"3. Legislation to abolish the abuse of dealing in futures on commodity exchanges, and the market manipulations which are injurious to the producer and consumer alike."

The insurance proposal means that a farmer who has plowed, prepared and seeded his land should be paid for that work if the crop is destroyed by hail, frost, wind or drought. Economic justice demands payment for work performed.

Second Broun Headquarters Opens Doors

Preparations Go Forward for Big Dinner at Level Club on September 21

HEYWOOD BROUN'S HEADQUARTERS, Hotel Algonquin, New York City—Complaints have arrived via friends of Broun from the Republican Congressional Committee that Heywood Broun, Socialist candidate for Congress in the Seventeenth District, Manhattan is making himself a veritable nuisance to Mrs. Ruth Pratt, Republican Congresswoman from that District. And the Democrats are likewise looking upon Broun's campaign with anxious eyes.

Which is just too bad for the old parties and just too good for the Socialists. Broun is carrying on an attack which is many-sided, unexpected and extremely difficult to laugh off. By this time, there are few in New York or outside the town for that matter, who are not convinced that Heywood is in deadly earnest in this campaign. All sorts and varieties are coming in daily to pledge their support and to volunteer their services for active work from now until election day.

Broun, himself is working overtime every day, Sundays and holidays included. This past week he talked to the members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at their get-together at Brookwood Labor College, made a rousing address to the striking rain-coat makers of Local 20 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and vigorously criticized the way New York City's Free Employment Bureau is being managed. In all of this he showed himself thoroughly conversant with the problems which confront the industrial workers and proved himself a most effective Socialist propagandist.

Socialist Headquarters Opened
During the week the Socialists who have branches in the District opened headquarters in the Hotel Hargrave at 112 West Seventy-second Street, where Miss Helen Gibson will be in charge and will register volunteers. This is in the heart of Broun's District and the new headquarters will work in close cooperation with the Broun-for-Congress-Non-Partisan Committee at the Algonquin.

Much newspaper space was given to the announcement that Ruth Hale, Mr. Broun's wife who was an active campaigner for suffrage and other progressive causes will be his non-partisan campaign manager. This is the first time in the history of politics in New York City that a woman has been a political campaign manager. McAlister Coleman, Socialist candidate for State Senator in the Seventeenth District will continue his work for Broun at both headquarters.

Workers for Broun are busied with preparations for a dinner at the Level Club on West Seventy-third Street which will be held on Sunday, September 21st under the auspices of both the Socialists and the Non-Partisan Committee. At this dinner Alexander Woolcott, author and dramatic critic will preside and Norman Thomas, B. Charney Vladeck and Judge Jacob Panken and Heywood Broun will speak. Tickets at three dollars may be obtained at the Hotel Hargrave headquarters. And if you are wise, you will make your reservations at once.

New members of the Broun Non-Partisan Committee joining during the week are:

Stuart Chase
Paul U. Kellogg
Lee Simonson
Charles Wertheim
Floyd Bell
Rita L. Walton
Gilbert Gabriel
Elmer Rice
Keith Morgan
Ed Wynne

The great instrument in the furthering of the democratic ideal is education. But it must be education in public spirit and honesty of purpose.—J. H. Muirhead.

Waldman to Open Campaign In Bronx Sept. 8

100 Open-air Meetings Weekly Planned by Rejuvenated Party Organization

IF Bronx street corners have been enlivened during the last three months as never before since 1917 it is only a portent of what is to happen during the months of September and October, according to the energetic leaders of the Bronx County Socialist Party, Dr. Louis A. Hendin and Louis Weil, campaign manager and County Organizer, respectively.

Several events of major importance to Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are being arranged, the first of these being the joint conference of delegates of civic and labor organizations in the Bronx with delegates of Socialist Party branches. The opening session which will perfect a working organization for the duration of the campaign, will be held on Monday evening, September 8th at 8 o'clock, at the headquarters of the Bronx County Committee, 1167 Boston Road. Louis Waldman, standard bearer of the Socialists of New York State in this campaign has agreed to be present to open the sessions and speed the Bronx Socialists and their friends and co-workers on to victory.

At the first session it is expected that subcommittees will be elected to manage the various phases of the campaign; election district organization, house to house canvassing, street corner and hall meetings, radio addresses, wholesale distribution of literature and vivid campaign posters. The small corps of speakers who have been keeping the Bronx awake during the hot season, spreading themselves out so that they seemed to number hundreds, will now be relied by the addition to their ranks of at least fifteen seasoned speakers. These will come from the civic and labor organizations which have already signified their intention of aiding the Bronx Socialists by joining the conference.

From now until election the ten street corner meetings per week held during the summer will be increased to over a hundred. Socialist week will be celebrated late in September in the 5th Assembly district where Henry Fruchter is already the leading contender for the assembly post. Meanwhile David Kaplan continues to burn the candle at both ends along with Sol Perrin, Murray Gross and Dr. Abraham Mollin the stalwarts who are the backbone of the Bronx Socialist organization.

Plans for an intensive congressional campaign in the 23rd and 24th districts where Samuel Orr and Louis Weil are the candidates are already in full operation, requiring only more funds to carry them through to a successful conclusion.

Holmes Backs Waldman for N.Y. Governor

Immaterial Who Two Old Parties Name, Liberal Minister Declares—

Depression Mars Union's Labor Day

Green and Morrison
Stress Suffering That
Is Caused by Unem-
ployment Crisis

THE black shadow of unem-
ployment hanging over Labor
Day, 1930, was reflected in the
speeches of all labor groups cele-
brating the holiday. Pres. William
Green of the A. F. of L., who
spoke at the New York state fair
at Syracuse, urged private indus-
try to provide secure yearly in-
come for the worker, a 5-day
week, and old age insurance. He
did not mention unemployment in-
surance except in connection with
"purely seasonal industries," the
funds to be "jointly created."

Sec. Frank Morrison of the A.
F. of L., speaking before the Bal-
timore Federation of Labor, point-
ed out the usually sweeping char-
acter of the present depression,
which he said was caused by ma-
chinery displacing industrial work-
ers, mergers and chain stores dis-
placing clerks and salespeople, and
large-scale farming displacing
farmers. Thus non-consumers—
those with no pay to spend—
increase in all walks of life. Mor-
rison stated that an old age pen-
sion system was inevitable in the
United States, and he urged a
shorter working day and week.

Shorter Week Asked
Shorter working time with high
wages was also advocated by Pres.
George L. Berry of the printing
pressmen at Little Rock, Ark., by
Pres. Charles F. Howard of the
typographical union at Houston,
Tex., and by Pres. Joseph P. Ryan
of the New York Central Trades
and Labor Council, who followed
Gov. Roosevelt in asking for un-
employment insurance. Berry also
advocated legislation "to prevent
competition in labor between chil-
dren and able-bodied men." He
scored as false claims that pros-
perity is just around the corner,
stating that inoculation of peo-
ple's minds with any such idea is
most dangerous.

While Morrison said that this
depression had not been marked
by charges that wages were too
high, Howard stated that the or-
ganized workers have recently
been confronted with demands for
wage reduction and the unorgani-
zed have suffered greatly all year
from "the moth-eaten industrial
philosophy of wage reduction and
increased hours." The unorgani-
zed, he pointed out, must depend
on the conscience of their employ-
ers for protection, and "business
has no conscience."

Davis Is Cheerful
A rosy picture, contradicted by
reports from all over the country,
was painted by Sec. of Labor
James J. Davis, who asserted,
"The old sweeping layoffs and
wage slashes have not been re-
ported to in this period of depres-
sion. We may congratulate our-
selves," he declared, "on the spir-
it of cooperation that generally
prevails between American em-
ployers and workers."

Labor cannot get security
against the ordinary risks of mod-
ern industrial civilization without
political activity, declared Louis
Waldman, Socialist candidate for
governor of New York. Purely
economic organization is not
enough, he said.

On Boston Common a crowd
gathered to celebrate Labor Day.
John P. Frey of the metal trad-
e department of the A. F. of L. stated
that organized labor and reli-
gious liberty guaranteed to Amer-
ican citizens: the right of men
"to participate in determining the
conditions under which they shall
live and work." He attacked the
judicial theory established by
courts of equity that the wage
earners' right to organize indus-
trially is an entirely different
matter from the employers' right
to do the same. P. Harry Jen-
nings, New England organizer for
the teamsters' union, advocated
the 5-day week and unemploy-
ment insurance to be provided by
"organized industry."

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C. P. L. A. Surveys Tactics To Be Followed to Win Unions For Progressivism

Oneal, Broun and Stan-
ley Among Those in
Discussions at Brook-
wood College

WINDING up the three day
Labor Day conference at
Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., ar-
ranged by the Conference for Pro-
gressive Labor Action, where uni-
versity professors, labor leaders,
Socialist Party adherents and pro-
gressives discussed the present
economic, industrial and political
trends and the policies labor should
adopt to meet them, Chairman A.
J. Muste, in a ringing declaration
on the purposes of the C. P. L. A.,
in answer to critics who opposed
criticism of the American Federa-
tion of Labor, declared that "since
the A. F. of L. is approaching its
fiftieth anniversary, it is very fit-
ting that we should ask ourselves
the question: What is the A. F. of
L. significance in the light of fifty
years of history?"

"The A. F. of L. cannot escape
its responsibility for the situation
in which the American working
class and the labor movement find
itself," Mr. Muste continued. "Cer-
tain things should be pointed out
even if it means criticism. But
there is this critical point. The
moment something is said in op-
position to what we consider to be
false policies, every one begins to
flare up. Yet at the risk of this
antagonism the C. P. L. A. will
continue to stand up for what it
thinks right as the Socialists did
during the period when Debs was
alive."

"Is the A. F. of L. to die, to
be wiped out or to be revitalized
and new elements come in and re-
tain the name but make it a dif-
ferent organization? We don't
know, but we are against adopting
a cut and dried policy. We are
against a policy of destroying uni-
ons. There is no use spending
time at that when there are a
great many unions to be started
and built up."

Depression Analyzed
The opening of the Conference
on Saturday night was devoted to
an analysis of present economic
conditions and future prospects.
William L. Nunn, Economics De-
partment of New York University,
the principal speaker, did not see
much hope for betterment.
"The frozen inventories of mer-
chants and manufacturers are
thawing out," he said. "With the
consumption of goods now in the
market, factory wheels will begin
to turn. But even then the con-
sumption of goods will be greatly
retarded by the low purchasing
power of most of the industrial
workers and farmers, as well as
by lack of foreign purchasers. The
Autumn months will no doubt show
a slight recovery, but this will be
entirely a seasonal trend, and from
present indications, will not carry
over into winter."

As against the possibility of a
quick recovery, Mr. Nunn cited
the fact of world-wide depression,
coupled with the American tariff
and its cumulative reprisals. "The
present economic depression has
shown again the intellectual bank-
ruptcy of our politico-industrial
leaders and the defects of uncon-
trolled and planless production,
distribution and consumption," the
speaker concluded.

Tom Tippet, during the morn-
ing session on Sunday, sketched
the development of the new min-
ers union started by the breaking
away of the Illinois District from
the Lewis United Mine Workers
of America. While there are pos-
sibilities for this new organiza-
tion to dominate the bituminous
field, Tippet explained, it must
change its tactics immediately and
become more aggressive. It must
cut away from the more conserva-
tive leadership which now domi-
nate it and place its trust com-
pletely in the hands of the pro-
gressives such as Howat, Daack
and Powers Hargrove.

Broun vs. Lore
Following Tippet a lively tilt
developed between Heywood Broun
and James Oneal on one hand and
Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volks-
zeitung, on the other. Oneal gave
an outline of the steps to be taken
by progressives and radicals to
gain the confidence of their fellow
workers in unions and become in-
fluential.

"I am inclined to think," he
said, "that it is important for all
who see the opportunity that lies
ahead for them to guide their
propaganda, their agitation and
their approach to the problem that
will actually make converts rather
than follow the course that has
unfortunately been the history of
other progressive groups in this
country of becoming a pessimistic
sect—a sect that because of the
character of its approach to the
problem, because of the vindictive
attitude on the part of some of
our propaganda, instead of making
converts has actually raised bar-
riers against it."

