

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

A Highly Successful Socialist Tour—Huron and Chicago—The Socialist National Office—Speaking of War—Catholics and Socialism—Spain and Russia—Against Wage Cuts

En Route to Washington, D. C.

### SOCIALIST STIRRINGS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

THIS hurried trip of mine is one of the most encouraging I have taken. Huron, South Dakota, an attractive college town with some industries, near the center of a great agricultural state, gave me a cross section of college students, townfolk, farmers and workers which though by no means all converted to Socialism is interested as it has not been for many years. It ought to be, in view of the troubles of farmers and workers! The local Pooh Bah, the town banker, trustee of the college, etc., etc., managed, despite a liberal faculty, to keep me from addressing the students in the college chapel but did not stop the big general meeting in the college gym at night. The college boys and girls adjourned in the morning to the back-yard of my hosts, Dr. and Mrs. Hartwich and sat on the grass. So that was that. As the local photographer wrote on a picture he took from the top of the house: "once more prohibition did prohibit." Professor Daniel Gage, a leading spirit in one of the finest groups of Socialists I have met, arranged the



Norman Thomas

### CHICAGO DOING WELL

AFTER Huron, Chicago. There the party is in better shape than I've seen it for ten years. The Cook County banquet packed about 550 in and then turned them away. The outrageous exclusion of the Socialist ticket from the ballot has shown once more that the demand for justice must be backed by power. And power means organization. The number of union folks at the banquet and their generosity at the concluding half hour of the L.L.D.'s "university of the air", generously made possible by the labor station, WCFL.

### THE NATIONAL OFFICE AND ITS NEEDS

JUST a word about the Socialist national office. It's in an out-of-the-way location but it's humming with a fine group of young workers, strictly on the job. Because of hard times the financial drive isn't going well, though otherwise the work all over the country goes better than since the war. I fear some comrades forget that a national party needs a national office, that none of our local work can be really effective without national planning and organizing and pushing of literature. Now of all times we cannot afford to miss the opportunities that are around us. The Communists have, I think, more paid workers in Chicago alone than we have in the whole United States, at any rate, outside New York City! Let's get busy!

### CONSCRIPTION IN WAR-TIME

NOW I'm on my way to Washington to appear before the War Policies Commission of the Cabinet and Congress. This Commission was born in a hypocritical pretense of "conscripting wealth as well as man power in the next war." But the Commander of the American Legion soon gave that away by saying that he would restrict profits to 7 per cent! What the War Department is after is to get sold with business by giving reserve officers commissions to Key men in industry and making their mouths water with "model" contracts for war supplies.

Meanwhile the War Department, just to prove how insincere was Hoover's homily to Europe on disarmament, is thrilling the public with air maneuvers which only prove how complete and extensive is the destruction which can be raised from heavens to which men have raised up from times immemorial their hands for blessing! This air show to thinking men proves the necessity of alternatives to national war and revolutionary street barricades in the struggle for justice. What will barricades avail against these air men? More than ever Einstein's way of the refusal of young men to fight in national wars and Gandhi's methods of non-violent resistance become important to a race unwilling to face annihilation in large scale war.

### THE POPE ON SOCIALISM

SO the Pope says: "It is not possible to be at once a good Catholic and a true socialist." Then so much the worse for the Catholic Church, for the only religion that will save the world from disaster is true Socialism. This same Pope, you remember, thundered against birth control in the name of all the Celibate Fathers of the Church. But Catholics not too ignorant to know how seem to practice birth control about as much as Protestants, Jews and free thinkers. I suspect they will increasingly practice Socialism.

The Pope's statement is another illustration of well meaning but illogical interest in social justice. He wants higher wages and better conditions for the workers. He denounces "an excessive and unjust disproportion of the commodities of life between capital and labor"; he declares that "work is not a salable commodity", etc., etc. Good enough. But what else is labor under the capitalist system? What is a just proportion of the "commodities of life" between capital and labor in a society where "the differences in social conditions in the human family which were wisely decreed by the Creator, must not and cannot ever be abolished." To this the Pope can give no answer. He condemns us to perpetual class struggle. And his conclusion rebuking Socialism is a direct interference of the church in politics of an intolerable sort. Pressed to its logical conclusion (as I hope it will not be) it ultimately threatens the kind of religious war which has flared up in Spain.

### SPAIN AND THE CHURCH

OF course I do not justify the orgy of church burning in Spain. It may have been instituted by the enemies of the republic on the extreme right and the extreme left to embarrass it. The government had to curb severely such rioting, and it did its duty.

But in Catholic Spain such riots give food for thought. No politicians or agitators could stir up such extensive riots were there not at least a minority intensely bitter against the economic exploitation and intellectual enslavement to which the church has been so mighty a partner in the country of the Inquisition.

A Catholic writer of an able biography of the great Conquistador De Soto, speaks of the immense flowering of the national energy in Spain following the final triumph of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the expulsion of Moors and Jews. Yes, and behold the fruit! Centuries of dry rot and corrupt exploitation of peasants in Spain and now this hatred of the Church of the Inquisition.

### ANOTHER KING OF TYRANNY

REMEMBERING the biography and reading of the riots, my mind went to Russia. There the Soviet government maintains its own inquisition and its own propaganda to make the people think alike. Its immediate results are an immense lowering of national energy, even as in Spain for the half century following the fall of Granada. The ends to which the Russian government directs its energy, the social salvation of the masses from poverty and the exploitation of the profit system, seems to our generation preferable and more practicable than the Spanish end of saving immortal souls if necessary by fire and torture. But is there not a very similar danger in the years to come from this method, no matter what the end?

Not for a moment do I mean this question to suggest a hypocritical, stupid, "holier than thou" refusal to trade with Russia because there is some conscription of labor in the war against poverty. We cannot for one brief second support capitalist embargoes to help capitalist coercion at home for private profit. Indeed we should embrace every offer or every hope of adjustment of trade relations with Russia. The Soviet government scores, and scores heavily, as it did in its disarmament proposals, by offering the quarrelling capitalist nations an "economic non aggressive pact" to make compulsory "sale on the home market at prices no higher than on the foreign market." That tests the good faith of all this row about Russian dumping.

### LABOR'S FIGHT ON WAGE CUTS

THE A. F. of L. declaration of war against wage cuts is all to the good. It will mean little unless backed by better machinery than the A. F. of L. used in the Danville textile strike or the Paterson aeronautical strike and better organization work than it has done for years. The best fight is now being made by the West Virginia Miners Federation, outside the A. F. of L. because Green's own organization, the United Mine Workers, sold out or laid down and died in West Virginia.

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XII.—No. 21

Published Weekly at  
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1931

Entered as Second Class Matter, January  
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,  
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

In This Issue:  
**HEYWOOD  
BROWN:**  
War: Let's Be Total  
Abstainers

## Workers Fight Back at Wage Cuts; Steel and Woolen Mills Tied Up

### Hoffman Is Convicted On 3 Counts

Stroudsburg Jury Con-  
victs Labor Leader  
While Striker's Mur-  
derers Remain Free

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
STROUDSBURG, Pa. — Alfred Hoffman, organizer for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union, has been convicted on three indictments arising out of the current local strike. Hoffman was convicted of conspiracy to commit assault and battery on strike-breakers, of "malicious mischief" in throwing stones through strikers' windows, and of "tampering with the automobile" of another "scab." The jury dismissed two indictments charging conspiracy to murder.

Hoffman was released on \$2,500 bail. Sentence was not pronounced. Bail was granted pending application for a new trial.

A fantastic trial in which it was difficult to tell who was the defendant and what the crime marked the latest efforts of the court and the district attorney to smash the hosiery workers' strike. Technically Hoffman, union organizer, was on trial charged with conspiracy to murderously assault strike-breakers.

One difficulty was that no scab had been murdered while one girl striker had been. So that the district attorney was confronted with the fact that the husband of one of his witnesses, Nellie Miller, had just been freed by a grand jury's refusal to indict when it was freely granted that he had taken part in the slaying of a girl striker, Alberta Bachmann. August Bago, father of two of the four who took part in the killing, was another state witness, calmly confessing that when his boys shot at the girls and killed Miss Bachmann no one had been near his property to give any offense.

Shooting at Girl Admitted  
Bago told of shavings in the night near his home admitted they had not been reported to the police, that no one had ever been hurt, and that they stopped when the company got the injunction it wanted. His cold-blooded story of how his boys shot at the girls with Bachmann as they ran screaming for help away from the volleys of the eight men again raised the issue as to why the slayers were not even brought to trial.

The strikers testified as long as Judge Shull, who again repeatedly showed his anti-labor bias, would allow defense attorneys to put them on the stand, that Hoffman had again and again urged a peaceful strike. The only suggestion of violence made in a strike meeting was made by John Dorr, now a state witness, they swore. When Hoffman heard what Dorr was saying, he had stopped him immediately. Later Dorr had scabbed because the strike "was not exciting enough," they said. Dorr and his crowd then became the most bitter scabs. A traffic cop testified he had never seen any disturbance at the mill but did tell of a mad chase after speeding automobiles carrying scabs, bosses, attorneys and the county detective, who had seen a phantom striker's car chasing them.

Defense Atty. Forrest Mervine directly charged that the whole case was a frantic effort to cover the killing of Alberta Bachmann. Dist. Atty. LaBar answered that he did not have to prove that Hoffman said anything which led to violence, it was enough that some shots had been fired by unknown parties in the night, that there had been scuffles between strikers and scabs and that some tacks had been found in the road near the mill.

### Unionists, Socialists Jailed in Lansdale

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
LANSDALE, Pa. — Even a request from Governor Pinchot did not prevent the best-controlled local government officials from breaking up a meeting of the hosiery union held here today on private property. As a result four officials of the union and three prominent Philadelphia Socialists were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

For some time the union has

### Busick Polls Big Vote In Los Angeles Ballot; Loses by 700 Ballots

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
LOS ANGELES. — Socialists ran four candidates for the city council. There are fifteen councilmanic districts in the city. There were about ten candidates running in each district. City elections are non-partisan. No party label appears on the ballot.

The vote for Socialist candidates follows: George Grant, 440; Ernest Debs, 460; Allick Anderson, 420. The winning candidate in each district polled about 2,000 votes. We did not put on a very active campaign for lack of funds.

Bill Busick polled 1,188 votes. His communist opponent polled 199. The winner in this district polled 1,900. This is the strongest communist district in the city. They did not run any other candidates for council.

### New Leader Contest Draws Near Closing

Gertrude Klein Main-  
tains Lead as Sub-Get-  
ters Continue Hard at  
Work

By The Contest Editor  
AS THE NEW LEADER circulation contest approaches its close the office is preparing for the happy task of entering hundreds of new subscriptions during the coming week. June 1st is the last day of the contest, and while subscribers delivered to the office up to midnight of June 1st or postmarked before that time will be credited to contestants, nevertheless, we would urge that as soon as subs are obtained they should be sent post-haste to the New Leader office, to avoid the last minute rush and to assure the prompt receipt of the paper by new subscribers who will be anxiously looking forward to seeing it.

The two most welcome visitors to the office these days are Gertrude Klein and Minnie Weisberg. It is not unusual for them to bring in from 25 to 50 subs at a time. That's the way we like to see them coming in.

The announcement in the last issue that Miss Klein was in the lead spurred the friends of Mrs. Weisberg in the Brownsville branch of the Party in the co-operative movement to greater efforts than they had made heretofore to get subs for her. As a result Mrs. Weisberg's score rose considerably, although she still is second. Perhaps the chief reason for Miss Klein's fine showing is the remarkable support she is receiving from her co-workers in the headquarters of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They have made up their minds that she shall go to Vienna this summer to attend the Socialist International Congress as the first prize winner, but the active spirits in the Brownsville branch feel the same way about it so far as their candidate is concerned, no one can be certain of the outcome of the contest until it is over.

How the Entries Stand  
The following is the standing of the first 25 contestants as we go to press:

1. Gertrude Klein, 2. Minnie Weisberg, 3. Dr. Louis Sabloff, 4. Harry Lichtenberg, 5. Fred General, 6. Samuel Richman, 7. Charles R. Bradford, 8. A. F. Zager, 9. Ben Seltzer, 10. Daniel F. Gage, 11. Sol Berman, 12. Ida Sondick, 13. Irving Wolf Salert, 14. J. D. Ortlip, 15. Nathan Riesel, 16. Henry Koelzer, 17. Bernard Schub, 18. Ethel L. Amerlin, 19. Harry Haworth, 20. J. Kutler, 21. Pierre de Nio, 22. Abe Belsky, 23. J. F. Mincher, 24. Sarah Volovick, 25. Kurt Sell.

As will be seen, there are few changes. Ida Sondick went up three places and Abe Belsky, Yip secretary, gets in among the 25 leaders. Several of the 70 contestants were away down on the list have responded to last week's announcement and having obtained 50 points or more are now entitled to "America's Way Out." Norman Thomas's much discussed new book.

Dr. Sabloff, who is third, is ex-

### Union Heads Jailed in Harlan, Ky.

Round-Up of Workers' Leaders Follows Swiftly on Indictments

HARLAN, Ky. — (FP) — Within a few hours after he made public a statement in which he said that the starving miners of Harlan County were fighting with their back to the wall and that they would help themselves unless they soon got help from others, William M. Hightower, president of the Everts local, United Mine Workers of America, was arrested by the militia.

He was charged with murder in connection with the clash between miners and gunmen which resulted in the calling in of the troops and in which three deputies and one miner were killed. He was the fifth arrested, the secretary of the union, the Everts chief of police, assistant chief of police and town clerk already being in custody. Hightower had led the miners in welcoming the troops to Everts a few days before, saying that the mine guards would now be disarmed and the miners would be free to organize and form their union. Just before the arrest, which was made as he was arranging bail for the other four, he said that the governor and the commander of the militia had double-crossed the striking miners.

Judge Is Operator's Son  
Indictments returned by a special grand jury after the militia arrived have placed behind bars without bond both the chief union leader and the chief political leader of the miners. W. B. Jones

(Continued on Page Three)

### Pocketbook Strike Call Is Authorized

"Runaway" Shops Meet  
Resistance in Mass.—  
Strike in Fall River

DIFFICULTIES between leather goods workers and employers in the New York market over the reaching of a new working agreement reached an open break this week when employers in the Industrial Council of the Associated Leather Goods Manufacturers locked out some 2,000 members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union.

The union retaliated immediately by authorizing the calling of a general strike. Efforts by employers to deal with the workers as individuals met the "uniform refusal of the workers to confer with them. Simultaneously, Barnet Wolff manager of the union, announced that "runaway" shops which have attempted to set-up low-standard factories outside of New York have run full-force into resistance of the respective out-of-town labor movements.

In Fall River, Mass., Daniel Ritter, a New York manufacturer, established the Universal Leather Goods Co. The Fall River labor movement immediately went into action and before the plant could begin operation, a strike was called, in which over 40 workers struck. In New Bedford, Mass., Sol Mutterpearl and the Strand Hand Bag Co., New York "runaways," have met the same sort of difficulties. The workers in these shops have been called to a meeting by the local central labor union which has asked the Pocketbook Workers' Union to send an organizer. This request has been met and organizing work is going swiftly ahead.

The "lock-out" in New York City came unexpectedly Monday morning and broke an unsigned "truce" which was understood to be in effect pending the signing of an agreement to replace that which expired May 1st. The employers had asked for a 25 per cent wage cut and for the right to discharge 10 per cent of their employees annually without stating or proving any sufficient cause. The union refused to grant this request outright, insisting on some form of protection for its members. While outside factors were trying

### War on Wage Cuts!

Resistance to Efforts to Make Workers Shoulder New Burdens Requires a Revived Labor Movement With Effective New Policies

FROM every section of the United States comes news of wage reductions. The working class is facing a decline in the standard of living. The breakdown of industry always brings this tragedy to the workers. The present depression is the most severe in our history and it promises to be the longest. There are no signs of recovery this year. There are trying struggles ahead for the workers of this country.

We have turned a definite point in our industrial history. Not only are wage workers and working farmers being pushed down to lower levels of living. The upper class of industrial magnates and their banking allies are gathering in the holdings of the smaller fry. This happens in every collapse of the system. Concentration of capital and power proceeds as the intermediate classes are pushed to the wall.

The cries of distress that come from the labor front brought the first fighting note from the American Federation of Labor in years. President Green declares that unemployment "is being more keenly felt; . . . social unrest is steadily increasing" and we "are facing a third winter of distressing unemployment." The executive council calls upon the workers "to resist wage reductions."

Labor Must Act for Itself  
THE New Leader has been calling attention to this for more than a year. Time has been wasted in passing responsibility for action to the employing class. This has been futile. More and more the workers have been pressed to the wall. Now a fighting note is sounded. The labor army is urged to assume its responsibility. Better a fight against slow sinking to degradation than to stand still and plead with the ruling classes to be merciful. They are looking after their own interests. We should look after ours.

Within a few days the march of a mighty plutocracy against wage standards shows a movement all along the line. Steel workers in Mansfield, Ohio revolt against a 15 per cent wage cut, a total of 37 1/2 per cent in eighteen months. At Niles in the same state 10 per cent is taken from the workers.

In St. Louis street car workers by an almost unanimous vote have decided to strike against a 10 per cent cut if negotiations fail them. In New England the machinists have decided to fight any more proposed wage reductions. At Harlan, Kentucky, resistance to degradation by the miners has taken the form of a class war, with terror and armed guards of the company being met by miners with rifles in hand.

In New York City a survey by the Girls' Service League shows that in the working families investigated the weekly income has been cut in half within two years. Hosiery workers in one Pennsylvania sector face an injunction; in another sector Socialists are arrested for speaking for the strikers, and at Stroudsburg, Alfred Hoffman faces a "conspiracy" trial for leading strikers.

The High Wage Hukum Disappears  
A GENERAL survey by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the trend towards wage reductions for January, February, and March was overwhelming. Textiles, lumber, and steel are the most affected. The wage cuts affect 175 establishments in 38 industries. As this is written news comes of 2,400 workers on strike against a wage reduction in the largest woolen plant in one Indiana city.

Not a day passes that the press does not carry similar news. Living in a fool's paradise for ten years after the end of the World War, the workers of the nation face a slow descent to lower levels in the social order unless they summon the courage to fight all along the line. Those on the higher wage levels are the first to be "defeated." The fruits of a generation of organization are going into the pockets of the rulers of industry.

In the upper range of the system are the ruling bankers. In the past twenty years they have marched to the headship of the great industries. Representatives of this banking oligarchy for the past six months have been giving orders for wage reductions and their will-in-industry is law. At first cautious in their statements, in the past few months they have more openly announced that workers must surrender and be content with less rations for themselves and their families.

The old hukum of the United States as a nation of "high wages" and continuous employment has been defeated like a bladder emptied of wind. It never was true except for a small group in the upper section of the skilled trades and now that group is being reduced to a common level with workers below them.

Labor Needs New Methods  
DAY day has arrived for millions of workers who were influenced by the drive of the buglers of capitalism. We are paying for our folly, paying for our years of neglect to guard against inevitable disaster. The system was artificially bloated and the collapse had to come some time. It came and found most of the working masses thinking that American capitalism was going to produce a utopia of happiness. It has brought only a nightmare of disillusion and despair.

But it is not too late to recover the soul and fighting spirit of the working masses. An elemental sweep of resentment should summon them together in every organization and in every city to take measures against the fate that yawns for them. In many cities it will be necessary to kick the nonpartisan political policy out of their councils and organize to take over the powers of the city governments. Many of these governments are simply bureaus of local chambers of commerce flying the banner of the open shop and anti-union policy.

At the ballot box these usurpers are weaklings. The workers are invincible. The public powers can be taken from the masters in these cities and under the protection of these public powers the workers can be organized.

Indeed, the situation is such that emergency conventions of the workers might well be held in every state to consider measures of resistance and programs of action. As a bleak winter is ahead every organization of the workers should in the meantime be formulating policies and programs for consideration at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Another Hard Winter Ahead  
UNLESS some intelligent action is taken the next winter is likely to witness food riots in many cities. Such blind and irresponsible upheavals will make a bad situation worse and lead to reaction against the workers themselves. We cannot afford to let conditions drift. That means futility and despair.

The time for thinking and action has arrived. To look ahead and anticipate events is the generalship that is required. The initiative must come from the labor army in their local unions, central, district and state organizations.

Everywhere Socialists and progressive trade unionists should point out the perils of inactive watchful waiting. They should awaken the masses, revive the crusading spirit, stir up discussion, formulate measures to meet the situation, and then fight against the measureless greed that would transform the nation's toilers into subservient mudsills of an arrogant exploiting class.

### U. S. Reports Pay Slashes In General

But Organized and Un-  
organized Labor Shows  
Signs of Resistance

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Reports to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics from manufacturing establishments show that in January, February and March the trend was overwhelmingly toward wage reductions. While increases involving 178 employees, in five establishments in five industries, were recorded, there were wage cuts affecting 22,502 employees in 175 establishments in 38 industries. Wage increases in the first-named group averaged 5.8 per cent and affected only 10 per cent of the employees in those plants. The wage cuts, however, averaged 10.3 per cent and covered 81 per cent of all employees in the plants concerned. Textiles, lumber and steel were the industry groups reporting the most reductions in pay.

Wage cuts ranged from 8 per cent for 58 men's clothing workers to 30 per cent for 19 workers in a fertilizer factory. One group of 4,500 iron and steel workers took a cut of 3 to 20 per cent, and 2,317 lumber and sawmill workers had their wages slashed 5 to 20 per cent, while 2,090 hosiery and knit goods workers suffered an average reduction in pay of 8 1/2 per cent.

Workers Fight Back  
While government bureaus report lowered wage standards and scattered reports of wage cuts appear in the press, there is some evidence of resistance among organized and unorganized workers.

As President William Green of the American Federation of Labor urged militant opposition to all wage cuts, St. Louis street carmen have empowered their officers to call a strike to defeat a proposed 10 per cent reduction, 1,800 steel workers in the Mansfield, Ohio, plant of the Empire Steel Corporation struck against a 15 per cent cut, building tradesmen in Indianapolis prevented a 20 per cent reduction, and 2,400 workers in the Mishawaka Rubber and Woolen Mfg. Co. at Mishawaka, Indiana, have struck against reductions. Hosiery workers continued their strike in Pennsylvania.

Farm Wages Lowest Since 1916  
Farm wages are the lowest since 1916, says a report in the May issue of the Monthly Labor Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. For the whole country, the average farm wage in April last year was 162 per cent of the average for the five-year period 1920-1924; on April 1 this year it was only 127 per cent of the pre-war average; in January this year it was 129 per cent.

For April this year, the average rate paid per month, with board, by divisions of the country, was: North Atlantic States, \$36.86; North Central, \$31.28; South Atlantic, \$17.50; South Central, \$17.88; Far Western, \$43.07.

Disclosure that wages as low as \$3 a full-time week are being paid to textile workers in Massachusetts mills by new firms that have taken over abandoned mill properties, is made in a formal report by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This report shows that the much-touted "moral pressure," which is the only weapon given the state by the Massachusetts minimum wage law, is utterly powerless against this new type of sweatshop concern. According to the Assistant Commissioner of Labor and Industries for Massachusetts, who made the investigation, these new concerns have moved into disused plants and have taken on full-time workers at \$5, \$6, or \$7 a week, and in some cases have paid as low as \$3 for full time.

Family Incomes Cut in Half  
The weekly income per person of a sample of New York working families has been cut in half in the last two years, a survey conducted by the Girls' Service League of America reveals. The League attempts to secure jobs for girls between 15 and 22 years of age.



## Mayor Stump Is Named for Second Term

**Maurer and Other Reading Socialists Picked to Make Race Again**

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
READING, Pa. — Reading Socialists have decided on their candidates for the coming city election. There was no doubt about the wishes of the majority of the party members when they met in caucus last week. The rules of the nominating body required a majority vote and all the candidates were named on the first ballot.

The Socialist standard bearers in the coming city election are as follows: For Mayor, J. Henry Stump; for Treasurer, Andrew P. Bower; for Comptroller, Walter R. Hollinger; for the City Council, James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder.

The Socialists of Reading are preparing to get under way in the most strenuous campaign in local political history. The party will enter the struggle united and freed of the necessity for a primary contest and the Socialists are the only group in the field not hampered by factional differences.

Stump, Maurer, Snyder and Hollinger were elected in 1927 and their re-nomination means a determined fight to win. Three candidates for school director were also chosen. They are George M. Rhodes, Alvin Stone, and Mrs. Bertha Weidner.

The party will also place a full list of candidates in the field for Berks County offices, including sheriff, District attorney, comptroller and surveyor.