Lore, after explaining that the
American workers will follow in-
dependent political action only if
the tactics pursued are wholly in
accord with their own psychology,
suggested that "it is not possible
to gather large numbers to the
flag of the Socialist or Communist
Parties." Only a Labor Party,
comprising the different groups ex-
isting in America, can do that, he
thought. He then launched into
an analysis of our political prob-
lems and a general criticism of

the Socialists. "To the class con-
scious workers the Socialist Party
is no different from any of the
capitalistic parties," he concluded.
"In a brief answer Oneal de-
clared that Lore represented a
"shame-faced Communism."

Broun, in response, argued that
while holding with Lore on the
final purposes of Socialism, the
revolutionary aim of the Party
does not rule out attempts at bet-
tering society in the present. "We
want to get something now and
not wait fifty or a hundred years
until the whole cooperative com-
monwealth will be dumped in our
laps at one swoop," he said.

Workers Tell Experience
Probably the most realistic con-
tributions to the conference were
made by those workers who are
participating in industry, directly
concerned with the job problems
of the workers and the development
of progressive ideas among them.
Their stories had that vitality of
reality. Elmer Cope, Tom Tippet,
Katherine Pollak, and Lawrence
Hogan presented to the assem-
blage the happenings in textiles,
steel and coal, which vividly por-
trayed labor history in the mak-
ing. In general the findings of
practically all were similar. Weak-
ening labor unions. Masses unor-
ganized. Poverty. Low wages.
Trade union leadership lacking in
aggressiveness and skill in forging
better and bigger unions.

David J. Saposs and Louis Stan-
ley, the two last speakers made
unique contributions to the dis-
cussions. Mr. Saposs, in a bril-
liant historical summary, concluded
that "it is impossible to develop a
movement unless it has faith and
ideals. As a result we find our-
selves in this sad situation. The
worker may pay dues to the union
but he is much more influenced by
the lodge he belongs to, much more
influenced by the church he be-
longs to. They have gone even
further. Now most of the work-
ers take their cue from capitalist
interests."

"The Lynds in 'Middletown' pointed
out that in the '90's there
was a very effective movement in
that city," he said. "There was
political action. The workers were
organized in their clubs; they were
active in the unions and they were
regarded as a power in that com-
munity. The annual Labor Day
picnic was a great event. Actu-
ally labor permeated the life of
the whole community. It was of
sufficient importance to touch
everybody."

"Then we get the picture of the
situation the year they made the
study (1925). The movement was
dead. There was no attendance at
meetings. The Labor Day picnic
was dropped entirely. The people
generally were unaware of the
fact that there is a labor move-
ment. The unions were even met
with contempt and hostility."

Usually, during periods of pros-
perity the labor movement gains
in membership, the speaker con-
tinued. But during the years 1922-
29, there was actually a decline in
membership.
The most dire result to the ef-
fectiveness and power of labor, the
speaker stressed, was the change
in the A. F. of L. philosophy. In
the old days the A. F. of L. did
not attempt to strengthen the capi-
talist system. It didn't say to the
workers that they have a stake in
capitalism. But now, "The out-
standing leaders of the A. F. of
L. are in the forefront in defend-
ing the system. They are prob-
ably more zealous in doing so than
the interests in Wall Street them-
selves."

Stanley On A. F. of L. Work
Facts and figures, never before
presented to the public, on the ac-
tual accomplishments of the A.
F. of L. and the costs involved,
were brought to the attention of
the conference by Louis Stanley.
In 1897, according to Stanley,
the A. F. of L. organized 154 trade
unions and 35 federal unions; in
1902, 598 trade unions and 279
federal unions. Since 1920 the
total is 527 trade unions and 243
federal unions. In 1921, during
the depression, the A. F. of L.
chartered 148 trade unions and 63
federal unions. In 1929 it orga-
nized only 57 trade unions and 3
federal unions. When the A. F.
of L. was a militant organization
in 1897 to 1900 it chartered 700
local unions. Now during the past
years it has chartered about 50,
60, 70 and 90 a year.

In 1900 when so many local uni-
ons were chartered, the A. F. of
L. spent \$16,000 in organization
work. The costs of organization
has since risen to \$100,000 and the
result is almost nil. In addition,
instead of bringing local unions
into new international in order
to strengthen them the A. F. of
L. keeps them isolated, paying per-
capita directly to Washington be-
cause of the added revenue. When
a union affiliates with a national
union the A. F. of L. only receives
1 cent per member per month.
As locals, directly affiliated with
the A. F. of L., they pay 35 cents
per member per month. For ex-
ample, the Bookkeepers, Steno-
graphers and Accountants Union
with about a dozen locals have ap-
plied time and again for an inter-
national charter, Stanley showed.
They were refused. The same is
true of the Neckwear Workers,
Pocketbook Workers, the Cleaners
and Dyers and others.

An unemployment insurance bill,
sponsored by the C. P. L. A. and
its activities since it was orga-
nized.—Editor.

N. Y. Unions Ask Aid for Unemployed

Labor Party Debate at
Buffalo Brings 5 Votes
for New Alignment

BUFFALO, N. Y.—(FP)—A
resolution urging President
Hoover to call a special session of
Congress to appropriate \$1,000-
000,000 for a public works pro-
gram to aid employment was
passed in the closing hours of the
convention of the New York State
Federation of Labor. The resolu-
tion also called on the president
to ask the governor of each state
to appoint a "council for work,"
in which labor should have an ef-
fective voice, and demanded a law
to the following effect: "In every
case where a corporation reduces
wages the income tax return of
that corporation (shall) be at once
made public."

The usual resolution calling for
a modification of the Volstead Act
to permit the manufacture and sale
of light wines and beers appeared
this year as a measure to increase
employment, and was referred to
the legislative committee of the
executive council. The committee
approved the resolution and au-
thorized its drafting in legal form
for submission to the 1931 legis-
lature.

The spiciest session in an other-
wise dull convention was occa-
sioned by the debate on forming
an independent labor party, as
proposed in resolutions submitted
by C. J. Hendley of the New York
Teachers' Union and George Scott
of Rochester. A. J. Muste, dean
of Brookwood Labor College and
a teachers' union delegate, cham-
pioned the measure, but it lost by
a vote of 400 to 5.

The federation moved to make
effective labor's interest in the pub-
lic school system when it went on
record approving efforts of the city
labor organizations to have their
representatives included on school
boards.

Pat J. Commerford of the New
York City Boiling Engineers was
elected vice-president of the fed-
eration in place of Thomas J. Cur-
tis, resigned, and a new vice-presi-
dency was created and filled by the
election of Thomas Lyons of Utica.
All other officers were reelected.

insurance fund to be made by em-
ployers entirely on a graduated
scale in order to penalize those
industries having excessive unem-
ployment. The unemployed work-
er is to receive 40 per cent of his
wage and ten per cent addition for
a wife and five per cent additional
for each of his children, but the
maximum would be 60 per cent
of the worker's wage. Unemploy-
ment insurance would be paid for
a period of 26 weeks a year. A
worker employed a short time and
receiving less than 40 per cent of
his wage would be entitled to the
difference between the 40 per cent
and his earnings. Eligibility for
sharing in the fund would be based
on employment in the State and
payment by the employer in the
fund for 52 weeks. Workers who
enjoyed the benefits under this
plan would have the right to re-
ceive employment where a strike is
in progress or where they would be
asked to work for less than the
prevailing rate. The waiting pe-
riod before payment of benefits is
one week. A bureau of the Labor
Department of the State and an
advisory board of five members,
two each from labor and employer
and one representing the public
would administer the fund.

A Federal bill will also be drawn
up which will ask Congress to set
aside \$100,000,000 to subsidize one-
third of the expense of the State
funds and place the administration
of the appropriation in the United
States Department of Labor.

The facilities of Brookwood were
taxed by the more than one hun-
dred guests who attended the
three-day conference. Many had
to find lodging in Katonah and
among friends having residences
near by. Tennis, baseball, swim-
ming and hiking rounded out the
program and all were keen for
the session, after their hand at the
various sports.

Among those present were rep-
resentatives of the International
Ladies Garment Workers, United
Mine Workers, Amalgamated As-
sociation of Iron and Steel Work-
ers, Teachers Union, Bookkeepers
Federation of Post Office Clerks,
Locomotive Engineers, Railway
Clerks, International Association
of Machinists, Pocketbook Work-
ers, Y.W.C.A., Social Workers,
Socialist Party, Church League for
Industrial Democracy, Young Peo-
ples' Socialist League, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers, National
Child Labor Committee, Fellowship
of Reconciliation, Commonwealth
College, and Bronx Free Fellow-
ship.

(Note.—In a coming issue we
will consider the C. P. L. A. and
its activities since it was orga-
nized.—Editor.)

7,000,000 Unemployed
(Continued from Page One)
may find the army of the jobless
grown to 9,000,000 or 10,000,000,
with another 3,000,000 or 4,000,000
hovering on the edge of unemploy-
ment. The influence that will avert
this disaster must be a great in-
crease in the buying power of the
people whose financial resources
are now exhausted or running very
low.

Plenty for Unionism To Do in Louisiana

BATON ROUGE, La.—(FP)—
Bunk-shooters and applause ar-
tists who got off the hackneyed
line on Labor Day that American
employers accept the "philosophy
of high wages" had not been read-
ing the official statistics of Louisi-
ana. The fifteenth biennial re-
port of the department of labor
and industrial statistics showed
that the wage scales and hours
per day for certain occupations on
Dec. 1, 1929, were:

	Hours per day	Wage rate per day
Building laborers	8	\$2.00
Cannery workers	10	1.25
Clothing factory workers	10	1.25
Cotton-seed products workers	12	2.25
Ice, light and bottling workers	10	1.50
Workers in—		
Lumber plants	10	1.75
Naval stores	10	1.75
Oil fields	10	3.00
Rice mills	12	2.00
Sugar cane fields	12	2.50
and on farms	12	1.25
Sugar mills (factory help)	12	2.50

These figures refer to a time be-
fore the recent wave of wage cuts
got well under way. Rates are
in all probability lower now.

People's Lobby Asks Jobless Aid of Green

Urges A.F.L. Join De-
mand for Congressional
Action — Budenz
Opens C.P.L.A. Drive

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(FP)—
William Green, President of the Amer-
ican Federation of Labor, has been
invited, in an urgent letter from
the People's Lobby, to join Prof.
John Dewey in president, to which
in the demand that President Hoover
call Congress in special session
to provide immediate relief for the
unemployed.

The Lobby proposes that federal
appropriations be voted for the
financing of unemployment pay-
ments which shall be administered
by the state governments as an
unemployment insurance system.
It has also asked the governors
of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio,
Massachusetts, California, Michi-
gan, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri
to summon their state legislatures
to meet in special session to pass
unemployment insurance meas-
ures.

"Unemployment cannot be dealt
with as a problem of organized
labor," the People's Lobby wrote
Green; for it would be manifestly
unfair to hold the American Fed-
eration of Labor with its approx-
imately 4,000,000 members, re-
sponsible for the present situa-
tion. There are over 47,000,000
persons over fifteen legally, gain-
fully employable in the United
States.

U. S. Income Illy Divided
"The primary reason for seri-
ous unemployment in this country,
which has about two-fifths of the
world's income, is the mal-distrib-
ution of the national income, with
only about five-ninths going to 47-
000,000 workers, and four-ninths
going to property owners—the
major part of it to 2,000,000 per-
sons."

There are only a dozen big em-
ployers who have in the past ten
years set up unemployment funds
to take care of their own employ-
ees, the Lobby says, two-thirds of
the existing unemployment insurance
in industry was established by the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers'
Union. Yet in 10 foreign coun-
tries 45,000,000 workers are cov-
ered by compulsory unemployment
insurance.

Coincident with the invitation to
Green, the Conference for Progres-
sive Labor Action opened its drive
for unemployment insurance. Lou-
is Budenz, editor of "Labor Age,"
and leader of the C. P. C. A. cam-
paign, spoke at the first of a series
of noon-day street corner meet-
ings.

Union Electrical Workers Get Old Age Pension in Chicago

CHICAGO—(FP)—At a cost
of only 2.4¢ to the industry the
electrical workers of Chicago will
enjoy an old age pension system
and permanent payment for per-
manent disability, beginning Sep-
tember 4, the first payroll day un-
der the union agreement follow-
ing the operation of the agreement.
Over 6,600 members of Local 134,
International Brotherhood of Elec-
trical Workers, and hundreds of
members in other locals in the city
are to be benefited.

Apparently in an effort to dis-
credit the pension before it is en-
acted, the Chicago Tribune at-
tempted to make it appear that the
cost to the industry will be 12¢
more and heads its story: EL-
ECTRICITY COST IN CON-
STRUCTION TO BE ADVANCED.
Sec. J. W. Collins of the Electrical
Contractors Assn., which is spon-
soring the pension plan and which
includes most of the important
contractors in the Chicago area,
says:

"That 12¢ story is about as
close as the Tribune ever gets to
the truth in these things. As a
matter of fact our agreement with
the union provides that the cost
shall never exceed 6¢ of the pay-
roll. As the payroll is only about

Hosiery Union Going Strong In Reading, Pa.

Organization Drive is
Making Great Progress
— Socialist Party Is
Aiding

READING, Pa.—(FP)—Up-
heaval in the hosiery mills of an-
ti-union Reading seems to be near-
er than ever before, if the spon-
taneous interest of the workers in
mass meetings held under the au-
spices of the American Federation
of Full Fashioned Hosiery Work-
ers is any criterion.

The agitation for organization,
which began in the Rosedale Knit-
ting Mill, is spreading to other
mills. At the Rosedale a cut of
35% in wages and the extension of
the working hours to 10 per day
have led to open dissatisfaction.
The non-union workers appointed
a committee to protest to the man-
agement against the cuts and
lengthened hours, but Pres. W. C.
Bitting of the company responded
by discharging the two leading
members of the committee. There-
upon the workers called on the
federation to assist them.

Noon day meetings with ampli-
fiers are being held at the gates
of the various hosiery mills, where
discontent is increasing. These
meetings are growing in numbers,
as are also the night meetings at
Keller's Park, owned by the local
Socialist Party, at Sinking
Springs, just outside the city. Sev-
en hundred workers attended the
noon day meeting at the Rosedale
Mill on Aug. 28, being addressed
by representatives Edward F. Cal-
laghan and Louis Francis Budenz
for the union. Twelve hundred had
attended two previous meetings
addressed by Gen. Sec. William
Smith and Callaghan.

Reading has always been a thorn
in the side of the hosiery workers'
organization. It is practically
100% non-union, and previous cam-
paigns have not met with any
great response. Today dissatisfaction
is even felt in the Berkshire
Knitting Mills, the largest non-union
concern in the industry. A
cowed working population has al-
ways been a feature of the Berk-
shire, the company "policing" the
plant during working hours with
armed guards at all times and
maintaining a rigid and extensive
card-index record of every work-
er. Toilets in the mill are also
built with no partitions, so that
the foreman can keep tab of how
long each worker takes to go there
and can watch him at all times.

John T. Wherett

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
NEWARK, N. J.—The Socialist
Party of New Jersey and Local
Essex County in particular have
sustained a heavy loss in the death
of John T. Wherett, of 609 Tum-
mer avenue, Newark. He died at
the Homeopathic hospital, East
Orange, early Sunday morning,
August 31. Death came after a
prolonged illness following an
operation early last spring. He
was in his 65th year. Burial took
place at 2:30 p. m. Wednesday,
September 3, in Fairmount Cem-
etery. Many old time party mem-
bers attended the funeral service
to pay a last tribute to their de-
parted friend and comrade.

John T. Wherett joined the So-
cialist Party more than 22 years
ago. From that time to the date
of his death he was one of the
most active and devoted mem-
bers. There were few elections
during the years of his affilia-
tion with the party when his name
did not appear on the party ticket.
He was one of the five candidates
for City Commissioner of Newark
in the first Commission govern-
ment election.

Comrade Wherett is survived by
his widow, Lillian Francis
Wherett, and three children, Mrs.
Alice E. Turner, John Douglas
Wherett and Gertrude L. Wherett,
and a sister, Gertrude L. Wherett.

Harry C. Parker

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA—Harry C.
Parker died here at the home of
his sons on August 28 at the age
of 66. He had been actively con-
nected with the Socialist move-
ment for more than forty years
and to the last his interest did not
abate.

Parker was manager of the
"Red Special" train that carried
Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party
candidate for President, from
coast to coast in the campaign of
1908. He was also a member of
the International Cigar Makers
Union and was one of the pioneer
workers in the trade union move-
ment.

40% of the cost of electrical in-
stallation you can see that the
agreed 6% of payroll will be only
2.4% of the entire cost of electrical
work. Unless the payroll propor-
tion in our industry goes up, 2.4%
and not 12% should be the maxi-
mum cost to the industry of the
pension system."

Union electrical workers on
reaching old age or suffering other
total disability should it be es-
timated, enjoy a pension of \$50 a
month under the plan. It is to be
administered by four trustees ap-
pointed by the Electrical Contrac-
tors Assn. and one trustee by the
union.

No ambition?

When you are absorbing poisons from food wastes
held too long in the system, ambition dies quickly.
Get rid of unhealthy wastes with Ex-Lax—safely
and pleasantly.
Ex-Lax is composed of a high-grade chocolate, combined
with a scientific laxative ingredient that has been pre-
scribed by physicians for over a quarter of a century. It
is pleasant to take, does not gripe, does not disturb di-
gestion, does not embarrass—its action is prompt and de-
pendable—yet natural.

Keep "regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolate Laxative

UNITY HOUSE in the Pocono Mountains
Mile and a Half Private Lake
ALL CAMP ACTIVITIES—WITH HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS
Conference Fellowship of Reconciliation, Wednesday, Sept. 11th,
to Sunday, Sept. 15th. The subject of the discussion will be
"Overcoming the Violence in My Community."
Owned by International Ladies Garment Workers Union
New York Office—3 West 15th Street Chelsea, N. Y.

**WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT
FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**
Organized 1881 Main Office: 714 SENECA AVENUE Telephone Hegeman 4058
Incorporated 1899 BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Over 60,000 Members in 344 Branches
Reserves on December 31, 1929: \$2,999,114.44
Benefits paid since its existence:
Death Benefit: \$4,149,901.77 Sick Benefit: \$10,125,939.86
Total: \$14,274,841.63
WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!
In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!
Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:
Class A:

THE GREAT READING SOCIALIST VICTORY

By Louis Stanley

III. The Victory of 1927

The Socialists of Reading began to have an inkling that the tide was turning sometime before the campaign of 1927 got under way. The finances of the municipality were in bad shape and the Socialists realized that not only was Reading a city of workers but that these workers were home owners and being home owners were also tax payers who were directly concerned with the finances of the city government. Through years of propaganda work the Socialists had learned the knack of tying up current issues with the fundamentals of Socialism. They now proceeded to make the most of the situation.

The visitor to Reading is immediately impressed with the prevalence of one family house, mostly of brick. The United States census of 1920 reported that of 76 cities with a population of more than 100,000 Reading ranked fifth-fourth with a population of 107,784. In the percentage of home ownership, however, it ranked fifth, being exceeded only by Toledo, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; Youngstown, Ohio, and Kansas City, Missouri, in the order named. There were 25,202 homes in Reading in 1920. Of these 11,603 or 46.6 per cent were owned, while 13,291 or 53.4 per cent were rented. Of those owned 47.4 per cent were free of mortgages and 52.6 per cent were not. The explanation for this lies, of course, in the stationary character of the population.

Since 1920 the percentage of homes owned has increased. Due to the housing shortage and the exorbitant rents charged by landlords many workers were led to purchase homes of their own. It is estimated that certainly more than half and perhaps as many as three-quarters of the homes in Reading are now owned. The extent of mortgages has also increased. The residences are very modest. The average workingman's home costs about \$3,500 to \$4,500.

Mounting City Debt

The increasing indebtedness of the city was a constant source of irritation. The Socialists capitalized the resentment. In the campaign of 1925, for example, when two councilmen, school directors, and county candidates were at

stake, a four page weekly bulletin was issued entitled, "The Loan Question." There the candidates pointed to the mounting city debt, condemned further bond issues, gave examples of extravagance in office, argued for a pay-as-you-go policy, and foreshadowed their victory of two years later by suggesting two ways of increasing the revenues:

"First, by engaging in such municipal revenue-producing enterprises as are permitted to cities of Reading's class by the state legislature and, second, by equalizing assessments in such manner that corporations and land speculators would pay their share of the public expenses."

In the 1926 campaign municipal finances were again the issue. The Socialists urged a pay-as-you-go policy. Three bond issues were before the voters, the disposal plant, the house sewers, the water loans, amounting to \$3,405,000, more than four million dollars. The Chamber of Commerce and the business interests unlawfully plastered the traffic police boxes and telegraph poles with pro-socialist posters. The school board voted unanimously to close the school buildings to the discussion of public questions after the Socialists had requested that they be permitted to hold meetings in the public schools. Nevertheless, the three loans were voted down. The Socialists then demanded that sewer work should be begun at once and reliance be placed upon the impending increase of \$60,000,000 in the assessed value of Reading real estate, which at the existing rate would yield about \$780,000 additional revenue each year and pay for sewer construction within two years. The vote for the Socialists candidates for the legislature showed that the Socialist strength was considerable. The election returns were as follows:

The 1927 Campaign

Mast (Democrat)	6,297
Eaches (Republican)	6,282
Bauman (Democrat)	6,080
Posey (Republican)	5,868
Maurer (Socialist & Labor)	5,625
Bower (Socialist & Labor)	4,625

The biggest weakness of the So-

cialists was lack of working class registration. With an average of eleven more Socialist votes per election district "Jim" Maurer would have been elected and with thirty more votes "Andy" Bower too could have been sent to the legislature. At a meeting of the Party membership immediately following election it was decided to make nominations early for the offices to be filled in the 1927 elections and that special seats be placed upon defeating the members of the school board who had closed the public schools to the Socialists.

The 1927 campaign was fought primarily on the taxation issue. As in many other cities there are two tax rates in Reading, one the city tax and the other the school tax rate. The city tax is collected by the city authorities, the school tax by the school board. Both taxes are based upon the assessed valuation of real estate. Every year adjustments in assessment are made but once in three years a complete re-assessment is conducted. Such an assessment was made in 1927 and it was this that brought about the revolt of that year that elected the Socialists to office.

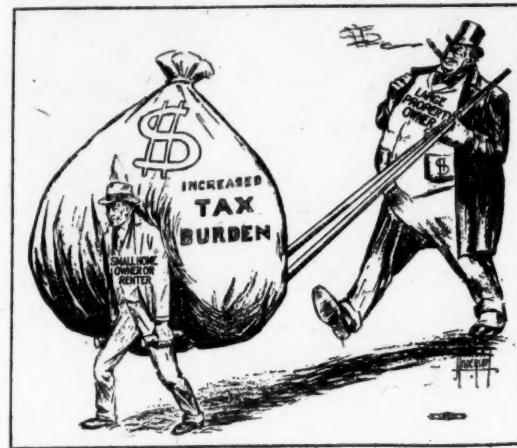
In 1926, the year before the entire new assessment was made, the assessed valuation of property in Reading amounted to \$110,680,443. The city tax rate was 13 mills and the school tax rate was 14 mills. The new tax roll, however, jumped to \$163,533,500 and at that it was calculated on the basis of 60 per cent of the actual value of real estate. In an effort to pacify the tax payers the city rate was reduced to 10 mills and the school rate to 12.

The new assessments brought down a storm upon the heads of the old politicians. The Socialists soon took the leadership in the attack. In the first place, they pointed out that the high taxes had been made necessary by the extravagance and corruption of the old party city administrations. In the second place, they showed that the conditions of the working class home owners of Reading were such as to make even slight increases in taxation a heavy additional burden that could not be borne with-

ease. In the third place, they revealed that the assessments had been made to discriminate in favor of the big property owners, so that the little proprietor paid more than before while the wealthy man actually paid less.