## New Leader Contest Drawing to a Close

(Continued from Page One)

pected to hold his position. For several weeks the Midwest branch has distributed copies of the New Leader from house to house, and at the request of the branch the office has sent a letter to the first list of about 70 names informing them that a member of the Midwest branch would call to see them shortly to solicit their subscriptions. This will undoubtedly suggest itself as a good method to pursue by other branches. It has already done so in the case of Circle 8, Y. P. S. L., the members of which have already begun house to house distribution of the Party organ.

## Painters Like New Leader

Socialist Party organizations are not the only ones to appreciate The New Leader. The District Council of Painters, of which Philip Zauner is the secretary, is a labor organization which recognizes the educational value of this publication. It proved this by ordering 1,500 copies of last week's issue which contained an article by Louis Stanley on the front page of the union's fight to enforce the prevailing rate of wages for their members. These copies were distributed by New Leader representatives among members of the various locals at their meetings. One local in particular, No. 51, not only cooperated in the distribution but insisted that Ben Blumenberg address the well attended meeting. His statement directing attention to the story and assertion that the New Leader's aim is to publish the truth regarding Labor's struggles were received with applause.

Many hundreds of copies are being disposed of at open air meetings, the Chelsea branch still leading in the number of copies actually sold at such meetings.

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## The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists

CHICAGO—Telephone electricians in Chicago are in no mood to accept increased pay. Local 134 of the Electricians' Union met to decide whether to accept a raise of 25 cents a day. They were entitled to it under a five-year contract with the telephone company. "Do we want it?" asked Charles Paulson, union president. "No," the workers decided. "In view of the present business depression we feel we shouldn't take it. Tell them to keep the 25 cents. It will make everybody feel better."

EASTON, Pa.—(FP)—The local unions of the United Textile Workers of America in the Easton district voted to accept an 8% reduction in wages in the silk industry. The reason given was that silk is in a bad way and the union wishes to aid in solving the industry's troubles.

## Dr. Anna Ingerman And Mrs. Zametkin Meet Death

### New York Socialists Lose Two Active Figures in Life of Movement

THE Socialist party has suffered a heavy loss through the death of Dr. Anna Ingerman, which took place at the Polyclinic Hospital at midnight on Tuesday, following a severe operation. She is survived by her husband, Dr. Sergius Ingerman, and her married daughter, Dr. Eugenia Ingerman Low, and will be mourned by a host of friends and comrades, both here and in Europe.

Anna Semyonovna Aminin was born at Vyetka, near Gomel, in Russia, in May, 1868. While in gymnasium in the 1880s she became interested in the Social-Democratic movement, which was then beginning to develop in Russia under the guidance of such leaders as Paul Axelrod, George Plekhanov, and Vera Zassulitch. Deciding to cut loose from influences which would have bound her to bourgeois life and interests, she went abroad and took up the study of medicine at Berne in Switzerland. The city was then a place of refuge for Russian revolutionary exiles, and the young woman set herself to master Marxian economics and social philosophy as well as medical science. It was here that she met Sergius Ingerman, also a medical student, who was already a convinced and active Socialist, and in May, 1889, they began an exceptionally happy married life.

In 1891 Sergius Ingerman came to New York, and a little later the young wife followed. Here they have lived ever since, except for a sojourn of about two years in Russia after the 1905 revolution. Here members of the old Socialist Labor party, of the Social-Democratic party in the later '90s, and of the Socialist party since its inception, as well as in the New York organizations of the Russian Social-Democracy. Because of her tireless service as lecturer and teacher for numerous Russian, German, Jewish, and American study circles, women's clubs, and workingmen's societies connected with the movement, it was said by her friends that she was equally concerned with helping babies to get physically born and with helping young adults to get spiritually reborn as Socialists.

Anna Ingerman's extraordinary vitality and her intense interest in life and especially in the working-class movement, kept her young in appearance and manner as well as in spirit. Funeral services are held at the Forward Building, Friday at 11 a. m.

## Mrs. Zametkin, Veteran N. Y. Socialist, Dies

THE many friends and comrades of Mrs. Adella Kean Zametkin, member of the Jamaica Branch of the Socialist Party, were shocked early this week to learn of her death in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. Comrade Zametkin had been transferred from her home to the hospital the previous week for observation, as she had been ill several months. A blood transfusion was found to be necessary and her daughter supplied the blood.

Despite all efforts, Mrs. Zametkin died.

THE BROOKLYN FREE FELLOWSHIP

Brooklyne Masonic Temple

1391 Bedford St., New York City

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 24, 1931

8 P.M.—Rev. Arthur L. Aronson on "INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD PEACE"

followed by presentation of "WAR BRIDGES" a stirring one-act anti-war play by cast of young people of the Fellowship.

Music Admission Free

## Supreme Court Attacks Calif. Red Flag Law

**Part of Statute Found Unconstitutional in Decision on Stromberg Case**

By Laurence Todd  
WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Yetta Stromberg's conviction in the state court of California for violation of the Red flag law enacted during the post-war hysteria, was set aside May 18 by the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Hughes read the majority opinion. Dissent was expressed by Justices McReynolds and Butler.

The Supreme Court found that one of the three clauses in the law was unconstitutional, and that she had been convicted after the prosecuting attorney had told the jury that they could find her guilty on this clause alone, or on any one of more of the three clauses. The high court did not find the entire law unconstitutional. Hence, if other indictments remain, restricted to the other clauses, she may again be placed in jeopardy.

Sec. 403a of the California Criminal Code, involved in this prosecution, reads: "Any person who displays a red flag, banner, badge or device of any color or form whatever in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly, or from any house, building or window as a sign, symbol or emblem of opposition to organized government or as an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or as an aid to propaganda that is of a seditious character, is guilty of a felony."

14th Amendment Violated  
Appeal was made to the District Court of Appeal in California, on the ground that the phrase "opposition to organized government" was an invasion of the right of free speech guaranteed by the Amendment to the federal constitution. The appellate court agreed that this phrase might be construed to mean perfectly peaceful and lawful political opposition to government as conducted by another political party, and that therefore the constitutionality of the clause was questionable. However, it ruled, the section was complete without this clause.

The Hughes majority of the Supreme Court refused to accept this disposition of a constitutional doubt. If any clause were invalid, then the conviction could not be upheld.

"It has been determined," they said, "that the conception of liberty under the due process clause of the 14th Amendment embraces the right of free speech. The right is not an absolute one, and the State in the exercise of its police power may punish the abuse of this freedom. We have no reason to doubt the validity of the second and third clauses of the statute as construed by the state court to relate to such incitements to violence."

## Finds Statute Vague

"The maintenance of the opportunity for free political discussion to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes may be obtained by lawful means, an opportunity essential to the security of the Republic, is a fundamental principle of our constitutional system. A statute which upon its face, as authoritatively construed, is so vague and indefinite as to permit the punishment of the fair use of this opportunity is repugnant to the guaranty of liberty contained in the 14th Amendment. The first clause of the statute being invalid upon its face, the conviction of the appellant, which so far as the record discloses may have rested upon that clause exclusively, must be set aside."

However, the law as a whole is not declared unconstitutional. The case is "remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion," and in these further proceedings new facts may be brought in. Hence the court declined to rule, at this time, on constitutional questions as to whether the anarchy and seditious clauses were fairly applied in view of the facts developed at the trial. It is still possible, although unlikely, that the young Communist will again be tried and sentenced to prison.

## Gala Program to Open Tamiment May 29th

One of the most interesting events in the opening of Camp Tamiment for Decoration Day of the current season, especially to friends of the Rand School, is the dedication of the fine new stage and hall which has just been completed. The official representatives of the Camp and the Rand School on this occasion will be Morris Berman, who is President of Camp Tamiment, Adolph Held and Louis Waldman.

The design for the new hall was made by Ben Josephson, with the advice of M. E. Shapiro, theatrical builder and Mr. Wallenstein, engineer. On Friday night, May 29th, the guests will be welcomed by Vincent Sherman, Social Director, and his staff, in the Clubroom, where an informal program around the deep fireplace will precede formal numbers and dancing.

## Penn. Socialists Wage Losing Legislative Battle For Free Speech in Towns

**Rail Brotherhoods Use Socialist Method in Fight for Full Crew Law**

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
HARRISBURG, Penna.—Moving to dislodge the House elections committee from consideration of his bill, No. 955, which would compel local authorities to grant permits for meetings on certain public properties to all political parties without discrimination, Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Representative has put the members of the Pennsylvania House on record—23 for, to 113 against free speech. Gagged by House rules which were used to prevent Hoopes from explaining the bill, the Socialist leader was again halted by the speaker when he attempted to tell members of suppression of free speech during last fall's campaign.

Hoopes challenged members to vote on his motion as a sign of their belief or disbelief in the principles of free speech and rights of minority groups. The roll call revealed 23 'yays' to 113 'nays'.

Regaining the floor again after some maneuvering, Hoopes obstinately took up his denunciation of police tyranny that resulted last year in the arrest of James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor, on Pittsburgh City Hall steps where, forty-eight hours before, his old-party Republican opponent had spoken at length with police cordons blocking off traffic on the city's main thoroughfare that the now-governor might not be interrupted. Hoopes also alluded to his own arrest in Allentown during the same political struggle. The bill on which the Socialist members sought a vote provided that local government officials, county, city, borough and township should be required to issue permits for public political meetings on steps and adjacent sidewalks of publicly owned buildings. Provision was made against the monopoly of such privileges by one group. The result of the passage of the bill would be the creation of a free forum in every organized community endowed with concrete privileges to the use of the public places instead of the empty constitutional rights clearly set forth on paper but regarded by local officials under the domination of a local ruling class, about as much as the traditional "scrap of paper" usually has been.

## Labor Attacks Machine

A motion to discharge the railroad committee of the House from consideration of the "full-crew" bill backed by Railway Brotherhoods and the State Labor Federation has been defeated by a vote of 115 to 60. That the move was made may signify a new development in the legislature. Like all capitalist parliamentary machines, the Pennsylvania General Assembly is dominated by the committee system through which hundreds of progressive and labor measures are each year slaughtered without the mass of workers realizing it. There is only one way to defeat this system and that is to discharge a committee from consid-

eration and the number of votes required for this has been steadily raised until now a clean majority is required. Further all such motions are frowned upon by the deadening tradition of "legislative courtesy" with the result that in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, no committee has been discharged since 1921, and no member has for years had such a motion. When Socialist Representatives reentered the Assembly for the first time in thirteen years, a change was soon effected. The very earliest days of the session saw the Socialists move the discharge of the powerful Appropriations committee from their resolution for the investigation of the price of bread. The same device was used to gain a record vote on unemployment insurance bills sponsored by these belligerent members and the tradition broken, labor has now joined the attack.

## Pittsburgh Socialists Arrange Big Picnic

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Preparations are in full swing for the picnic to be held by the Allegheny County branches at Turner Park on Sunday, June 7th. It is planned to make this affair one of the largest in the history of Allegheny County. Already one co-operating organization has taken 200 tickets and others are expected to take many more. There will be an orchestra and dancing, a complete program of activities, and entertainment, and refreshments.

The National Executive Committee meets in Pittsburgh on Saturday and Sunday, June 13th and 14th. Plans have been completed for a mass meeting in one of the downtown theatres on Sunday afternoon, and a banquet at the International Lyceum in the evening. The membership is fully informed and expectations are for an enthusiastic outpouring.

Highly successful street meetings have been held on Fridays and Saturdays in parts of the North Side and the East End. It is planned to make branches responsible for street meetings in their own localities, the County Executive to route the speakers, and the expectation is that many more weekly meetings will be held in the future. It is expected that two bills just passed by the Legislature will help the party at the next election. One allows registration within two months prior to the primaries, and the other reduces the poll tax which has ranged from below \$1 to as high as \$14 to a flat 50 cents.

On Sunday afternoon, May 17th, a highly successful mass meeting was held at Moose Temple by the Conference for Unemployment Indemnity, sponsored by the County Executive. Over 75 branches, labor and fraternal unions took part, and a crowd of 1000 packed the hall. The Rev. Father James R. Cox, militant labor sympathizer, and Representative Darlington Hoopes of Berks County, spoke. Patrick Fagan, president of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union, presided.

## Austrian Socialists Oppose Tours to Soviet Russia

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH, Switzerland.—The Austrian Social Democratic Labor party executive has adopted a resolution urging Socialists not to undertake journeys to Russia. The resolution as sent out by the Labor and Socialist International is as follows:

"Attempts, in which various covering-names and pretexts are used, are being made to persuade Party members to join in group journeys to the Soviet Union."