The Crooked Bridge

The Socialists made the most of three incidents to illustrate their criticism of mismanagement of government: (1) the Lindbergh Bridge affair, (2) the Ontelaunee Dam and Lake extravagance, and (3) the purchase of the Angelica Water and Ice Company. The Lindbergh Bridge today is a beautiful monument either to the incompetence or to the corruption of the old party officials. It is a broad highway entering the city on the east over a deep valley. It has one unusual feature. It is crooked in the geometric sense. It is so crooked that a technical periodical published an article on the construction of the crook in it, while motorists who have to make the curve do not think it particularly safe. The first contract for the viaduct called for the construction of a straight bridge over city property at a cost of \$318,387 plus \$55,000 for cement, making a total of \$373,387. Four months later upon the recommendation of a specially engaged engineer the council decided to change the route of the bridge to make it extend further north. As a result of these plans the bridge had to make a sudden curve. Then it became necessary to buy an acre of land in the valley, which otherwise would have been worthless, upon which to build the supports to accommodate the curve. It transpired that this land belonged to the Hessian Camp Development Company with which some of the old party politicians were identified, and that the company had purchased 27 acres adjoining the bridge for \$35,000. The building of the bridge had increased the value of the property, so the realtors were making a neat profit selling the land by lots. The city officials decided to pay the sub-division company \$45,000 for the one acre of ground needed to make the bridge crooked or \$10,000 more than had been paid for the entire twenty-seven acres that the company had



A Reading Socialist Campaign Cartoon in 1921

purchased. Furthermore, making the bridge crooked increased the construction costs to \$542,766 or \$169,397 more than the original estimate.

The Water Supply

One does not have to be a Socialist to appreciate the need for an adequate supply of pure water and the inhabitants of Reading had for years been concerned about their water. The water had not always been pure and there had been a constant dread of shortage. Once an attempt had even been made to turn the water works over to a private company. Finally, the old party officials decided to build the so-called Ontelaunee Dam. Immediately the prices of the farm land that was needed for this purpose were jacked up. Stakes were driven into the ground and lots laid out. When the city came to buy, it had to pay city lot prices for farm land. Some 3,500 acres were condemned and from then on the city had to pay six per cent interest until the purchase price had been paid. Then to make matters worse the farmers were driven from the land and many were left homeless. The upshot of the matter was that the city paid \$325 per acre for land worth \$85 per acre. The dam constructed at a cost of \$506,289 could have waited

for fifteen or twenty years before it would really have been needed. This could have been accomplished by the simple procedure of plugging up the leaks in the existing system, making a few other repairs and adding some extensions. The land could then have been bought up gradually at farm land prices. Moreover, the farmers need not have been chased from their land, since only the lower half of the dam was built, and about 2,500 acres will remain idle for a score of years. The whole project, we know now, cost the city \$1,600,000 upon which interest charges must be paid annually.

The Angelica Water and Ice Company was a devilish proposition. The company had obtained a franchise years ago to supply water to the people of a section just outside the city limits. This franchise had cost the company nothing. This district had subsequently been annexed to the city of Reading. The inhabitants of the new 18th ward then had demanded that they be supplied with city water which would be cheaper and of better quality than that they had been receiving. Negotiations between the Angelica and the city were begun. The engineer of the city after a survey recommended that \$93,000 be paid for the fran-

chise and equipment of the company. The councilmen decided to pay \$222,000 for the water supply system and plant. The plant later turned out to be a lot of rusty pipes too narrow and too poorly laid to be of much use when the city water began to be pumped through them. Since the decision to purchase was foolishly made in the midst of the campaign, the Socialists were able to make a pretty tale out of the incident.

Wages and Cost of Living

To prove to the voters of Reading what they already knew from their personal experience, that the workers of Reading were too badly off to pay increased taxes, no matter how slight the increase, the Socialists made much use of a wages and cost of living survey that had been prepared by John W. Edelman under the auspices of the Educational Department of the State Federation of Labor for the Federated Trades Council of Reading. The investigation showed that wages in Reading whether of union or non-union workers were lower than in other cities of the same size, while the cost of living was about the same. The average wage of factory workers in Reading in 1925 was \$22.55 but the "health and decency" wage for a family of five in Reading was estimated by the United States Department of Labor at \$41.35 per week. The difference was made up as much as possible by having the women and children go out to work. During 1925 alone child labor in Reading increased 28 per cent. Naturally, increased taxes upon the wage-earning home owners would drive them later into rebellion.

The proof of unequal assessments turned out to be the most effective campaign ammunition in the Socialist arsenal. J. Henry Stump went to city hall and copied down interesting illustrations from the assessment rolls. The facts were made public. It was shown that those with political connections and those who could best afford to pay taxes actually paid less than under the old assessment. In the downtown business section the favoritism was particularly brazen. In most of these cases the assessment had been raised, it is true, but so little that with the

lower tax rate in 1927 the amount paid in taxes was actually less than under the higher 1926 rate. For example, the wife of Councilman Hunter and Councilman William J. Smith, himself, each had property valued at \$5,000 under the old assessment and at \$5,700 under the new but the 1926 city and school tax paid by each was \$184.50, while the 1927 tax under the reduced rate was \$125.40, a saving to each of \$59.10. Similarly Councilman F. G. Hodges saved \$171.10; the Berkshire Hotel \$2,496.60; Pomeroy's, Inc., the large department store in town, \$4,750.50; William H. Luden, Inc., the cough drop establishment, \$1,740; Luden's home, \$90; the Rajah Temple \$2,415, and so on down the line. The homes of the working class had the assessments upon them raised so much that even with the diminished tax rates, the taxes actually paid were in general higher than before.

Attacking the Enemy

The Socialists played up the facts at their command. In August they issued an effective leaflet calling upon the voters not to fail to register in September. The leaflet was adorned with a cartoon and a table proving unequal assessments by citation of facts. Birch Wilson coined the slogan for the campaign: "Play Safe—Win with the Socialists." A leaflet was issued which is a model for Socialist literature in its interweaving of immediate issues and Socialist philosophy. It begins by placing the tax problem against a Socialist background:

"Reading is a city in which a large majority of the people belong to the working class. This majority works in mills, shops, stores, offices, on railroads and in the building trades. Several thousand working class families own their own homes; more thousands are buying them, struggling hard to meet the payments, and still others live in rented homes. As owners, buyers and renters, who directly or indirectly pay the city's bills in the form of taxes or rents, they are deeply concerned in how the public affairs of the city are managed.

"If the affairs of the city are poorly managed, the workers and their families are the chief victims; when there is extravagance, the workers pay for it; when ad-

(Continued on Page Five)

The Life And Works of Our Ruling Magnates

By James Oneal

IT IS JUST 65 years since business enterprise was emancipated from all restraint in the United States. The end of the Civil War found it supreme in the republic except for the struggle of four years with President Johnson whose possession of the executive power was a temporary check on the supremacy of the bourgeois class. When Grant succeeded Johnson in March, 1869, this class, although a small minority in the republic as a whole, was master of all departments of the Federal Government for the first time in our history.

Few of us today know the history of the industrial capitalist before the Civil War. As a shop manufacturer he was an underdog in society. In the North the merchant prince, landed proprietor, and commercial magnate considered him a vulgarian. In the South he was so low in the social order in comparison with the master of a large estate and many slaves that his business was considered disreputable.

One has only to read some of the hundreds of petitions sent to Congress by the humble manufacturing class in the four decades before the Civil War to fully appreciate the low place this class occupied in the social order. These petitions were appeals for tariff legislation. The petitioners protested against the attitude of regarding them as a class unworthy of consideration.

In the twenty years before the Civil War the factory system developed rapidly. The first few organizations of the Republican Party were founded in 1854 and six years later the manufacturing class of the North, allied with bankers, dominated the party in all the region east of Pennsylvania, including that state. When Grant was inaugurated this former disreputable and humble class became our ruling class and it has enjoyed this supremacy to the present hour.

One contrast gives some idea of the tremendous revolution that has been accomplished within the lifetime of men still living. A class that was once a humble beggar and often spurned at Washington when asking for tariff aims, this year was so powerful that its legislative agents in Congress enacted a bill providing for almost exclusive tariff duties! Moreover, it put over this amazing job despite protests of leading economists and by many other groups. No longer humble petitioners, no longer afflicted with an inferiority complex, it jammed through the most astonishing looting job in the history of American legislation.

And now let us look at the fruits of the rule of this class. It has

no effective political opposition as yet. The Democratic Party was once the representative of the lesser capitalists and of the middle classes in general, but with the decline of these economic groups the big industrial barons took over the party. They now enjoy the privilege of managing both parties.

This offers another contrast. The best that the humble manufacturing class could do in the days of their Egyptian exile was to affiliate with the dying Federalist Party which expired in the middle twenties. Not until the Whig Party began to emerge in 1835 did this humble class find another political refuge, but that compound of contradictions was so weak that it could not adopt a platform. To do so would have shattered it.

The manufacturing class could not own a party. It was too weak in influence, wealth and power. Now that this class has grown fat and prosperous, it owns the two leading parties of the nation! Once confined to the Northeastern States, this class has expanded its power to the two oceans, to the Canadian border and the Gulf of Mexico and rules alien peoples in Latin-America with banks and bayonets. Republican and Democratic parties alike provide this class with reliable presidents, senators and agents abroad to carry out its imperial interests. And all this accomplished within 65 years!

No class has been more class conscious in our history, not even the slave owning class in the rosy era of its domination at Washington. By clever and demagogic propaganda it has induced the majority of wage workers, farmers and voters in general to approve its class dominion. The skill with which its political retainers have managed the farmers especially is amazing.

In the days of Jackson it was the small farmers, mechanics and shopkeepers who ruled. Crude as this democracy was, it paid off the national debt and even distributed a surplus among the States. After the Civil War the bourgeois class shifted the huge burden of the war debt from its shoulders to those of the farmers and workers, but chiefly the farmers. For good measure it established a banking system which practically transferred to its banking allies the control of credit and money which are so vital to the agricultural class.

Within a decade the farmers were being so thoroughly skinned by the bourgeois upstarts that the West was a region of another Jacksonian revolt. In the early nineties this revolt was challenging the supremacy of the upstarts but in 1896 it was seduced by Mad-

am Democracy in St. Louis and it expired in adultery. Within a few years the farmers drifted back into the Republican Party.

Here they remained and for twenty years many of them accumulated farms and tools and savings. Another war enabled our upstarts to reap riches that exceeded all the dreams of fiction. At its end they again turned to the farmers and stripped them of their accumulations of twenty years! Another revolt, but this time chiefly confined to support of "good men" within the two parties. Ten years pass. Declining prices and a drought leave the rustic producers a ragged and beaten army and yet the party soubhayer is among them, confident that the beggared population will again support those who have despoiled them!

This is clever work, but its success is simply astonishing when one considers the intellectual equipment of those who gave their attention to the work. The politicians who persuaded the farmers to wreck themselves and their families would in any other occupation requiring brains and ability be failures. Droning platitudes, ranting like illiterate parsons in our frontier era, as ignorant of economics as a cow is of relativity, yet accomplished in the art of speaking two hours without saying anything, they passed all this to the farmer and in return received his vote!

The only consolation the farmer has is that the wage worker of the city on the whole has been as eager to give his vote for a liberal supply of this hokum. There are millions of urban workers now who are jobless and as wrecked as the wretched farmers.

If we go back to the anti-slavery agitation we will observe another interesting contrast. It evoked an idealism that is in sad contrast with the fruits of that crusade's victory. There men and women gave their time and money to maintain many branches of the "underground railroad." Through forest and swamp, through footpaths in the hills, and in the stillness of the night, they guided fugitive slaves in the long journey to Canada. To establish an anti-slavery press, Birney fled as a refugee from the South. Lovejoy was killed by a mob at Alton, and Garrison was mobbed by silk hat allies of the Southern masters. Street and hall meetings of the idealists were broken up. Yet they persevered. A vague social ideal of democracy inspired them. They were confident that if the archaic system of human bondage, an ulcerous sore in the republic, were cut out, a decent civilization would

flower in the United States.

But the vulgarian capitalist and banking classes in the last few years of the old crusade rode it to victory. The idealists were pushed into the background and the professionals with itching palms took control. Tweed in New York City was wriggling his way like a maggot through slime to loot the large gamblers plundered the public domain. Congress became a chamber of boodle aldermen. Graft dripped from the fingers of the Credit Mobilier swindle. Members of Grant's cabinet were implicated and even relatives of the President himself were involved. "Black Friday" came with its disgrace and suicides. Libertines like Jim Fisk ascended from subterranean obscurity, flaunting their gilded ladies, and living the gorgeous lives of oriental princes. Even Indian wards on the reservations were fair game for the bourgeois grafters, the aborigines in some cases being robbed and reduced to pitiful distress.

The idealist crusade had culminated in a debauch of swine. In all the decades of the rule of the old aristocratic families in New England and the aristocratic feudal magnates in the South nothing like this had occurred. In both sections the aristocracy possessed some culture and observed certain canons of decency in public affairs. They carried the tradition of fine living into public affairs. The rule of the bourgeois class recalls what Marx wrote of it in 1847 when he said that wherever it got the upper hand it "put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations."

The debauch was repeated at the end of the World War. War contracts and war loans provided the basis for another orgy and soon the "Ohio Gang" came trooping into Washington, including Fall, Daugherty, Forbes, Sinclair and similar spawn of a "world made safe for democracy." As in the Civil War, so in the World War this class engaged in its looting with pious phrases on its lips. Those who penetrated its mask and reported what they found knew that prison yawned for them.

So we arrive at the present epoch phase of the rule of this class whose glory is exalted in the syndicated mush of Calvin Coolidge. It is a far cry from the days when the ancestors of this class doffed their hats in servile homage to the parson and the squire. Banker and capitalist rule the nation and only the other day former Ambassador Gerard picked 59 as leading exhibits. Chided for his "indiscretion" in revealing an obvious fact, the next day he indulged in

a bit of humor by adding William Green and Matthew Wolf to the list!

And now in the heroic days of this class its handiwork displays the bourgeois craftsmen at their best. Atlantic City and Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York City, Chicago and Kansas City, and in other urban centers its mark is left like a laudic scar. From underground haunts the Ishmaels of society, forgers and pimps, petty thieves and illicit grog merchants, racketeers and con men, grafters, crooks, gangmen, and other clans of the underworld, rise to eminence and ease in alliance with the parties of this class.

In New York City the heirs of the simian brute who plundered it in the seventies scurry like rats to cover. Fouling the magistrates

courts, mucking through other departments, low creatures slink in the shadows clutching bags of plunder. Two dead men who knew too much, both mysteriously murdered, carried their secrets to the grave. Milk and bread racketeers, the food of the poor, accumulate fortunes out of our elementary needs. Dragged into court, victims of criminal extortion fear to tell of their wrongs. Outside the railing is a leering extortionist, confident of his power to punish and, perhaps, kill one who talks too much.

Twenty hours ride and we are in the city that thrilled to the name of Lincoln in 1860, the second city of the nation. Here is the finest art of those who rule the republic. Chicago, its finances almost wrecked and unable some months ago to

pay its school teachers and other employees. Chicago, whose political life is as rotten as the sewage that pollutes its river. Chicago, where gunmen strike bargains with politicians and politicians strike bargains with thieves. Chicago, where machine guns spit death from automobiles in the streets. Chicago, where a reporter is murdered and found to be a liaison agent between gangdom and journalism. Chicago, where cancelled checks to office holders are found on murdered gunmen. Chicago, where no one knows where the politician ends and the bandit begins.

Here is the "civilization" built by our ruling class within six decades after its emergence from the status of an underlying group in society. Capitalism and crime have become synonymous. In pol-

itics they are allies. Many of its "respectable" supporters stand aghast as the criminal hordes swarm out of the underworld to share with the politician the gains of public power.

Meantime, there are the broken farmers of the countryside and the jobless millions of the cities as an indictment of the upper class and its two-party rule. Its regime has reached the Indian Summer of its career and twilight is setting in. Its end is near. It must go into the dustbin of history with the classes it displaced if a decent civilization is to survive.

The Socialist movement does not need to draw an indictment of it. Its history and its present work are its accusers. When it becomes so diseased that it hasn't the vitality to resist the criminal parasitism that afflicts it, like a living organism so affected death is not only near but is deserved.

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To Our Newcomers

SO many new members have come into the Socialist Party in these past few months, The New Leader has gained so many new readers, that it seems only fitting to extend to them some sort of greeting.

First off, they may be assured that they are welcome an hundredfold to our party. Their joining gives all of us who have been carrying the Socialist standard, fresh hope and renewed courage for the tough fighting that is ahead.

It is particularly encouraging that so many of our recruits are young. We "grizzled veterans" should be throwing out hats in the air at the sight of an army of youngsters flocking into the party from Los Angeles to Montauk Point.

Sooner or later it will be necessary for our National Office at Chicago, manned so ably by Clarence Senior, himself a kid, to issue material containing word for the newcomers as to what it means to be a Socialist in 1930. In advance of such a communication I am going to take the chance of being called brash and indicate what one Socialist feels should be in this document.

First of all, I would emphasize the spiritual delight which the individual experiences in joining a movement that has for its goal no less a glorious adventure than the making over of a world which now looks drab and shoddy indeed into a real co-operative commonwealth whose humblest citizen has some part in the good life.

Now to many this will sound like the sloppiest sort of sentimentality. I can well imagine the loud and derisive laughter with which this will be greeted by the boys on the other side of Union Square when they come upon the statement that Socialism has its spiritual side. They have industriously perverted the message of Marx into a summons by a gang leader to his hard-boiled mob. When Heywood Brown said that he liked the philosophy of Socialism because it was "kindly" in its spirit, they had an apostate draw a picture of Heywood dancing drunk before a group of workers who were muttering, "Hell."

Nevertheless it was this spirit of brotherhood which inspired Gene Debs and drew to his side men and women from all walks of life. To be sure he had his bitter moments but the whole history of the life of our beloved leader is shot through with his deep and abiding love for humanity and the struggle for humanity's freedom.

And every other Socialist leader who in any way is entitled to that term has had that vision of a new world and that soul-cleansing experience of being part of something large and beautiful in its conception, that marks off Socialism from every other political or economic creed.

Then I would dwell upon the practical phase of Socialist life and the necessity for a thorough-going preparation for participation in the day by day activities of the party.

The shining sword of Socialism is double-edged. It cuts away at the foul roots of capitalism and at the same time lashes out at the current injustices which that system imposes upon the unprivileged many. There is nothing inconsistent or contradictory in insistence upon immediate demands, so long as the ultimate goal is kept surely and clearly in sight.

The true Socialist then, whether he has just joined the party or has carried a red card these many years, must be expert in economics, must know what interests lie nearest to the man or woman who works for a living and how to appeal to those interests in terms understandable to the workers.

To make effective propaganda whether it is for goods or services or ideas it is imperative for the propagandist first to seek out the vital interests of his audience and then so to frame his appeal as to set it squarely in the mid-stream of those interests.

This sounds elementary enough but it is one of those first principles of propaganda technique often overlooked even by the most industrious propagandists. All too often we are so obsessed by the importance of our message that we take it for granted that those whom we most want to reach have an equal interest. As a matter of fact nothing could be more fatal to the success of Socialist education. A man or woman wondering where the next meal or the next job is coming from is not immediately concerned with the eventual overturn of the going economic system. Show him or her, however, that to continue to support the very exploiters who are making life more difficult, whether at the ballot box, in the trade union election or in the brutal invasion of civil rights is nothing more or less than suicidal and you have started a train of thought whose terminal must inevitably be one hundred per cent Socialist.

To this end, to going into the street to meet the man in the street, one must be in close and constant touch with what are commonly called, "current events." Nothing irritates me more than to hear a professing Socialist say, and often with an air of pride, that he has no interest in the happenings of the day and "has not read a newspaper for months." It seems to me to be an integral part of the Socialist equipment to be better informed as to these matters than any Democrat or Republican.

And I do not say this because I have made more or less of a living by writing for newspapers and magazines. I say it because I shun the "pure and simple theorist" as I shun the "pure and simple trades unionist."

And while I have no desire to make it seem hard to be a good Socialist I am firmly convinced that a knowledge of the history not only of our party but of the America in which it grew up is likewise essential. The forces and personalities which made our party must be known and well known by the rank and file of our membership. Such books as James O'Neal's "Workers in American History," Nathan Fine's "Farmers and Labor Parties in the United States," Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," "The Rise of American Civilization," by Charles and Mary Beard should be in the library of every working Socialist.

If I were starting out in the party these days I would go to the nearest Socialist headquarters and there obtain a list of books dealing with our own party history and the economic history of the United States before ever I set out to make converts. Against a well-filled in background, I would pose the answers to the bread and butter problems that are on the lips of nearly everyone these days. Socialism has many facets. But to return once more to my original thought, there must be the fire of brotherhood in the heart of it, before ever these facets shine forth.

McAlister Coleman.

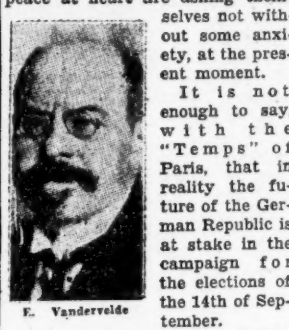
From Our Foreign Correspondent

Economics and Politics in Austria

Reactionary Federal Rule Furthers Depression; Attacks Being Made On Trade Unions

By Emile Vandervelde

SUCH is the question which all who have the defence of democracy and the maintenance of peace at heart are asking themselves not without some anxiety, at the present moment.



E. Vandervelde

It is not enough to say, with the "Temps" of Paris, that in reality the future of the German Republic is at stake in the campaign for the elections of the 14th of September.

The future of the German Republic does not concern Germany alone. If ever, by the weakness, incoherence, abdication, perhaps accessory of a bourgeoisie whose class egoism is united to a political incapacity already pointed out by Bismarck, anything should happen in Germany analogous to what happened eight years ago in Italy, the Socialists would not have to be alone in saying to themselves that the destinies of Europe would be involved, that events would soon show that the Bolsheviks who declare war to be inevitable are right, in short, that the deciding battle would be fought in the abattoirs of new fields of battle, in blood, and among ruins.

Our German comrades are defending with a splendid energy, not only the cause of the German working class, but the general interests of democracy and peace, against the open threats of reactionary demagogues and the equivocal failures to act of those who only yesterday, were in the Government with them.

The danger is not, moreover, that they will suffer an electoral defeat. In this respect, the recent elections in Thuringia and Saxony allow forecasts to be made which

are not at all likely to be disproved. Whatever may be the result for the other parties of the election of the 14th September, everything points to the conjecture that Wells was right when he told us recently that if the Reichstag were dissolved the Social-Democratic Party would maintain its position intact, and without a doubt, strengthened.

But these same elections in Thuringia and Saxony have shown that the Communists, in a very feeble measure, and the Racists, to a very much greater degree, were rising; and what will happen if the coming general election, which is being held under the triple sign of the economic crisis, employers' offensives against wages, and the systematic exploitation of the Nationalist xenophobia, produces an analogous result throughout Germany?

It is hardly to be doubted, on the one hand, that the Communists will not depart from the foolish policy which is dictated to them from the outside, and which consists in staking upon war, in counting upon war, to open up the way to revolution, and meanwhile, consciously or unconsciously, to play the game of reactionaries by directing their principal attack against Social-Democracy.

Nor is it any more doubtful that the Racists, emboldened by success, are anticipating support and complicity from other formations, civil or military, of nationalists, or to create an inextricable Parliamentary situation, capable of forming a majority by themselves, to make a definite choice between an orientation towards the Left and a slide towards the Right, between a defence with the Socialists of the Weimar Constitution, and a conspiracy with the most detestable of demagogues against

that Constitution.

But, to speak the truth, the great subject of uneasiness in the present political situation is the irresolution, the disorder, the attitude which is full of equivocation, and it seems, of reactionary ulterior motives, of all the middle parties without exception.

The former Democratic Party, in the hope of saving, not its honor, but a few Parliamentary seats, is being absorbed in a new Party, whose nationalism is hardly second to that of Westarp and Trevisan.

The Populist Party, the Party of Stresemann, without Stresemann, is returning to its vomit. It is showing itself as it really is, as it always has been at bottom: the Party of heavy industry, of the great capitalist bourgeoisie, which, in its heart, hates democracy, suffers the Republic, and is ready for everything, even for Fascism, in order to maintain its class domination, cost what it will.