"This agitation, which is being carried on at great expense, helps the attempts of the Communists to create splits, even when these journeys are represented as apparently harmless tourist trips."

"Even for this reason alone it is not permissible for Party members to organize such journeys or to take part in them."

"At the present moment there is the following additional reason: Just at the present time Party members are being persecuted, imprisoned and banished in Russia, simply because of the fact of belonging to the Social-Democratic Party. In view of these facts it would be a breach of international solidarity to organize collective journeys at the present time for the purpose of visiting Soviet Russia, or to take part in such journeys."

## Cite Workers Under Injunction

PHILADELPHIA.—(FP)—The hosiery workers' union and 14 officials have been cited for contempt of court for alleged violations of the injunction forbidding them to picket within five blocks of the Apex Mills of Philadelphia.

The mill claims that the union men have used unlawful force to restrain scabs from going to work in the mill. The Apex is one of the largest mills in the strike of the union to organize the Philadelphia hosiery industry. Hundreds of workers have been arrested and clubbed by police in the strike, many of them on the picket lines around the Apex mill.

erated and the number of votes required for this has been steadily raised until now a clean majority is required. Further all such motions are frowned upon by the deadening tradition of "legislative courtesy" with the result that in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, no committee has been discharged since 1921, and no member has for years had such a motion. When Socialist Representatives reentered the Assembly for the first time in thirteen years, a change was soon effected. The very earliest days of the session saw the Socialists move the discharge of the powerful Appropriations committee from their resolution for the investigation of the price of bread. The same device was used to gain a record vote on unemployment insurance bills sponsored by these belligerent members and the tradition broken, labor has now joined the attack.

## Radical and Liberal Institutions Given Big Loans and Donations

EXPENDITURES of over two million dollars for aid to labor, liberal and radical causes are set forth in a report of the American Fund for Public Service. This Fund, commonly known as "The Garland Fund," was established by a gift of one million dollars from Charles Garland, son of a wealthy Massachusetts family, who refused to accept his inheritance in 1922. The rise in bank stocks held by the Fund increased the original gift to over two million dollars.

The Fund reports gifts to the end of its fiscal year in 1930, of \$1,378,000, and loans totalling \$780,000, of which half are still outstanding. The report shows that of the \$1,378,000 given away, the largest sum, one third, has gone to labor and radical publications, including over \$150,000 capital to establish and maintain the Vanguard Press; the next largest to workers' educational enterprises, including \$135,000 to Brookwood Labor College; and the third largest to research in behalf of labor, against imperialism and for a series of studies on Russia.

Other large amounts have gone to legal defense in labor and radical cases, for aid to agencies protecting Negroes' rights and for education for working-class children. A large part of these funds have gone to Communist Agencies.

Of the loans, the largest amount, \$188,000, went into strike relief; periodicals and publications got the next largest aid, \$150,000; ball loans totalling over \$80,000. Of the total loans of \$780,000, over eight years, \$300,000 has been repaid. \$95,000 was cancelled as contributions or uncollectible, and \$384,000 is outstanding, much of which, the report states, cannot be collected.

## Plan to Wind up Fund

The resources of the Fund had diminished to \$290,000 at the close of the fiscal year, with pledges for future payment and money set aside for specific purposes totalling \$352,000. The Fund expects to secure the necessary amounts to meet these pledges from repayment of loans. In view of this condition the Fund directors state that its work will be "wound up in the not distant future."

Capital as well as income has been given away in accordance with the expressed desire of Mr. Garland. When the Fund started it was estimated that the entire amount would be disposed of in five to six years. The rise in the value of securities increased the life of the Fund. No further applications for aid are being considered, the directors confining themselves to the projects already selected.

The chief benefactors in recent years have been Brookwood College, the Vanguard Press, the Federated Press, the International Labor Defense and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to which is pledged \$100,000 for a campaign against legal discriminations involving Negroes.

The Board of Directors administering the Fund is composed of Roger N. Baldwin, Robert W. Dunn, Morris L. Ernst, Lewis S. Gannett, Benjamin Gitlow, Clinton S. Golden, James Weldon Johnson, Freda Kirchway, Clara Mitchell, and Norman Thomas.

## Unity House Begins Season On May 29th

UNITY HOUSE is prepared to welcome its many old and new friends for Decoration Day week-end. Friday, May 29, at 5:20 Daylight Saving Time, a special Unity House express leaves Hoboken. The special rate for this week-end of \$8 with a proportionate reduction to union members, eases the strain on pocket-books. Decoration Day finds this workers' vacation retreat in the Pocono Mountains, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, at its loveliest.

The early vacationists will discover many innovations at Unity House this year. Most important of them is the new management of the cuisine, kitchen and dining room. Ben Shindler is on the job and has made radical changes in the service, the dining room and kitchen equipment. The long dining room tables have been eliminated and square tables are in their place. New glassware, silverware and crockery are a part of the improved equipment.

The walks and cottages have been beautified. The waterfront and lockers have been renovated. The tennis courts and other athletic facilities are vastly improved.

The official opening of the thirteenth season at Unity House is set for June 20th. For ten days, beginning June 10th, the eighth annual students' conference of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. will be held at Unity. Among the prominent speakers announced for this conference are Reinold Neibuh and Sherwood Eddy.

Unlike other summer resorts, Unity House is a non-profit organization. It is owned and operated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a place where workers can find rest and recreation at a minimum of cost. This year J. Halpern, vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U., is manager of the house and Morris Novik, who has been connected with this enterprise for the past four years, is associate manager.

## \$2,000,000 Expended by Garland Fund

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## Rand School Graduation This Sunday

**Thomas Is to Deliver the Principal Address—21 Complete Training Course**

WITH a program that will include a sketch on the history of the Rand School presented by the Rand School Players, an address by Norman Thomas, a short address by George Kuhnlein on behalf of the members of the Workers' Training Course, the twenty-fifth year of the School will come to a close, Sunday night, May 24, at p. m. in the Debs Auditorium of the School.

Algernon Lee who will preside will present certificates to the following members of the Workers' Training Course: Julius F. Baum, Joseph Harold Collins, Elias Davidson, Meyer Einbinder, Sarah Feder, Sadie Flam, Gertrude Friedman, Anna Gitler, Eva Glassman, George Kuhnlein, Daisy Lamb, Lillian Lamb, Herman Moos, Henry Pasternack, Karl Phillips, Margaret Bertha, Samuel Tarr, Jacob Wacks, Bertha Wittner, Ida Wittner, Anne Zuckerman.

The year just completed, 1930-31, was the most successful year in the history of the School and reflects in large measure the growth and spirit which has manifested itself in the Socialist Party and Movement in the last year or two. From all indications this year, is merely the prelude to a season of unusual activity in the School for the year 1932-32. Students of the School this year and all Party members are urged to get a copy of the bulletin for next year in order to avail themselves of the splendid list of courses and lectures which are to be given.

School's Friends Invited  
It is particularly encouraging to note that a larger percentage of students this year have come from the Trade Unions, Y. P. S. L., Socialist Party, Workers' Circle, and Young Circle League.

All friends of the School are cordially invited to be present Sunday night.



## Green Hits Bankers on Wage Cuts

A. F. of L. Head Urges Workers to Resist the Lowering of Standards

HOUSTON—(FP)—Bankers should realize that they are assuming grave responsibility for social disturbances in the United States when they demand wage cuts, President Green of the American Federation of Labor told the convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, in session in Houston, during a speech in which he demanded that wages be kept at a high level and that hours of work be reduced, a means of enabling the people to consume the goods they are now able to produce.

Naming Wiggins of the Chase National Bank, Roberts of the National City Bank of New York, Traylor of the First National Bank of Chicago and Stephenson of the American Bankers' Association as advocates of wage reductions, Green declared that organized labor would stand uncompromising and unmovable against all attempts to lower living standards through the imposition of reductions in wages. He also said that "it becomes the solemn duty of the wage earners of the nation to resist, with all the power they possess, the attempt of those banking interests who are seeking to enforce reductions in wages."

Just what Green was referring to, is illustrated by the action of bankers in Birmingham, Ala., who served notice on building contractors that they would get no more credit unless they slashed wages in the building industry. As a result, wages of union men have been arbitrarily cut 15 per cent, while nonunion workers in the same industry have suffered a wage cut of as much as 50 per cent.

Names Steel Head  
Green mentioned the anti-wage cut declarations made by President Hoover, Farrell of U. S. Steel, Swope of General Electric, many railroad executives, and even the anti-union Associated Employers of San Francisco.

"Who is most competent to judge," he asked, "as to whether the maintenance of existing wage standards or a reduction in wages would hasten a return of prosperity? . . . If bankers and their sympathetic friends were right, the bituminous coal industry, which is on the verge of bankruptcy, ought to be the most prosperous of American industries."

"It is common knowledge that during this depression, in the bituminous coal fields of Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, central and western Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the wages of miners have been reduced below a subsistence level. . . . These bankers who are demanding wage reductions will not accept the stocks of many of these bituminous coal companies as collateral for loans. The disaster which befalls the bituminous coal industry dates back from the time when the operators began to reduce wages. Through the coercion of certain bankers the industry has been 'deflated' and as a result the bituminous coal industry is in a worse economic condition than the agricultural industry."

Warns of Next Winter  
Reminding the public that those who have lost dividends in this depression have not suffered as have the unemployed or the victims of wage cuts, Green pleaded for higher purchasing power for the masses.

"Already the wage cutting policies adopted by some employers are producing a most unfavorable social and economic effect," he said. "Unemployment continues; buying lags; social unrest is increasing; human distress is becoming more acute. Meanwhile extreme and impatient proposals are being advanced and sympathetically considered as remedies for the nation's economic ills. . . ."

"Bad as it is and has been, the unemployment situation will be infinitely worse if the nation is forced to pass through another winter of unemployment. Hunger knows no law. It creates social unrest which, in turn, produces grave disorder. When such a stage is reached, public opinion will not fail to hold wage cutting influences responsible for the suffering and distress which millions of men, women and children are forced to undergo."

This is Green's strongest hint, thus far, to American capitalists that the A. F. of L. may be unable to restrain the fury of millions of hungry, discharged workers next winter—unless capitalists make a concession which will restore the workers' faith in the ability of union leaders to help them.

## Detective Who Beat Up Two Young Socialists Goes on Trial Monday

The trial of Detective Harry Lichtblau, for assaulting two young Brooklyn Socialists, is scheduled for Tuesday, May 26th, in the Court of Special Sessions, Brooklyn. The Court is at 171 Atlantic Avenue. Charles Solomon is counsel for Bernard Rifkin and Jesse Gross, the complainants.

## Workers Begin To Fight Back At Wage-Cutting Campaign

(Continued from Page One)

In 1929 a sample group of families was found to have an average income per person of \$10 a week. In April, 1930, the average was \$5.57 a family and in May, 1931, the figure had dropped to \$5. In 1929, 500 families were studied, in 1930, 300, and in 1931, owing to the fact that applicants at the bureau had increased from 40 to 150 a day, it was possible to study only 168 families. Of these, it was found that 27 per cent were trying to live on less than \$4 per person a week; 13 per cent had no income at all. Very few had ever applied for charity.

Machinists to Fight Cuts  
BOSTON—(FP)—The New England Machinists Conference has received assurance that the Intl. Assn. of Machinists will back up the efforts of the local lodges in fighting all wage cuts. Vice-pres. Robert Fechner bore the message. He denounced the wage cutting program of the bankers, and quoted Daniel Willard, president, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as saying, "Industrial management is now on trial and unless it finds some corrective method for these cycles of unemployment, the present capitalist system of finance may be wiped off the map by an aroused and long suffering public."

Street Car Men Ready to Strike  
ST. LOUIS—(FP)—In a strictly secret ballot, St. Louis' union street car men have voted 3,880 to 34 in favor of empowering their officers to call a strike if negotiations fail to induce the traction company to withdraw its demand for a 10 per cent wage cut.

The company says its earnings are insufficient to even pay interest on its notes. It passes the hat to the workers in the form of a proposition to hold 10 per cent of all salaries and wages for 90 days use the money to pay interest and provide the balance, if any, after interest is paid. The union replies that its members are not corporation partners, do not share in the extra receipts when business is good, and therefore must not be called upon to pay the company's debts.