As for the Centre, as always it evades, it runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds, it attempts by the fiction of confessional solidarity to hold together the heterogeneous elements which compose it; it practices with tranquillity the policy of blackmailing, which consists in demanding the Reich on pain of seeing the Black-Red-Gold coalition in Prussia proscribed to the peril of the Republic; but, in short, it leans to the side towards which its basic tendencies incline, and, if critical circumstances arise, to rely upon it to defend the Republican institutions would be to rely upon a broken reed.

Thus there is no need to be surprised that in Conservative circles on the other side of the Rhine it is already being announced with a singular mixture of uneasiness

and malignity that the total absence of assets of the coming Reichstag is certain, that there will be no other course open after the elections of the 14th September than to prolong the employment of the exceptional measures provided by Article 48 of the Constitution, in short, that under more or less camouflaged forms dictatorship is on the march.

For example, M. Sauerwein, who judges the German people by the man in the street of the bourgeois quarters or the slums of Berlin, writes as follows in an article in the "Matin":

"Without reflecting that Germany cannot be exempt from the difficulties which the other countries know, and that Governments, like Parliaments, do not possess magic virtues for settling all things, the Berlin man or woman elector passes his day in crying out that the Reichstag is composed of incapables and dishonest people, and that the only word which applies to it is that of 'Gesindel' (rabble). France herself comes very far behind the Reichstag in the animosity of the public."

As for the Government, people are supplied that it does not govern with the legendary vigor of former times, and they consider it as a kind of club in which a strong man must providentially appear; some imagine it as a helmet, others with a Muscovite cap. It is assumed to have the traits of Bismarck or those of Lenin, and in both cases it is assumed that its first act will be to put Parliament out of doors.

It is clear that a notable part of the German population is not quite so simple. But the remainder thinks in that way, and if in six months' time, after two elections (Sauerwein is speaking of people who believe in the incapacity of the next Reichstag, its dissolution and the holding of a sec-

ond election. Ed.) the number of unemployed has increased, if in consequence, the budget is again not balanced, and if no solution has been found to the burning problems, I think that even a person of slight proportions, provided the Reichswehr does not look very unfavorably upon him, might have a chance.

Yes,—perhaps, if all that happened, if there were no other Berlin than Communist or Racist Berlin, and, above all, if the German workers were not big enough to defend themselves.

We will not pretend that the present situation is not serious, that the worst hypotheses cannot be totally excluded in Germany's critical state. But in this situation there are not only unfavorable factors.

Carefully considering everything, we shall retain our confidence.

We have confidence in the Social-Democratic movement. It had the mastery over Bismarck. It rid itself of the Hohenzollerns. It subdued the "Putschists" in 1920. It saved the Republic at the time of the Ruhr. It would be able to save it again if other attacks, from no matter where they come, were combined with a view to strangling it.

We also have and wish to have confidence in the German people.

It has learned what war is. Today it is suffering the consequences of war. It knows where the abettors of dictatorship would lead it. It knows, from the example of others, what providential men are worth for healing the ills from which it suffers. It has acquired in the course of half a century of trials a sufficiently clear knowledge of its interests to understand that Social-Democracy remains its best defence against the new attack of the old powers of exploitation, violence and ruin. It will show on the 14th of September next that the gates of hell will not stand against its desire for peace and democracy.

Russia on War Basis in Great Effort To Complete 5 Year Reconstruction Plan Laidler Finds; Gov't. Claims Progress

L.I.D. Group Returns After Tour of Europe—Berlin, Vienna, London Visited

THE first section of the League for Industrial Democracy tour among European labor and Socialist centers, led by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, co-executive director with Norman Thomas of the L. I. D., returned this week to New York on the Dresden. The group, which included a dozen students and members of various professions visited London, Leningrad, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Zurich, Geneva and Paris. Dr. Laidler on his return was accompanied by Prof. Coleman Cheney of the Department of Economics, Skidmore College; Rev. John R. Hahn of Montana, and Nellie B. Miller of New York. Other members of the tour still in Europe included Elisabeth Gilman, Socialist candidate for Governor in Maryland, Edith and Grace Jonas of Brooklyn, Hannah Woolston of Philadelphia, John Shiveley of the faculty of journalism, University of Kansas, and Rose Marcus, Anna Avery and George Willard of New York.

"The members of the group," declared Dr. Laidler, "were impressed with the tragic results of tariff walls on various of the European countries, whose limited markets interfered seriously with efficient, large scale industry. The depression in the United States has had a marked effect on every European nation, while the recent American tariff has caused havoc with numerous industries. Of the countries visited, England, Germany and Austria are suffering to the greatest extent from unemployment."

"On the more positive side the group was impressed with the wide acceptance of the principle of social insurance against unemployment, sickness and accident and of old age pension in the advanced European nations; the close cooperation between the trade union, cooperative and political labor movements in all of the countries visited and the advance of public services since the war in many of the countries of Europe and especially the expansion of the function of municipalities in the matter of housing, recreation, health and education."

Praise For Henderson

The group was warm in its praise of Arthur Henderson's achievements in the British Foreign Office in improving the general European situation; of Vienna's housing and child welfare accomplishments and of Russia's attempt through the Five Year Plan to establish a firmer economic basis for its industrial life.

"From England," declared Dr. Laidler, "the group went to Russia. It found Russia on almost a

war basis as far as consumption was concerned. The workers were being asked to sacrifice to the limit to make the Five Year Plan a success. They were still on rations. They were subscribing until it hurt for Soviet bonds. They were doing without new clothing and were confining themselves to a few bare necessities of life. The government was spending all the capital it could mobilize on the development of heavy industries, on electrification and on collective and state farms. If one is to accept the figures of the Soviets at their face value, the Five Year Plan is succeeding. Production in many of the industries, in fact, has gone ahead faster than schedule. The slogan of the government now is 'The Five Year Plan in Four Years.' Soviet officials at the time of the visit were estimating that the state owned farms—including about 150 of the 100,000 acres or more each—and the collective farms, now comprised in their scope some 25 per cent of the peasants of the country. The real wages of industrial workers, they maintained, were considerably above the pre-war level.

"The group found in Russia numerous American engineers assisting in railroads, electric power, automobiles, irrigation and other problems. Great interest was shown in everything American. The recent Russian translation of 'Recent Economic Changes,' the volume of the National Bureau of Economic Research, has been read with deep interest by many leaders in Russian life. They were impressed with the attempt of the State Planning Commission, with its 1,400 statisticians, engineers and economists to unify and coordinate the economic life of the country, and they observed numerous fruitful experiments in educational, health, social welfare, prison and legal procedure."

"The attempt of the Soviets to mobilize a whole population for constructive economic change, particularly in connection with the Five Year Plan; their attempt, through the State Planning Commission, to view the economic system as a whole; their endeavor to revolutionize the basis of agriculture and the search for effective non-profit incentives in industry," declared Dr. Laidler, "constituted, in the eyes of the group, Russia's greatest challenge to the modern world."

Much Poverty Found

Dr. Laidler declared that the Communist leaders continually emphasized the fact that Russia had not as yet reached communism, but that it hoped to obtain communism after many decades. Poverty still existed. Beggars were to be seen at every turn. The workers' homes were overcrowded. Food and clothing for the masses were of the simplest nature. Interest on loans was still given at 6, 8 and 12 per cent and more, in an attempt to secure capital. Dictatorship still existed. People were ar-

rested by the thousands for opposing the policy of the government. These defects would have to be eliminated before the country approached a socialist state.

"In religion the government has recently adopted a more tolerant attitude and church masses go on in Leningrad and Moscow, as far as the group was able to discover, without governmental interference. The group visited several churches in Leningrad and Moscow where services were being held."

In Germany things were outwardly more prosperous than in the Soviet Republic. On the other hand, Germany was facing many serious problems. Unemployment was severe, with 2,700,000 out of work. Many thought that this number would reach the three million mark before long. The Reichstag had been dissolved and the Reichstag candidates were campaigning in their respective constituencies, organizing for the September elections. Both the German Fascists, on the one hand, and the German Communists, on the other, were pointing to the dissolution of the Reichstag as an evidence of the breakdown of parliamentary government and the need for a dictatorship of the right or the left, as the case may be. The middle parties were reorganizing and the strong Social-Democratic party backed by the trade unions, was entering the campaign as a defender of the social insurance laws, of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, of the policy of socialization in industry and of strict regulation of cartels. These policies were being opposed by the industrialists on the ground, among other things, of increased taxation burdens. All sides were bemoaning the effects of the recent tariff

law of the United States upon the country.

Predictions were rife that in the September elections the Social-Democrats would remain about as at present with their 130 old Reichstag seats, and the largest and best organized party in the country; that the extremists on the right and the left would probably gain several seats and that the middle parties would be returned somewhat weaker than in the last election. The middle parties would then be presented with the alternative of forming a coalition government with the right or with the left. The industrialists in the middle parties—now that the domestic policy loomed up as perhaps more important than the foreign policy—would prefer a right to a left coalition.

Austria Less Tense

Since the revolution German municipal, state and national governments have increased their control over the electrical, aluminum, banking and other industries and municipalities have become large land owners and house builders. The Socialist government in Prussia has helped materially in this development.

In Austria the political situation seemed less tense than last year, and the dangers of a coup d'etat on the part of the Heimwehr seemed more remote. Speidel was in retirement. Chancellor Schoeber was intent on keeping order, while the Social-Democratic opposition to Fascist dictatorship was a powerful one. The danger of dictatorship is not over. The offer this last year of the Social-Democrats to disarm its defense corps, the Schutzmann of the Heimwehr was not accepted, and no one seems to know what Speidel's future actions will be. But a coup d'etat danger seems distinctly less than formerly.

Unemployment in Austria at present is at a high water mark, with 180,000 receiving unemployment benefits out of an industrial population of about a million workers, and 40,000 to 50,000 employed not assisted by the social

The Great Reading Socialist Victory

(Continued from Page Four)

ditional money is needed for public improvements, the workers' taxes are raised—while the wealthy classes are permitted to escape paying their just share.

"This has been the rule under Republican administration. It has been the rule under Democratic administrations. It will continue to be the rule under both old party administrations."

The leaflet warns that:

"You may not like the ASSESSMENT LAW and the TAX LAW, and many other LAWS that affect your interests, but kicking and grumbling and protesting won't alter them unless you ACT also to change them by using your political power to do so . . .

"The Socialist candidates for mayor and council are pledged, when elected, to revise the assessments and taxes on the basis of equality and justice for the working class of this city. This is the big issue in this campaign, and on

this program we ask the workers for their support."

Another leaflet was entitled "What Socialists Are Doing for Milwaukee—A Fine Record That Can Be Duplicated in Reading." It enumerated twenty-three items wherein Milwaukee led all American cities. It explained the pay-as-you-go policy of that Socialist-run city and took pride in the fact that the debt of Milwaukee would be wiped out in forty years.

The Socialists Win

The "Reading Labor Advocate," official organ of the Federated Trades Council and of Local Berks County, Socialist Party, was brought into action. Copies with special election appeals were distributed throughout the city. Street corner meetings were held and the campaign was wound up the Sunday preceding election with a big mass meeting in the Orpheum Theatre. "The Socialists Fighting to Protect Workers' Homes" began to feel that perhaps after all they would be elected.

They are elected—and by large pluralities. J. Henry Stump, mayor; James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder, councilman; William C.

insurance laws, Austrian Socialists and others are urging union with Germany as one way to expand the home market, which dwindled so markedly when the splitting up of the Austria-Hungarian Empire cut the population with Vienna as a center from 550,000,000 to 6,500,000.

The Social-Democratic party is here the strongest in proportion to the population of any party in Europe, controlling as it does 700,000 members. It has 72 members out of 163 in the Austrian Chamber, with the Christian Socialist (Catholic) party controlling the government. In Vienna the Socialists are in complete control with the mayor and nearly two-thirds of the city council.

The group spent a number of days studying the constructive achievements of the Vienna Socialist administration. The city has thus far constructed 51,000 apartments for workers, for which the rents vary in general from \$2 to \$5 a month. The apartments consist usually of 2 or 3 rooms, a kitchen, a toilet and balcony. Every room faces a wide court of the street and is open to the sunshine. The rent covers upkeep plus the house tax. The capital is raised from the imposition of house taxes, luxury taxes, etc.

Visit to International

The group was enthusiastic regarding the beauty of the appearance of these houses and regarding the open air baths, the child welfare, educational and other work on the part of the city administration.

From Vienna the group went to Zurich, where it observed the co-operative housing experiments in this Swiss Socialist municipality and visited the headquarters of the Labor and Socialist International. In Geneva, it was addressed by numerous members of the International Labor Office and authorities in the League of Nations. Switzerland was not suffering from unemployment to the same extent as Germany and Austria, though the jewelry and textile trades were slowing down.

Hovert, city treasurer; W. R. Hollinger, city controller; and Raymond S. Hofses and George D. Snyder, members of the school board. A constable was also elected in the 6th ward as well as several minor ward and district officials. Only one Socialist was defeated, A. J. Frezeman, candidate for the school board, but the Democratic party challenged the election of Hovert, who had nosed out Charles H. Kershner, the Democratic contender for the treasurer-ship by 123 votes. Hovert was subsequently counted out by 83 votes under circumstances that did not indicate he had been given a square deal. The city was the loser, because while the treasurer received only \$5,000 a year in salary he was also entitled to \$15,000 to \$19,000 in commissions by virtue of his office and Hovert had announced that he would turn back everything above \$6,000 to the city treasury. The old party candidate announced that he would keep all the loot that would fall into his hands.

The Socialists were now in office. It was up to them to make good.

The Chatter Box

More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

If I forgive you greatly, let it be
For such profession as you calmly make
On love's precedence over chastity.
There will be much to bear with for your sake.

The wrenching loneliness when chores are done,
The emptiness of moments and the length
Of distances between, when you are gone . . .

But there will be a sensing of the strength
That is at once your beauty and your worth . . .
And then my grief will be a fragile thing,
And caught between my reason and my mirth
I shall be shaken out of posturing . . .

And when I show forgiveness, it will be
Because of watering in pity . . .

Says Eddie, the assistant boss of mine . . . "So you're throwing bombs around . . . ? Now you'll have to bring definite charges . . . since everyone seems to think you mean everybody else . . ." All this, and some dozen letters that have petered into my desk . . . praising and inquiring . . . anent last week's remarks here.

Jimmie, my big boss, had hauled it over the carpet with me before its insertion. His contention was that for practical purposes, with the campaign coming on full swing, it were best to remain silent, and allow the matter to be thrashed out in Discussion Forum after the campaign.

A number of well-intentioned comrades have written in to the editor asking for definite charges to substantiate my generalizations.

All in all, from the ultra-militant grumblers down to the stodgiest stand-patter . . . there is comment and ado . . . Gee! I'm tickled pink . . . Maybe I have a reading public . . . After seven years of pounding out a weekly harangue, to suddenly fall upon the news that your efforts are being noticed has all the kick in it of "white mule" on an empty stomach.

But Jimmie has argued me out of continuing along the same lines for the nonce, since unity is so necessary during a campaign and mutiny is not to be countenanced before the common enemy.

Then the column that I have written will remain until our hard work is done . . . And if the occasion comes for its inclusion after election . . . it shall be dragged forth from under the pile of poems and allowed to breathe . . . So you see that I am not such an untractable "enfant terrible."

And after all there is no one so privileged in our party that he can kick over the traces of discipline and go free-lunching around the lot . . . Which really applies to guys like me and Trotsky . . .

It brings to me a thought of some poems that are just asking to see the linotype . . . A comrade's daughter of twelve sends in this little gem . . . May its lyric tribe increase . . . The poem I mean.

A Girl Dream

We dream of knights in armor,
We dream of fairies rare,
Of birds and trees and flowers,
And clouds that hang on air.

We dream of those great moments
With thrilling things to do,
And places fair as Paradise,
All deep and wide and blue.

Life in sleep is softly sweet,
Yet if our dreams come true,
Living might be hard, with much
Too many things to do . . .

ELEANOR HERTZ.

A comrade from the Bronx asks for space for this excellent bit of musical philosophy. The request is gladly granted . . .

Symbols Behind Us

We should have lost the way
To weave noise. But you say
We cannot live without the opera; our bread
Battens on Saturday night overtures. In hell
There is no Wagner. Even the great brass bell
Of the sky is dead.

The tenors of dawn know our little bells
With broken flutes, or a river-bird's high
Voice bruised in the dry
Singing of Sunday matin bells.
For the faithless nights we fed
Silence with stunted music, do we pay
With silences? We have day
To leaven our little bells, and no bread.

F. LANE.

Nevertheless, I cannot just evade the duty of replying to those who have dimmed me here with so much fine praise for what they call a "courageous column . . ."

It is no gesture at modesty that impels me to disclaim any credit for courage. It just so happens that I get that way naturally once in a year . . . It's a gift . . . this urge to tongue-lash what you don't like. And the joy of being a Socialist lies in that you don't get howled down by a Stalin-esque coterie of bootlickers when you do disagree with the executives . . . They just look on you in grief and shake their heads kindly . . . with a soft . . . "Poor fellow . . . he's gone out of his head . . . and then again, what can you expect from a poet . . ."

A number have written in that they had been members of the party and worked unreservedly for the cause, but just as soon as they saw conditions were what they believe I described them to be, they left in disgust. For these ex-comrades, I have no comfort or praise to offer. When things are bluest and most difficult, it were futile indeed to desert and let things go hang. The party is bigger than any of us. Our own use to the movement is measured by the dogged energy and enthusiasm we are capable of contributing through all circumstances.

This energy and joy for the cause surges in me with flooding strength. My place on the soap-box or in the party meetings must always be occupied. And all I can give to the cause is always too meagre . . . And always will it be my desire and dream to lift back upon the plane of Socialist conduct those who have wearily drooped to the easier road, and give them new courage and vision, when possible . . .

Call me a poet, all you practical hard-headed non-visionaries . . . I just revel in your derision . . . I'd rather write the songs for the movement than sit in the high places of power and prestige . . . For it will be our singing strength that will conquer in the end.

And it is only because I am a poet, that the gift of clairvoyance is mine . . . And this I see clearly, that unless we hurry back to our basic belief and carry on in life as well as in precept the method and manner of true Socialist conduct . . . all our profession and endeavor must fall of the ultimate . . .


S. A. de Wit.

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**Government of the people, for
people, by the people shall not pass
from the earth.—Lincoln.**

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the Jordan and by the initiation of intensive methods of agriculture. Politically the Mandate Government must establish institutions which will secure the unhampered development of both parts of the population without subjecting one to the authority of the other.

The Mandate Government is to lend every effort toward a state of peace between the Jews and

acy and particularly by
element. This self

The Committee expresses its confidence in the British Government and its leaders, and their sympathies for establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine.

Mr. Pierard, the General Secretary of the Committee, was delegated to represent the Committee at the World Congress for Jewish Labor in Washington which will be held in December following September. There is also being sent another delegate representing the Committee.

(These resolutions are being referred to a referendum of all the members of the Committee for their approval.)

ish Workers in Palest
te Leon Blum, Pierr

Old Age Pensions Sought
CINCINNATI, O.—(FP)—The men and women in Cincinnati have signed cards agreeing to help the campaign for old age pensions in Ohio led by Herbert S. Bigelow and other workers. They are candidates in the Republican primaries in August for membership in the legislature on an old age pension platform proposing a yearly maximum pension of \$390 a month to all citizens over 65 whose income does not equal this amount. The funds for this are to be raised by a state income tax on the basis of exemptions as the federal income tax law.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

NEW LEADER

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... SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1930

The Artful Dodger

THE "liberal" in politics is generally a mask for doing nothing for the mass of suffering workers. The difference between the "liberal" and the conservative is that the first gets the same results with chloroform and the second with a club. Governor Roosevelt is running true to form as a "liberal."

A calamity had overwhelmed millions of the working class when the New York Legislature was in session this year. Governor Roosevelt made no recommendations to that body although it was a problem that bulked larger than any other in the state. Later at a governors' conference in Utah he urged the need of unemployment insurance in this country. He returned home. The problem is just as urgent as it was when he spoke. He has the power to summon the legislature in session to deal with it. Nothing is done.

And now winter is approaching to add its terrors to the man without a job, the man without resources to pay rent and purchase food. Where is the "liberal" Governor? Wherever he is winter brings no apprehensions to him. He will eat as usual, enjoy a comfortable home, and not worry about the rent. As for the jobless, there are his comforting words uttered in another state. What more can hungry men and their families ask of a "liberal" Governor?

For these reasons the letter to Roosevelt by Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor, is a timely presentation of the claims of jobless workers. He urges a special session of the Legislature to deal with this grave situation which becomes more grave as winter approaches. But Roosevelt does nothing. He is interested in votes but not in relief for masses of workers who are victims of the collapse of an industrial system which Roosevelt accepts. We prefer the frank conservative to the artful "liberal" dodger in capitalist politics.

"Non-Partisan" Action

TRADE unions in Massachusetts face an embarrassing situation which grows out of the policy of working within parties which they do not control, which are financed by big business, and which are political holding companies of a variety of capitalist interests.

If press dispatches are reliable it appears that William M. Butler, textile millionaire, a crony of Coolidge, and a former U. S. Senator, has received endorsements of some local trade unions. Butler has big holdings in New Bedford textile mills where strikes in recent years have revealed stark privation of workers. He is a conspicuous member of the banking and capitalist aristocracy of Massachusetts which is responsible for the revolting "trial" and execution of Sacco and Nazzetti.

Edward F. McGrady, a representative of the A. F. of L. and a man of integrity, is investigating charges that endorsements of Butler by certain unions were purchased with Butler money. Press reports assert that concrete evidence has been submitted to sustain the charge while the Liberal Civic League wired President Green at Washington that union executives are on the payroll of Butler.

Final judgment must await a complete investigation, but it is certain that the so-called "non-partisan political policy" leaves the door open to such corruption. The Mulhall disclosures in 1912 showed that what is now charged in Massachusetts was true in a number of states where Mulhall had union representatives doing political work that was paid for by the National Association of Manufacturers. One union card member of Congress was smeared by that investigation.

If political action is to be a matter of "rewarding friends" it is likely that capitalist politicians will also seek to reward such friends as they can purchase in elections. It is a rule that can be easily worked both ways.

The Peruvian Revolt

WHATEVER may be the outcome of the revolution in Peru it is certain that the ousting of President Leguia removed one of the most servile dummies of American interests to be found in Latin-America. If he had been picked by the State Department out of the clerical force of an American bank he would not have rendered better service to American capitalists and bankers who have big stakes in Peru.

According to a statement by George J. Eder of the Latin-American section of the Commerce Department the American interests in Peru include copper, silver, lead, zinc, petroleum, sugar, construction, banking, public utilities, shipping, and air transportation. The list gives the impression that Peru is a crown colony of the United States. American investments increased 382 per cent during Leguia's administration.

Leguia was a dictator who ruled with an iron hand and during his regime much of the resources of the country were mortgaged to American exploiters. It does not necessarily follow that the regime that has succeeded Leguia will be more democratic as it often happens in these Latin-American countries that dissatisfaction is followed by a revolt headed by some adventurer. He in turn enriches himself while the pickings are good, knowing that others are awaiting the opportunity to oust him and for the same reason.

The present revolt may be headed by a man of another type. Mexico for many decades was cursed with similar revolutions till Calles came into power. Let us hope that the successor of Leguia will prove to be a Calles who will seek to emancipate Peru from foreign domination.

"Civilized Nations"

RALPH EASLEY of the National Civic Federation is again to the front with a proposal for a general boycott against Russia and joint military action by the Powers in defense of foreign investments in China. He would have the business interests of the world cut off all relations with the "barbarians" until the Russian government proves itself "fit to associate with civilized nations."

We have often observed that doddering old chaps incapable of handling squirt guns are generally eager to send others to their deaths in a fight that is of no concern to the soldiers. Easley qualifies for this role. It isn't likely, however, that his drivel will have any influence in shaping foreign policy here or abroad. After all, the governments of capitalism are not as stupid as Easley.