The workers are 100 per cent organized and their decisive strike vote is commanding attention from industrial magnates who heretofore have had no consideration for

## New Leader Supporters Plan Campaign To Boost Paper

HEARTILY approving plans submitted by The New Leader Board of Directors for building the circulation and strengthening the influence of their paper, delegates from Socialist party branches and the Young People's Socialist League at a well-attended meeting last Wednesday evening at the People's House, voted to do the following:

1. Elect one or more members as New Leader agents.
2. Get every Party member to subscribe.
3. Canvass enrolled Socialist voters to become readers.
4. Sell papers at all meetings.
5. Accept the Board's offer as a means of increasing the income of branches of 25 per cent of all new subscriptions and 10 per cent on all renewals.

The meeting listened eagerly to the remarks of James O'Neal, New Leader editor; Morris Berman and Julius Gerber, president and secretary of The New Leader Publishing Association, respectively, and others in which assurances were made that a larger circulation would result in increasing the size of the paper, adding new features, and what is more, as Julius Gerber put it: "When we know we have a weekly with a good basic circulation in New York City it will not take long before we will have a daily paper." This prediction was received with much applause.

Expressing his belief that when the American people become convinced as a result of the present crisis of the necessity for action they will move rapidly, O'Neal declared that never was it so essential for the Socialist press to be boosted at meetings in halls and upon the streets in order to enlighten the people and indicate to them the correct path to follow in these critical times. He deplored the fact that quite a number of branches do not sell The New Leader at meetings and showed what it means to the movement if the impression made by speakers was reinforced by supplementary literature in the shape of an eight-page paper. The editor concluded with an appeal to the delegates to decide that no single meeting would be regarded as a success unless a bundle of New Leaders was on hand for sale.

Over a dozen delegates participated in the discussion which followed. Dr. Louis Sabloff told of the efforts being made in the Midwood district to obtain subs and suggested that similar methods be followed elsewhere. As was to be expected, a number of constructive suggestions for improving the New Leader were offered. Particular stress was placed on the necessity for lightening the content of the paper; more cartoons and simpler articles being called for.

Board members present explained the difficulties in the way

of carrying out some of the suggestions because of financial handicaps, and on behalf of the Board of Directors, Julius Gerber, who presided, invited members to attend director's meetings, declaring that they would be welcome and would be given a courteous hearing.

"The New Leader," he added, "is not my paper, it is not the Board's paper. It belongs to you and to all of us. Every member of the New Leader Association and Board is a member of the Socialist Party. We must all put our shoulder to the wheel, and build an effective Party press and thereby strengthen the Party."

Union Heads Jailed In Harlan, Kentucky  
(Continued from Page One)  
came here several months ago in the guise of a coal digger. He started the union hall to rolling. Joe Cawood has a greater political following than any other man in Harlan County. He is the "miners' candidate." Both are in jail on triple murder charges.

The jailing of these men along with Asa Cusick, Everts' chief of police, and Al Benson, his assistant, Floyd Murphy and Jim Reynolds, strong union workers, on murder charges growing out of the Everts battle between guards and miners, has been a blow to the workers. Jones, Cawood, Cusick, Benson and Hightower, according to interviewed here, were seen in Everts' during the battle which was half a mile away.

"Hell, yes, we shoot to kill; that's what we have ammunition for," said Sheriff Blair according to a newspaper story when questioned about the trouble between his men and the miners. Blair is strongly entrenched with the operators.

"The law will reign supreme," said Judge D. C. Jones in instructing the special grand jury that returned indictments against union men and leaders. Judge Jones married a daughter of the late W. F. Hall, wealthiest coal miner and operator in these fields.

Efforts to indict company guards for intimidating and abusing union miners who entered upon company property for the purpose of calling for mail at post offices in company stores were waived aside by the grand jury, according to W. A. Brock, prosecuting attorney, elected by the miners.

VIENNA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS THIS SUMMER! YOU CAN GO AS THE GUEST OF THE NEW LEADER. WITH ALL YOUR EXPENSES PAID IF YOU WIN THE FIRST PRIZE IN THE NEW LEADER'S CIRCULATION CONTEST.

## B'klyn Edison Fires 2,000 on Vacation Eve

Discharged Workers Picketing the Plant—Brady Ignores Pope

TWO THOUSAND employees of the Brooklyn Edison Company are revealing an amazing example of heartless greed on the part of the corporation. Enjoying a fat franchise and having accumulated tremendous profits in recent years, the corporation, in face of the widespread unemployment, has laid off over 2,000 workers many of whom have picketed the offices of the company.

What makes the discharge of these employees especially contemptible is that they had already been notified when their vacations were to begin when the order came for their dismissal. It is estimated that from this one source alone, pocketing the vacation incomes of the workers, the corporation is about \$50,000 to the good.

But even this does not exhaust the measureless greed of the company. Its annual dividends are said to have increased in the last ten years from \$4.50 to \$8 per share. It is one of the most healthy of the most exploiting corporations in this country but it is not even satisfied with turning workers into the streets and pocketing their vacation money. A protest by the dismissed employees declares:

"Meanwhile those remaining on the job are being subjected to the most rigorous speed-up system, cutting the time ordinarily allotted to electrical installation and construction work by one-half to one-third. Inexperienced and low paid mechanics are being employed in place of the experienced hands laid off. The result is defective wiring and construction involving a most serious menace to the safety of the men employed and particularly to the public."

Naturally, a little pious hypocrisy accompanies this sweating of those who remain at work. Matthew S. Sloan, president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, is a member of the Prosser Committee for the Relief of Unemployment! Mr. Sloan's idea of relief is to relieve the workers of their jobs and make the remaining workers do the work of those who are "relieved."

Other victims of the gouging point out that Nicholas Brady is a Papal Knight, high in the councils of his church, and a big wig in Edison affairs. The Pope recently urged such men against the policy pursued by this corporation but it appears that in the case of the Bradys and their kind piety and merciless usury go hand in hand.

The dismissed workers are circulating a petition all over the city addressed to Mayor Walker demanding an investigation of the practices of this corporation. The committee in charge has opened headquarters in room 2004, 104 Fifth Avenue.

## Dr. Laidler Announces Students Socialist Tour Of Europe in Summer

FINAL arrangements have been made for the "Students Tour of Socialism," to be led by Dr. Harry W. Laidler this summer. The party will leave America on June 23rd, will visit the Scandinavian countries, where particular attention will be given to the co-operative and labor movements, will then proceed to Russia and from Russia to Vienna. The group will arrive at the Austrian capital in time for the convention of the Labor and Socialist International which this year promises to be of extraordinary interest, in view of the complicated economic and international situation. Members will also see the International Working Class Olympiad in Vienna.

Following the Vienna stay, the group will proceed to Berlin and then to America, arriving in New York August 20th. Those interested should correspond immediately with Dr. Laidler at the L. I. D. office, 112 East 19th street, New York City.

The itinerary planned follows: June 23, sail on S. S. Columbus of the North German Lloyd, Tourist Third Cabin; June 30, due Bremerhaven; July 1, to Copenhagen; July 2 through July 6, Copenhagen—studying the co-operative farming system; July 7, to Stockholm; July 8 through July 10, Stockholm—leave night of the 10th by steamer for Abo, Finland; July 11, arrive Abo and by rail to Helsinki; July 12, to Leningrad; July 13 through July 13, Leningrad—by sleeper to Moscow; July 14 through July 17, Moscow; July 18 and July 19, en route to Kiev, arriving on the 19th; July 20 through July 22, Kiev, with visits to collective farms, leaving on the 22nd for Vienna; July 23, en route to Vienna via Lemberg and Cracow; July 24 through August 1, Vienna—arriving at noon on the 24th; at attendance at the International Socialist Congress. Sleeper to Berlin, August 2 through August 5, Berlin—late on the 5th to Bremerhaven—sail for New York on the S. S. Dresden of the North German Lloyd, Special Student Third Cabin; August 16, due New York.

## Hoffman Convicted In Stroudsburg Court

(Continued from Page One)

been carrying on an organizing campaign among the employees of the Dextdale Hosiery Mill. Last week the Burgess refused a request for a permit on the grounds that "the mill officials wouldn't like to have the meeting held. As a result a member of the union offered the use of his property for the meeting and on an appeal from the union and the Civil Liberties Union Pinchot requested the meeting be not disturbed."

Police appeared on the scene before the meeting started and notified the reporters present that the meeting would be dispersed because neighboring property owners objected.

Convictions to Be Affected  
The first speaker, Anna Geisinger, woman organizer for the union had spoken about fifteen minutes when a man appeared and told the chief of police he owned most of the neighboring property and he would like to have the meeting stopped. Then, under directions from the property owner, the police arrested Mrs. Geisinger, handling her very roughly and leaving several bruises on her arms. Local organizer Phelps immediately took the platform. He was at once arrested. Then in rapid succession the police arrested Emil Rieve, International President of the Union, Edward Callaghan, general organizer of the union, Elizabeth Day Hawes, Hannah Morris Biemiller, and Andrew J. Biemiller, all prominent Philadelphia Socialists, from the stand, and placed them under arrest. The latter is a member of the history faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

At the hearing all were fined ten dollars and costs. The case is being appealed. As the case ended the chief of police said, "We don't like it and we're going to show you we don't like it." The union countered his threat by announcing another meeting for next week.

All Lansdale has been stirred by the organizing campaign and the arrests. The crowd loudly cheered each speaker as he was arrested and booed and hissed the cops. They disbanded only after the cops sent to the neighboring town of Ambler for tear gas.

Two Allentown Mills Surrender  
ALLENTOWN, Pa.—(FP)—The silk strikers have won their first two victories in the strike of 7,000 workers against wage cutting and non-union conditions in the Allentown mills. The Price & Price Mill and the Emblem Silk Mill, employing several hundred workers, have agreed to sign the union wage scale adopted by the strike committee at the beginning of the walkout. Other mills are expected to follow.

Picketing started in Allentown's strike of 7,000 silk workers when the bosses announced that they would open the mills after a 2-week shut-down. Very few workers tried to go back to the mills, and these were met by 1,000 pickets who reported at 5:30 a. m. in a driving rain at strike headquarters.

The union has published its demands, which include the right to join any organization of their own choosing, no discrimination against union workers, and the establishment of grievance committees to handle complaints in the shops.

Easton Strikers Jailed  
EASTON, Pa.—(FP)—"The public must be protected," said Judge Calvin S. Boyer, sentencing two hosiery workers to jail terms for alleged beating of a scab in the Bethayres knitting mill strike. Eric Marschener, 20, was given six months and a \$50 fine; Howard Tomlinson, 19, two months and \$50 fine. Each was given an additional year in prison for carrying a concealed weapon, but the year's sentence was suspended.

Dr. Wolbarst at the Group  
"Can We Divorce Sin From Sex?" will be the subject of a lecture to be given by Dr. A. L. Wolbarst, under the auspices of the Group, in the Auditorium, 150 W. 85th street, May 26th, at 8:30 p. m. Dr. Wolbarst is the author of the frankly written and widely discussed sex book, "Generations of Adam."

## Bronx Socialists to Honor Sarah Volovick For Services to Party at Dinner Tonight

A FINE tribute will be tendered tonight, Friday, to Sarah Volovick, in the Paradise Mansion, on Mt. Eden avenue, near Jerome avenue, Bronx. This affair has been arranged by a large number of intimate friends and comrades of Mrs. Volovick, and it is the carrying out of an idea that has been long in the minds of many Bronx Socialists.

Mrs. Volovick is one of the most energetic and devoted workers among the women members of the Socialist Party of New York City. She is an indispensable aid to every Party affair or undertaking. She joined the Party in 1910, and immediately became active in its work, in the campaign for Woman Suffrage and against the preparation for and declaration of war. Since then she has been a delegate to national, state and city conventions.

Edmund Seidel, Bronx Socialist, tells about her in the following: "Along with her numerous branch activities, Comrade Volovick is active on the Woman's Committee of the Socialist Party. Whether it be selling of tickets for a theater benefit, helping unem-

## Brookwood Graduates 37 Students

Muste Announces Campaign for \$100,000 Sustaining Fund for College

KATONAH, N. Y.—(FP)—Commencement exercises for 37 graduates of Brookwood Labor College marked the close of the school's tenth year. Harry Elmer Barnes, editorial writer for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, and Abraham Epstein, head of the Old Age Security League and one of the founders of Brookwood, were among the speakers. Hugh Tully, a miner from Illinois, and Lawrence Hogan, leader of the 1929 textile strike in Marion, N. C., spoke for the graduates, who represent 19 industries, 11 states and four foreign countries.