On the other hand his assumption of a "moral" superiority by the imperialist governments is a piece of brass. What constitutes fitness "to associate with civilized nations" he does not say, but we are safe in saying that a government that will treat other peoples as we treat Latin-Americans would be considered fit to associate with us. Such a government could send its armed forces into another country, place its own dummies in office, take over the revenues, police the natives, mortgage its resources to alien bankers and capitalists and thus prove its fitness.

There isn't a "civilized" government today that has not been guilty of something like this and our government is one of the worst offenders. It is our belief that professional bullies are not the best teachers of ethics.

IN A NUTSHELL

The Tammany Department Store

Visitor to the Tammany Hall department store. "Good morning, Mr. Leader. Have you any bargains in city magazines today?"

Leader, consulting his price list. "Well, we have a good stock on hand but the demand is also brisk and magazines are commanding good prices."

Visitor: "The last quotations ranged from \$10,000 to \$15,000, depending upon the quality of the article, but in the present business depression it seems to me, Mr. Leader, that these prices are now excessive."

Leader: "But we have not reduced our commodities agents and brokers who handle other commodities in addition to magazines. They must be paid and as our firm has the exclusive agency for marketing these necessary articles we strive to stabilize prices in this period of business depression."

Visitor: "But I simply must have a magazine and all that I can afford is the minimum of \$10,000 quoted for the ordinary article. Have a heart."

Leader: "Well, you're a good guy, Bill. Wait a minute." (Rings buzzer for the office boy). To boy: "Jimmie, deliver article 23 on shelf 7, bearing tag reading, 'Magistrate, Ordinary Grade.'"

Visitor takes out check book and proceeds to write.

Leader: "Cash, Bill, cash. Ours is a cash and carry store and while your check may be good we do not violate a rule even for our best friends."

Visitor pays and as he opens the door Leader observes. "If not satisfied, Bill, you may exchange article for one of super grade by paying the difference. \$1 long."

If profit ceased altogether from the world and the financial magnates of today had to trade in counters and marbles to exercise their gifts, would the world suffer very greatly?—H. G. Wells.

When a woman remains in an institution for the feeble-minded for thirty years and her million dollars increase to twelve millions, what becomes of the political economists' idea that great fortunes are the reward of "thrift" and "business enterprise?"

Behind every educational theory lies a political theory. There is a capitalist education as well as a labor education. There is also a capitalist view of what should constitute working class education.—Dan Griffiths.

A good law is one that holds, whether you recognize it or not; a bad law is one that cannot, however much you ordain it.—John Ruskin.

The Bureau of Census reports that there are 47,000,000 bread winners in the United States. Are the bankers and corporation magnates listed as the bread eaters?

Negro And White Workers

By Horace B. Davis

WHEN 422 white compressed air workers in New York City joined a group of 300 colored workers in seceding from a union local which the Negroes claimed had sanctioned discrimination against colored men and set up a new local of white and colored, they were attempting action of a kind which furnishes the only practical solution of the race question, in the opinion of some students.

Quite different was the action of certain drought-stricken farmers in Lonoke, Ark., who shot up a camp of colored construction laborers imported from out of town, according to recent dispatches, and burned their tents.

Dr. Will W. Alexander of Atlanta, founder of the commission on interracial cooperation, maintains that the race problem has its genesis in the competition between Negro and white laborers.

"The laboring white," he says, "knows the Negro only as a competitor, and even as an enemy." Hence arises race hatred—out of competition for the job.

The visitor to a southern city finds plenty to confirm this view. One white worker in Memphis, asked about unemployment, pointed bitterly to some Negroes digging up the road.

"See that?" he said. "That's what's the trouble. They get all the jobs away from us because they'll work for less."

"Fascists" Are Organized

This sentiment has recently been given organized expression by the formation of the White Band of Caucasian Crusaders, and of the American Fascist Assn., and Order of Blackshirts, both with headquarters in Atlanta. The former is led by former imperial wizard William Joseph Simmons of the Ku Klux Klan. The latter organization filed a petition for a charter only on Aug. 9, but its adjutant-general, H. J. Gewinn, claims that it has already received over 13,000 applications for membership. Its purposes include incitation of white supremacy, assistance to members in securing jobs, and the upholding of the constitution. It is open only to whites and is aimed against Communists and Negroes.

During August Fascists have been visiting Atlanta employers of Negro labor and threatening them with trouble if they do not discharge their colored help. By these methods they claim to have secured the replacement of 500 Negroes by whites in two weeks. The employers are talking of hitting back, by means of a federal grand jury investigation of the Blackshirts in September.

Economists point out that the Negroes cannot be blamed for unemployment of the whites. Before the Civil War, Negroes did nearly all the skilled manual work south of Mason and Dixon's line; since, they have been forced off one skilled job after another, by the encroaching whites, and the process still continues. It has been shown repeatedly that unemployment hits hardest in the Negro sections. Southern white men often blame the Negro for their troubles. Where there are no Negroes, there is just as much unemployment, as the census returns now available clearly show.

Bosses And Workers

While bitterness between colored and white in the unorganized trades is an undoubted fact, Dr. Alexander finds that there is no race bitterness between the working Negro and his boss. "The employing white man," he says, "the intellectual white man, the educated white man in the south does not despise the Negro, nor does he take part in lynchings, in violence or in denunciation of the colored man. He looks upon the Negro as a faithful servant, and is ready to protect him at all times."

Unionists recall how the white employers in the north "protected" the Negro when they were using him to break the great strikes of 1919, in the packing and steel industries. But do Sen. Cole L. Blease of South Carolina and Gov. Bilbo of Mississippi believe in protecting the Negro? Both have condoned lynching of the most brutal kind. Are they not educated men? And what is this "protection" worth in dollars and cents where whites and especially Negroes receive starvation wages?

The "intellectuals" and bosses do not usually participate in lynchings, nor do they act in person as stooge police or gangsters. But many sanction violence and even instigate it. White employers have a definite interest in extending suspicion and hatred between white and colored workers. Dr. Alexander to the contrary notwithstanding. Where white workers realize this and join with colored workers in forming trade unions on a basis of equality, this economic cause of race hatred ceases to exist.

Labor Law Elastic

BATON ROUGE, La.—(FP)—Gov. Huey P. Long has signed a new 9-hour law for women and children in industry. The maximum working week is 54 hours. Exemptions are granted canning factories during the season, telephone and telegraph companies, restaurants and offices in towns of less than 2,500.

We've Just Begun to Fight

THOSE who were lucky enough to get vacations are back home now, set for the fight that is ahead this Fall. "All across the country, Socialists and their sympathizers are going out to show the people of the United States what a real campaign looks like. Not only in New York City but from Coast to Coast, the challenge to the capitalist system being thrown down by the finest group of candidates ever gathered under the Socialist banner.

Never before was a strong, militant, constructively radical Socialist press so sorely needed. THE NEW LEADER is your paper, in the very van of this fight that is already under way. Its makers call upon you to give it the good food that will steel its arm and put muscle on its bones. So far, you have come through, a host of you, like the good Socialists we know you are.

In this last week's mail despite the interruption of the holidays we have received a goodly number of new subs. From Beverly, Mass., John T. McRoy sends in five new subscriptions ranging from Silver Springs, Maryland to Andover, New Jersey. Here's a subscription from an address at Half Moon Street, London, near where Karl Marx lived when he was in exile in England. From distant California, C. F. Zachary sends in a sub and Harold Preston of Greene County, New York does the same with an amusing letter accompanying the sub.

"Non-Partisan" Labor Politics

"Iowa Unionists" Finds A. F. of L. Policy Wanting

THAT there is now some serious thinking in trade union circles regarding more effective use of the voting power of the organized workers is evident from occasional editorials in the trade union press. Recently The New Leader published an editorial from the Toledo Union Leader on this theme. We take pleasure in reprinting the following editorial from The Iowa Unionist of July 25.

The Non-Partisan Plan in Politics

"When Organized Labor declares it 'rewards its friends and defeats its enemies,' it takes the same position in politics as other groups of citizens." Says an editorial from the A. F. of L. News Service. With this we agree. But isn't that the logical reason why the non-partisan policy is obsolete. Through this policy Labor has too many enemies to defeat and finds that Special interests have too many friends to reward. The reward outweighs the fear of Labor's challenge of defeat. The fault lies not in the non-partisan policy itself, but in that it means nothing to the average worker. Partisanship becomes an obstacle to combat by those who really work for a non-partisan attitude for labor because too many laborites are (through the non-positive action) allied with the party leaders in order to gain immediate ends for themselves. Principles and progress of the masses are not given the proper consideration.

That the business elements apply the non-partisan theory is only too true. The fact is that these selfish interests own and control both parties. There can be no defeat for special interest and a victory for the mass of common people so long as this condition exists. Although sporadic victories for real representation will and have taken place and legislation in the interest of the many has been enacted, it remains a truth that at any time the 10% who control the wealth of the country, want something they get it. Or if they deem certain legislation hostile to their best interest it is never passed or if passed the courts are called in to the defense of their owners and the result is that the law is declared unconstitutional.

The A. F. of L. editorial says advocates of independent political action cling to the European ideal—that government is apart from the people. It does no good to impugn the motives of sincere advocates of independent political action by calling them foreigners by implication. The fact is that the American Labor leaders are clinging to an ideal that is a fallacy. And that is that government is not apart from the people and that the government is not used by groups to gain an advantage over another group. Just because the American constitution declares, "We the people of the U. S.," the people are supreme, declares the editor, but are they? The government is controlled by political parties who are controlled by the men who pay the freight during campaigns. Hence the government is controlled by the men who pay the freight and who control the party which is victorious. If the same men pay freight for both parties, whichever wins the government is controlled by these same men or interests and who will gain that these selfish interests are not investing money which will reap dividends in the long run. Those dividends are legislation and governmental favors which will give the few who already have most of the good things in life, a greater advantage over the masses who bear the burden of the struggle for a bare existence.

Here and there, however, the author offers an opinion which invites dissent. She declares that

overlook the important point that trade unionists claim there is no such thing as 'labor legislation'—that is, that all legislation urged by labor has a direct bearing on the nation's welfare," continues the editorial.

Labor legislation so called, will in most cases be legislation in the interest of the many for the simple reason that the many are toilers, as for instance abolition of child labor, unemployment, dependent old age, injunction abuses, etc. We would never deny that these had a direct bearing on the nation's welfare. We know of many labor leaders however who will tell us that there is no such thing as class legislation. All legislation is class legislation, but the advocates of independent political action want less class legislation for the 10% who now receive most favors from the government, the vested interest class, and more legislation in the interest of the mass of people who work for a living and their wage is all that lies between them and starvation. This is the class that is in the majority, but receives less consideration than the minority who use the instruments of government to exploit the workers. This minority will claim, that legislation such as the latest tariff graft, is legislation in the interest of the many and has a direct bearing on the nation's welfare.

We differ with the policy of the A. F. of L. in the field of politics and yet we don't consider ourselves as having a foreign outlook. We hold to the conviction that the non-partisan policy is useless as it is worked by the labor movement. We don't say that the A. F. of L. should start a labor party, but we do think that the A. F. of L. should encourage to independent movements which are looking to place a real progressive program for the voters, as in the case of Minnesota where the farmer-labor movement is to fore President Green, however, saw fit to send

In just such manner can we carry on the fight as you want it carried on. There is the coupon. Go out and get it filled. We've just begun to fight and at this crucial time, we call on every reader of THE NEW LEADER to stand shoulder to shoulder with us.

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To the Youth of America

A MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN YOUNG WORKERS AND STUDENTS:

Greetings: In all civilized countries on October 5th, 1930, young workers and students will celebrate their International solidarity.

The young workers in America are to-day suffering from the effects of our industrial profit system just as are our brothers and sisters across the sea.

After 'The war to end war' our national government is spending 83% of the federal budget to pay for past wars or in preparation for wars to come. After fighting to wipe militarism off the face of the earth our government has increased its appropriations for the military training in our high schools and colleges.

While most European countries have little or no child labor, our country has more than one and a half million children working in industry and agriculture, yet more than 6,000,000 of our workers are unemployed.