"Only those who are dissatisfied with things as they are can produce enthusiasm and motive power to further any cultural advance," said Barnes in stating the case for social education. "We have our choice between conservative domination, which means an arrested civilization and ultimate extinction; and social change, driven either by indignation and other emotional motivation or by sound conviction and scientific information."

A campaign for a \$100,000 sustaining fund for Brookwood will be launched in the fall, according to A. J. Muste, head of the school. "Brookwood in these 10 years has thought through its own function in the field of labor education," he said. "We stand for education which is an integral part of the labor movement and which frankly prepares for a new world in which workers shall control their own destiny. At the same time, we believe that labor education must be sound, objective, realistic. Our task is two-fold—to bring Brookwood into closer contact with the workers, organized and unorganized, and to make our financial future secure. With such a sustaining fund, we can be assured of another 10 years of activity."

Message from Miners  
The West Virginia Mine Workers Union sent a message of appreciation for the assistance Brookwood folks have recently given in their union campaign.

"Their work has brought a new spirit and a new hope into the lives of the men and women of these mountains who eke out an existence in producing coal. They came to us in a moment when unemployment was in despair and the future seemed filled with gloom. Now, in the few weeks they have been with us, we have built a strong union of 18,000 men and will soon have organized the bulk of the miners in this state. We can never fail to remember with deep appreciation the generous help given us by Brookwood. Without its assistance there would now be no miners' union here and there would have been actual starvation in many miners' homes."

Brookwood has graduated 223 industrial workers in the 10 years, 85 per cent of them trade union members. Over 70 per cent of these have come from the highly industrialized states of New York, Illinois and Massachusetts, though 23 other states and seven foreign countries have been represented. A recent survey showed graduates functioning as officials or local leaders of trade unions, in the Socialist and Communist Parties, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, in the cooperative, youth and farmer movements, in teaching workers' classes, and as labor press correspondents here and abroad.

DEBS BRANCH, W. C., TO MEET  
The Debs branch of the Workers' Circle will hear a report by B. Schub, its delegate to the national convention, at its meeting Friday night, May 22, at 3 West 16th street, Manhattan. In view of the importance of the meeting it will start promptly at 8:30 o'clock.

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# "SHE GOT WHAT SHE DESERVED"

UNPUNISHED MURDER OF GIRL STRIKER, FRAME-UP OF UNION LEADER, PENNSYLVANIA'S LATEST CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

By John W. Edelman

STROUDSBURG, a Pennsylvania hamlet in the Poconos, has given America what may yet become a labor frame-up case as famous as that of Mooney and Billings.

Alberta Bachman, pretty and 22, a Sunday School teacher but also a hosiery striker, lies in a windswept grave on a mountain top. Her slayers, four men, loyal to their employer and not strikers, walk the Stroudsburg streets, free from prosecution and applause by the Monroe Grand Jury, the District Attorney, the local newspapers and the bar association.

To the same institutions credit must be given for the conviction of Alfred Hoffmann, union organizer, on charges of conspiracy. Conspiracy, not as might be imagined to destroy the peace of mind of the owners of the Mammoth Hosiery Mill, or to destroy the yellow-dog enforced at the mill, or to obtain the re-employment of seventeen union workers dismissed because they attended a union meeting, or to send the two hundred strikers back to work under decent conditions and a proper living wage.

Hoffmann was convicted on much more unassailable and worthy counts:

"conspiracy to commit assault and battery on one Loring Kresge, Horace Storm and other persons; conspiracy to commit malicious mischief by throwing stones through windows of the homes of Loring Kresge, Horace Storm, William Callahan, Clark Miller and other persons; conspiracy to tamper with the automobile of Floyd Andre."

The peculiarities of Grand Juries have been remarked before but the Monroe panel is worthy of especial consideration.

It refused to indict the slayers of the Bachman girl because the District Attorney introduced evidence that led the jurors to believe that when killed, the Bachman girl was in the company of a young man who was carrying around a can of yellow paint.

There is an unwritten, but none the less prevailing law in Stroudsburg, that to carry a can of paint during strike times is a greater and far more heinous crime than killing a woman, whose most solid link with a criminal career was teaching Sunday School.

As Attorney Holmes, counsel for the Mammoth Mill and President of the Bar Association of Monroe County declared, "The good little rat got just what she deserved."

As may be expected, a few un-American "malefactors and hoodlums"—as the Bar Association in a formal motion characterized the strikers—voiced displeasure with the action, or rather the lack of action, of the Grand Jury.

While District Attorney LeBar found it impossible to get the murderers indicted by the Monroe Grand Jury, it was a cinch to get the conspiracy indictment against Hoffmann. LeBar not only got three counts on which Hoffmann was convicted but two others also, charging conspiracy to murder. The jury, however, did not sustain these last two.

Perhaps the fact that the conspired murders never took place made them indictable in the eyes of the Grand Jury that refused to return a true bill on one that snuffed out the life of a striker.

The state's case against Hoffmann consisted of the testimony of five renegade strikers, who had been leaders in the strike originally but had seen the light and gone back to work in the mill, that the organizer had urged the strikers during a union meeting, to "shove scabs off the street, smack 'em in the face, put sugar in the gasoline tanks of their cars and hurl their autos over high embankments."

The defense produced eighteen witnesses, including Hoffmann himself, who testified his only advice was to picket peacefully, shun liquor and firearms and refrain from violence because "violence never won a strike and lost the sympathy of the townspeople." LeBar glossed over the fact that during the time of the alleged conspiracy against Kresge and the others, they had not yet gone back to work, were still members of the union and were cooperating in all strike activity.

When defense attorneys pointed out in their address to the jury that no conspiracy had been proven to the extent that no two persons had ever gotten together to agree to do the things alleged, LeBar told the jury not to worry about that but to go right ahead and convict Hoffmann if they believed he was in Stroudsburg when windows were broken and stones thrown at houses.

"If Hoffmann was in this city when somebody's window was broken, he was guilty of conspiracy," LeBar insisted, "no one in this courtroom can believe that any Stroudsburg boy or girl would throw a stone at somebody's window unless they were told to do so by that super-criminal, Hoffmann."

Labor was unfortunate during the Hoffmann trial in having the Judge, Samuel E. Shull, President of Monroe and Pike County Courts, and Samuel Feldgeise, a Philadelphia Attorney for the Mammoth Mill, as assistant district attorneys. Whenever he forgot to ask a

question that would bring out the true blackness of Hoffmann's character, Judge Shull would ask it or Feldgeise would rush over to LeBar and remind him of his omission. The Judge had refused to grant LeBar a special prosecutor to assist him in the murder case. A request to this effect was made by the father of the murdered girl.

When the first indictment returned against Hoffmann was proven by defense attorneys to have been illegally drawn and technically defective, LeBar was willing to admit his unfitness for office and drop the case. With an effort to earn his salary, Judge Shull saved the day for America by tipping off LeBar to resubmit the indictment to the Grand Jury which was still sitting and bring back a good one, warranted to stand the wear and tear of blind justice.

It must also be remembered and adequately memorialized someday, that Judge Shull was responsible for the prosecution of Hoffmann.

During a recent hearing on a plea by the Mammoth management to make permanent a sweeping injunction, Shull had issued against the strikers, a certain Mrs. Miller, wife of one of the Bachman girl's slayers, testified that at "some union meeting, she couldn't remember which one, either Hoffmann or Jensen Shaw, told the strikers to do away with strikebreakers by sending their autos over embankments."

Filmsy as this testimony was, Judge Shull did not hesitate to in-

terrupt the injunction proceedings to order the District Attorney to prosecute Hoffmann.

Justice can be merciful in Stroudsburg as well as correct.

Although the state's witnesses confined their testimony to the conspiracy to murder, the jury convicted Hoffmann on the minor counts on which no testimony had been heard.

The Mammoth Silk Hosiery Mills of Stroudsburg and Philadelphia, formerly conducted all manufacturing operations in Philadelphia. The mill ran as a union shop. About four years ago, the manufacturing was shifted to Stroudsburg in an effort to get away from the union.

For almost four years the firm succeeded in operating with help trained locally; the Union did not approach the worker nor was any union propaganda carried on. Late last year, however, the silk textile mills in Stroudsburg became organized and in this way some accidental contacts with unionism were had by the hosiery workers.

All employees of the Mammoth Mill in Stroudsburg were obliged to sign "yellow dog contracts."

Early in February, the company posted notices of a wage reduction. Wages prior to this time were substantially below the Union scale. The workers had been obliged to work a 13-hour shift without any lunch period. A firing system enforced by the company was used to penalize workers whose attitude towards management was not sufficiently submissive. Fines amounting to as much as \$16 a week were

levied ostensibly for "bad work" which was never shown the men.

Late January, the silk workers sent for a representative of the hosiery workers' organization and a meeting of the Mammoth workers arranged. No effort was made to unionize the employees at that time and the workers were advised to avoid a strike if possible. A committee interviewed the firm and after some discussion the wage count controversy was settled by a compromise; other grievances were to be rectified. Two days later, the firm fired seventeen men who had been active in protesting against the wage reductions. The agreement reached with the management was violated in every particular. A strike took place at once.

The immediate issue which provoked the walkout was the refusal of the firm to restate men who had been fired.

Alberta Bachman was killed on February 21. Three of her companions were wounded in the same fatal encounter. County Detective Calvin C. Gorgy furnished an admirable example of how the up-state police function in such a situation. He swung into immediate action after the shooting and arrested, not the four men who did the shooting, but one of the men who had been wounded. Him, he jailed as a material witness. With the consideration of an old friend, he neglected to confiscate the corpse of the girl. Not only were the 4 killers permitted to remain at large, they also went to work the next day in



the hosiery mill where a strike broke the murder had taken place, was in progress. Immediately be-County Detective Gorgy, the Mill

Superintendent and a newspaper man were at the home of the strike-breakers and had seen the arsenal of weapons which was being assembled.

When a group of Alberta Bachman's fellow-strikers called on the Sheriff that morning and demanded that he arrest the killers the Sheriff flatly refused. He also gave the delegation to understand that so far as he was concerned, strike-breakers were perfectly justified in carrying firearms. Not until the strikers threatened to take the law into their own hands and bring the killers out of the mill and throw them into jail, did a deputy sheriff do that very thing.

That the Sheriff of Monroe County is not the only constituted authority to entertain fantastic notions of law enforcement was shown at the Coroner's inquest into the girl's death.

Here District Attorney LeBar's whole effort seemed to be concentrated on proving that a can of yellow paint was carried in the automobile. The testimony at the coroner's inquest described the shooting as a veritable orgy by a competent Sergeant of State Police who made an investigation at the request of the strikers' attorney. The four men fired 17 shots and two loads of buckshot from a deer-rifle, an automatic, an old .32 calibre revolver, a shotgun and an old Spanish revolver. Their lust to kill was so great that when the deer-rifle jammed after five shots, one of the strike-breakers pulled an automatic from his hip holster and continued to shoot.

Since then, Judge Shull alashed out at the strikers with a fury and bitter severity seldom equalled in the whole history of labor injunctions. After issuing a record breaking blanket injunction which prohibited all picketing and advertising of the strike, which halted all meetings and publication of strike propaganda. He imposed \$500 fines on each of 16 young hosiery strikers besides jailing two local leaders on contempt of court charges. Thirty-six other strikers were arrested by the Sheriff for peaceful picketing and thrown into jail. The 96 were taken before a Justice of the peace and charged with unlawful assemblage and interfering with an officer in the conduct of his duty. None had yet been served with a copy of the injunction they were held for violating. Union officials and Union attorneys were not notified of the issuance of the injunction until after arrests for contempt had been made. Sixteen of the 92 in jail were tried for contempt of court. The first two heard were Jensen Shaw, young strike leader, and his father-in-law, Ezra Kunkle, very active in the strike. Shaw and Kunkle were fined \$500 each and given 30-days in jail. The Judge forced the two men to swear before he freed them to uphold the Constitution of the United States, the Commonwealth and to abide by the injunction.

In sentencing the strikers, Judge Shull declared that there is actually on such thing as "peaceful picketing" and accused the young workers, none of whom knew an injunction from a hole in the ground, of trying to challenge the authority of the law and the courts.

## "FOR MERCY'S SAKE"

Western Cities Present Tragic Picture of Suffering and Destitution

By George H. Sheaf

THE words forming the heading of this article constitute the title of a small booklet just issued by the Emergency Relief Appeal of the Community Chest of Los Angeles, Calif. Beneath this title, the outside cover of the booklet is the subtitle which says, "Read This Booklet Through," and beneath that in smaller type is this significant statement, "It contains facts which cannot be advertised."

In a letter accompanying the booklet, which is being sent through the mails to responsible citizens of the community, and signed by Joseph Scott, prominent attorney and civic leader, among others is this statement: "Those who apply to these relief agencies are not the ever-present poor; they are families of men with splendid employment records who, in normal times, are able to face the world proudly as self-dependent, upstanding citizens. In appealing to the agencies for aid, they are acting with the desperation of the absolutely destitute. If the need were any less vital, I would not write in this urgent vein. I feel certain that after you have read the accompanying article pamphlet, and I earnestly urge you to follow closely the story it unfolds, you will want to make as generous a response to this appeal as you possibly can."

The booklet is a revelation of distress as it affects the thousands of unemployed in Los Angeles. It is replete with statistics relative to the number out of work, what has been done to provide work, and what has been and is being done to feed those unable to find work. Of the Great White Collar Class, the book says:

"The stock market collapse, the real estate market collapse, the reduction of forces in offices in oil, finance and other companies, the discharge of salesmen from stores have brought to disaster the plans of thousands of men—heads of families—who never dreamed that they might become objects of the Community's compassion and generosity. To these former wage and commission earners, financial disaster has added a still more pitiful army—men in advanced years who came to Los Angeles to retire, invested their means in what they thought was safety, and now find that income has stopped and principal is probably lost."

"For hundreds of such heads of families, the work offered under city bond issues affords no relief. They have been 'white collar men' all their lives. They cannot for one whole day swing a pick or shovel, or push a wheelbarrow full of dirt or rock—to say nothing of five successive days. These are distinctly our own neighbors. Many of them have equities in their homes—or thought they had equities before realty values shrunk. They do not belong 'on the county,' and the county has no funds with which to care for them."

"It is this class of people which in ever increasing numbers has been coming to the agencies of the Community Chest, asking that they be allowed the bare necessities for continuing to live, to send their children to school, to hold on, as valuable citizens and residents of Los Angeles, until they can get on their feet again."

While this booklet is a gruesome recital, it does not tell the

whole horrible story of poverty and woe, which have hit Los Angeles like a besom of destruction, leaving crime and despair in its wake. No mention is made of the miles of vacant small store buildings, never again to be occupied, or of the thousands of tenantless flat and apartment house structures, which may or may not be reoccupied in the uncertain future. It says nothing of the efforts made by the several brands of radicals to try to reach the starving workless workers with an explanation of the causes of their unemployment, and how all attempts by the radicals to put over a campaign of education are ruthlessly suppressed by the police, and that irrespective of the movement the radicals represent. Neither does it call attention to the fact that coincidentally with the publication and careful circulation of this booklet, \$350,000 are being spent by the All Year Club to advertise in Eastern magazines and newspapers the wonderful advantages and possibilities Los Angeles offers to investors and newcomers, this money being an outright donation to the All Year Club from the taxpayers through the city treasury, the entire fraud being perpetrated at the instigation of the Chamber of Commerce, with the sanction and connivance of the city authorities.

But the significant and sensational feature of this appeal is the character and standing of the men making it. This booklet was not gotten out by obscure reformers or by persons unknown whose hearts have been touched. While

it is issued by the Community Chest, it must be remembered that the Chest itself is an agency of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and the Better American Federation. The Community Chest was sponsored and is now managed by the biggest and wealthiest men and women in the community. Joseph Scott, who issued the appeal, possibly is the best known private citizen in California, and one of the wealthiest. He is an ardent champion of the present social order, and his hatred of men and movements whose color is red or even pink is boundless. Others with him in the Community Chest are like-minded in this regard.

That these men, who but a short while ago were sounding the virtues of Los Angeles as the nation's whitest spot in the matter of fundamental progress and prosperity, should now be secretly circulating a booklet among themselves which they admit "contains facts which cannot be advertised," is a commentary upon a situation that needs little further elaboration. That none of the men connected with this appeal understand even remotely why conditions have come that make it necessary goes without saying. If any one does, his published statements belie his private thinking.

At this point it must not be forgotten that while the situation in Los Angeles is indescribably bad, it is no worse than that which exists in other American cities of similar size. Travelers from San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle,

assert that, if anything, conditions in those northern cities are worse than in Los Angeles. Persons coming to Los Angeles from Eastern industrial centers claim that the change of residence closely resembles a jump from Hell into Heaven. If these assertions are true, then the situation throughout the United States is indeed bad.

With Los Angeles as its metropolis, Southern California probably is the richest section in the United States in natural resources and agricultural and manufacturing possibilities. Almost anything planted in the ground will grow profusely, and there are hundreds of square miles of idle farmland awaiting the farmer's plow. Southern California leads in the production of oranges, lemons, grape fruit, walnuts, avocado pears, and the deciduous fruits. Vegetables from this section are shipped to all points of the world. Oil production is second to none in the country. There are bigger and better limestone formations and more mountains of cement than any other state can show. Building stone is inexhaustible quantities and of the finest type abound. The largest ocean filled with fish and presenting the finest harbors are at hand. Natural gas and undeveloped water power sufficient to run every factory on earth are here. The Eastern advertisements by the All Year Club concerning the sunshine and scenery characteristic of this section are not overdrawn. Southern California easily could feed, clothe and house the entire population of all the states West of the Rocky Moun-

tains, and then have plenty of room for all the needed golf grounds and airplane landing fields. There is plenty and to spare, and it should be available to every man, woman and child who desires to come here to live.

Yet, 200,000 persons in Los Angeles alone are jobless and on the verge of starvation. Proportionately, as many are out of work and hungry in San Diego, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara and the smaller towns and cities. The highways are filled with tramps—great strong men and boys—who stretch out their hands in vain for help. Married women and girls galore are competing with each other in their desperate efforts to sell their bodies for bread; never were the charms of the fair sex so cheap and so easily secured. The sight of old people and children quarreling over the contents of garbage cans is common. Only a Dickens could do justice to the situation in describing it with his pen.

Truly, capitalism has almost collapsed in Southern California, so far as it relates to caring adequately for the needs of the people. The "big men" in charge who have undertaken the responsibility of meeting the emergency seemingly understand neither the causes nor the remedy. They do not appear to realize that the breakdown is world-wide. Apparently they think that if enough charity is dispensed at the present time, none will be needed later because of the resumption of prosperity. In the present instance, however, the gravity of the situation is so obvious and so completely beyond their comprehension that their biggest and best cry is, "FOR MERCY'S SAKE!"

## BEFORE THIS DEPRESSION

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE present depression is the culmination of a fairly steady process which has been going on for the past eight or ten years. The decade prior to 1929, was marked by the rapid introduction of new labor-saving devices and speed-up systems, so that productivity per worker has increased very greatly in every line. The Federal government publishes an index number, of the physical volume of production in manufacturing for the years in which it takes its census of manufacturing. This index number shows an increase of 27.3% between 1919 and 1927, which was the latest year in which the census of manufacturing was taken and is available. Yet this marked increase in productivity was accomplished by actually fewer workers. For the average number of employees in manufacturing was 8,997,921 in 1919, and 8,349,755 in 1927. In other words, 7% fewer workers produced 27% more goods.

What this means in terms of a fairly slow but ominously steady increase in unemployment can readily be imagined. Not every one had a job in 1919, and there was naturally a considerable increase in the population during these years. Yet there were 7% fewer people at work in 1927, than in 1919.

There are no federal figures in manufacturing later than 1927, and the figures for the 1929 census of manufacturing are not yet available. A number of states, however, gather figures within

their own borders which bring the picture down to 1929. These state figures tell practically the same story of a further slight but steady decrease in employment.

Probably it was the lowest paid workers who suffered most from this reduction in the working force. For the total payrolls from 1919 to 1927 increased 3.7% despite the reduction in the working force. This was not a steady increase, however, for the total payrolls in manufacturing declined 14% from 1923 to 1927. Figures from all the various states show approximately the same result of payrolls just holding their own. For instance, comparing 1923 with 1929 in New York state, payrolls declined 3.7%. In New Jersey, they increased 2.2%; in Pennsylvania, they declined 2.2%; in Delaware, they increased 1.7%; in Wisconsin, they increased 4%; and in Massachusetts, they decreased 15%.

The men displaced by manufacturing were certainly not absorbed in transportation. Railroadings, for instance, far from absorbing displaced workers was adding to the number of the unemployed. The average number of men hired by the class A railroads in the United States, in 1919, was 1,913,422, and in 1929, it was only 1,660,390, a reduction of 12.6%.

In railroadings too, the smaller number of men were doing a bigger job. The total ton miles of revenue freight hauled by the Class A railroads of this country, increased from 1919 to 1929 by 23%, and even increased over 1923 by

8.6%. Naturally an increase in productivity amounting to 27.3% in manufacturing, and 23% in railroadings accomplished by considerably fewer workers and without any appreciable increase in payrolls might be supposed to mean an enormous increase in profits. So it did. In railroadings, the total net operating income of the railroads went up from \$614,000,000 in 1919, to 1,484,000,000 in 1929, an increase of 141%. Total dividend and interest payments for all concerns capitalized at over \$100,000 averaged \$298,768,000 a month in 1923, and in the six short years to 1929, had gone up to \$621,987,000 a month, or about 107%.

More amazing still is the fact that in 1930, which is undeniably a terrible year of unemployment for the workers, the owners of industry were actually able to get larger dividend and interest payments than in 1929, according to the figures in the "Survey of Current Business," published monthly by the Federal government's Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. In the first eleven months of 1930, dividend and interest payments averaged \$680,693,000, an increase of 9% over 1929. Meanwhile, employment so far as can be told from the comparatively fragmentary figures so far made available by the states which attempt to gather such figures, decreased further between 10 and 18% compared with 1929, and payrolls fell off slightly more owing to wage cuts suffered by a considerable number of those who did not lose their jobs.

In the face of such a situation, the current demand for unemployment insurance—to say nothing of old age pensions—financed entirely by taxes on unearned incomes and by contributions from the employers, is a demand for far less than justice. For the figures show that the income of the owners of industry has been stabilized despite such depression as we are in now at a steadily rising scale, while employment and wages have borne the entire brunt of the loss due to hard times.

To demand greater freedom and power for organized labor by getting rid of injunctions against unions in labor disputes so that organized labor can do something more than it has in the past to raise wages, especially in manufacturing and transportation, is comparatively only a small step in the right direction. With the present state of the law on the rights of unions and with its present leadership, organized labor has shown itself totally unable to make gains for the working class as a whole. Despite an enormous increase in the average productivity per worker and a more than doubled share received by the owners of industry, so that they could well have afforded to pay more wages, organized labor has just barely succeeded in holding payrolls in the comparatively prosperous year 1929, at the level that they were six years before.

More drastic remedies still are needed. For to any one with imagination, these four figures paint a vivid picture of the owners of industry using labor displacing de-

## Capitalism And Industrial Crisis

By Karl Kautsky

[The following excerpts are taken from Kautsky's "The Class Struggle," the English translation being made in 1910.]

THE great modern crises which convulse the world's markets arise from overproduction, which, in its turn, arises from the planlessness that inevitably characterizes our system of commodity production. Over-production, in the sense of more being produced than is actually needed, may occur under any system. But it could, as a matter of course, cause no injury so long as the producers produce for the satisfaction of their own wants. If, for instance, in the generation gone by, a farmer's crop of grain happened to be larger than he needed, he stored up the grain against poorer years, and when his barn was full, he would feed his cattle with the residue, or, at worst, let it lie and spoil.

It is otherwise with the modern system of commodity production. In the first place, when the system is once well developed, no one produces for himself, but for someone else; everyone must buy what he needs. Moreover, the total production of society is not carried on in a systematic way; on the contrary, it is left to each producer to estimate for himself the demand there may be for the goods which he produces. In the second place, just as soon as the modern system of production has outgrown its first stage, no one except the producer of coinable metals can buy before he has sold. These are the two roots out of which grows the crisis. . . .

Under the rule of large production industrial capital steps ever more to the front and takes control of the whole capitalist mechanism. But within the circle of capitalist production itself special branches of industry take the lead, as for instance, the iron and spinning industries. The moment any of these receives a special impetus—be it through the opening of new markets in China, or the undertaking of extensive railroad lines, not only does it expand

vices and speed-up systems to increase profits and for no other purpose. They could easily have shared a part of the gain with labor by reducing the hours of monotonous toil so that more machinery might have meant more leisure for all. Or they might have used labor displacing machinery to raise wages, so that the workers who were producing more year by year could buy more. Instead, the owners of industry used these labor-saving devices solely to increase profits and incidentally to increase unemployment, without giving the working class as a whole a single nickel in the way of an increase in total payrolls.

That the employing class will do anything else voluntarily may well be doubted. If we are going to raise wages and shorten the hours of labor in proportion as new machinery and speed-up systems are put into use, employers as a class will have to be made to do it. It seems plain that the only way to make them do that is to hold over them the threat of public ownership, by starting now on a vigorous campaign for public ownership of public utilities, to be extended in turn to all large scale consolidated industry as fast as the government can be fitted to undertake such a task.

rapidly, but it imparts the impetus it has received to the whole industrial organism. Capitalists enlarge their establishments, start new ones, increase the consumption of raw and auxiliary materials and employ new hands; simultaneously with all this rent, profit and wages go up. The demand for goods increases, all industries begin to feel the industrial prosperity. At such times it looks as if every undertaking must prosper; confidence becomes blind, credit grows boundless. Whoever has money seeks to turn it into capital, make it profitable. Industrial giddiness takes possession of all.

In the meantime, production has greatly increased, and the originally increased demand upon the market has been satisfied. Nevertheless, production does not stop. One producer does not know what the other is about, and even if, in a lucid interval, misgivings may arise in the mind of some capitalist, they are soon smothered by the necessity of profiting by the opportunity in order not to be left behind in the competitive race. "The devil takes the hindmost." In the meantime, the disposal of the increased quantity of goods becomes ever more difficult, the warehouses fill up. Yet the hurly goes on. Then comes the moment when one of the mercantile establishments must pay for the goods received from the manufacturer months before. The goods are yet unsold; the debtor has the goods, but no money; he cannot meet his obligations and fails. Next comes the turn of the manufacturer. He also has contracted debts that fall due; as his debtor cannot pay him, he, too, is ruined. Thus one bankruptcy follows another until a general collapse ensues. The recent blind confidence turns into an equally blind fear, the panic grows general, and the crash comes.

At such times the whole industrial mechanism is shaken to its very center; every establishment that is not planted upon the firmest ground goes to pieces. Misfortune overtakes not the fraudulent concerns alone, but all those which in ordinary times just managed to keep their heads above water. At such times the expropriation of the small farmers, small producers, small dealers and small capitalists goes on rapidly. As a matter of course, those among the large capitalists who survive get rich booty. For during a crisis two important things take place: first, the expropriation of the "small fry"; second, the concentration of production into fewer hands, and thereby the accumulation of large fortunes.

Few, if any, can tell whether they will survive the crisis. All the horrors of the modern system of production, the uncertainty of a livelihood, want, prostitution and crime, reach at such times alarming proportions. Thousands perish from cold and hunger because they have produced too much clothing, too much food, and too many houses! It is at such seasons that the fact becomes most glaring that the modern productive powers are becoming more and more irreconcilable with the system of production for sale, and that private ownership in the means of production is growing into a greater and greater curse—first, for the class of the proprietors, and then for that of the property holders themselves.



## J. P. Morgan and The Nudists

A New York policeman returned home the other night in fine fettle. He had spelled out a headline in the "Evening Graphic" reading: "Cop Shot in Abdomen by Italian."

With great pride he read it aloud to his wife and said: "See there Bridget. Us cops endanger our lives every time we go out. And all them reds like this here John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Wise do, is to sit around and criticize us."

"You should be proud to be on the force, such a fine bunch as they are," replied Bridget. "But tell me, Pat, what is this abdomen?"

"It's surprised I am at your ignorance," said the stalwart upholder of the majesty of the law, "an abdomen is a place where Etyetallan gangsters hang out."

We were terribly pained to read that none other than that Master Mind J. P. Morgan, the son of the old boy with the big beaver, was stuck in the mud the other day. That is the Berengaria, the ship on which His Highness was returning from Europe was stuck in the mud of New York harbor.

According to the reverential report in the New York Herald-Tribune: "Mr. Morgan arrived in the suite occupied by the Prince of Wales. He appeared to be in excellent health and was very tanned."

Goody, goody. Three rousing huzzas for the mellowed Mr. Morgan. He's toasted just like the ladies in the Lucky Strike ads.

"He said that his trip abroad was purely a pleasure journey," the report goes on. "He cruised in the Mediterranean with the Archbishop of Canterbury as his guest. Of questions on unemployment and depression, Mr. Morgan threw his hands in the air and laughingly replied, 'I don't know anything about any depression. What depression is this?'"

Well, J. P. this is the depression that you and your bunch of high-binders on the Street started in October 1929. While you were getting tanned with the Archbishop of Canterbury six to seven million workers were getting canned by the bosses who work for you and your lousy bank.

That is probably the depression the ship news men had in mind. There is yet another depression which is perpetual. And that is the depression that comes over me and a lot of other folks every time we think of you and your famous dad. We recall the fact that the foundations of your fortune rest upon one of the silliest deals ever put over, when your distinguished ancestor sold a lot of phony rifles at a tremendous profit to the Federal troops during the Civil War, from the fighting ranks of which the name of Morgan was conspicuously absent.

Due to the fact that we have been speaking about four nights a week, we are a bit behind in our home reading. We should long since have mentioned, "Among the Nudists," by Frances and Mason Merrill, published by Alfred A. Knopf, with 21 illustrations.

The pictures are a bit of a disappointment, though we did like the one of three rather charming naked ladies going around with a nude horse.

The book is written with restraint and humor. This is a relief as most nudists we have met have been a particularly humorless crew, like vegetarians and spiritualists. Whenever I fell in with a bunch of them, they immediately suggested going in swimming, and Adam and Eve and I I feebly suggested that a bathing suit might not come amiss in a swimming pool in plain sight of the main road. I was pook-pooed as a sissy. It seems to me that you ought to be allowed to take your nudism as you like it. It shouldn't be compulsory for everyone to strip the moment that he or she arrives in the country. I may be old-fashioned and puritanical and it is true that I am no Adonis in the nude, but still there should be a little mystery left in this world. Besides, if this thing gets prevalent in America, as it seems to be in the parts of Europe visited by the authors of the book, what will happen to our comrades in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union?

Another book along this general line which we have just read is called, "Generations of Adam," written by Dr. A. L. Wolbarst and published by the Newland Press, New York.

This is one of the most interesting and sensible popularizations of the whole subject of sex we have come upon in years. If all the harried and perplexed youngsters who are wandering around in fear and ignorance could get hold of this book, we would have far healthier generations of Adam in the years to come.

The author shoots to pieces many of the tabus and superstitions that have made life hideous for so many adolescents and by way of good measure he hands out some mighty good advice on marriage.

Next on my list is a biography of "Stalin" by my friend Isaac Don Levine, published by the Cosmopolitan Book Corporation.

I hope to Heaven this will turn out to be better than some biographies of Lenin I have read recently. Just why sane folk should go gaga at the very thought of anything or anybody on whom the shadow of the Kremlin has fallen is beyond me. I hope Levine has written a book in which all the characters are neither golden-haired heroes nor black-visaged villains.

I'll let you know about this later. In the meantime rest assured that your Uncle Mac is doing his best to keep all you boys and girls as courteous which means of course, cognoscenti. Lovingly yours, McAllister Coleman.

The capitalist system of production and exchange has become a curse upon us all, and is fettering the free development of the human family. Under this system all the triumphs of man in his march from savagery to modern civilization are ending in the ruthless defeat of the vast majority to obtain even such conditions and comforts as were possible under less favorable economic conditions.—G. Moore Bell.

Free silver is again up for discussion as it was in 1896. That period, like the present, was one of free soup, the ruling classes getting the silver and the workers the soup.

Only an idea can slay an idea. Until the workers are animated with the idea to be their own masters they cannot supplant the idea that their claim is born for wage slavery.—G. D. H. Cole.

## Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

# Charles A. Dana: Revolt And Conservatism

## The Famous Editor in a Biography

By James Oneal

OF American editors, Charles A. Dana may not have been as influential as Horace Greeley, whose "Tribune" was a bible for hundreds of thousands of farmers and mechanics, but Dana developed a paper, the "Sun," which was unique among dailies. He had an editorial pen that cut like a sword when wielded against an opponent. Charles J. Roosevelt draws a vivid portrait of Dana in his recent book (When Dana Was the Sun, New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., \$3.75) which enables us to better understand this great journalist.

Dana runs true to the popular American idyl, the poor boy who made good. His father was a failure and at the age of twelve, Dana was a clerk in a general store at Buffalo, and before he was twenty, he read a paper on early English poetry before the Coffee Club. Among the customers of the store were Indians, and to better trade with them the youngster learned to speak their tongue. Eventually he turned up at Brook Farm, that Fourierist experiment that engaged the attention and interest of intellectuals when Boston was the hub.

Here at Brook Farm, "Well-bred women scrubbed floors and scraped plates, and gentlemen and scholars hoed potatoes and cleaned out stables. The really nasty work was performed by a group of volunteers, who called themselves—The Sacred Legion." Here also social, economic, political and religious radicalism directed the searchlight on civilization. Channing might call it a "republic of lovable fools" but these men and women were in earnest. Dana contributed to the "Harbinger," and also established that intimacy with Greeley, which later brought the former to the Tribune. Then the fatal fire in 1846, and Brook Farm was almost a heap of ashes. Dana was in New York at the time, where he married and the couple returned to the West Roxbury utopia. He made strenuous efforts to keep it going but without result. Then association with Greeley on the "Tribune," the revolutions of 1848, and the future editor of the "Sun" in Europe, looking over these convulsions. He was sympathetic with the views of Proudhon, and from abroad he wrote an article for Channing's "The Spirit of the Age," in which he said, "The history of the past and the examples of the present instruct us that the privileged and powerful, by whatever name they are called, do not yield their privileges except as they are compelled."

Nearly forty years later when Dana was opposing Bryan and Populism with the fury for which he was noted, Benjamin R. Tucker, American philosophical anarchist, reprinted this article in pamphlet form with some caustic comments of his own. Just when Dana changed his views is not apparent in this study but all indications are that it was during the Civil War. Like a few of our Socialists during the World War, who re-acted and enlisted in the army of reaction, so Dana became a fanatic in his war against any movement critical of the capitalism that

destroyed slave property. It became an obsession with him. Other radicals of his period made the change and put on the livery of the new ruling class. It is not difficult to place Dana. Fundamentally he was a gentleman aristocrat who regarded his early radicalism as an impressionistic escapade of youth. Formerly a friend of Grant, he turned against him when the grafting orgies became public property. Graft and grafting are vulgar, a stain upon the rule desired by an aristocratic gentry. Grant was surrounded by scoundrels, and Dana coined the phrase "Turn the Rascals Out." It was as though a trusted butler had stolen his silver spoons and Dana would have nothing of such dishonesty. Indeed, the author declares that the reason why Dana could not support Cleveland, was because the latter was once Sheriff of Erie County and with his own hands had hung a condemned murderer. "Dana could not visualize a gentleman in the role of hangman, even when actuated by a high sense of duty." Rather than support Cleveland, he supported Ben Butler, the Granger candidate, although Butler was a delegate to the Democratic convention in Charleston, in 1860, had voted for Jefferson Davis, thirty-seven times!

As a gentleman aristocrat, Dana, although opposed to slavery, accepted the "mud-sill theory" of the old Southern ruling class. Wrested from that class in war, he carried it into the new order of capitalism, applying it to farmers and laborers. It is curious to note that the World War had similar results. Woodrow Wilson and his loyal buglers warred against Prussian autocracy, wrested it from the German ruling classes, and distributed it to us in raids, deportations, censorship, conscription and espionage legislation. Dana's ideal was a submissive class of farmers and workers looking up to their gentlemen exploiters with pious humility. Any evidence of revolt against this creed evoked his fury.

At the same time the ruling gentry and their political agents in office should be honest and clean in their work. If they were not, they set a bad example before the mudsills. Hence, Dana's cry of "turn the rascals out." It was only when politicians turned their official berths that he turned reformer and his program was to clean out the upper floors so that the odor would not offend gentlemen, leaving the mudsills in the basement to stew in poverty. That crusade is now being repeated in New York City by reformers who are crying, "turn the rascals out."

All this is not brought out in this biography but it is the logical interpretation of Dana's life and work, a hint of it being found here and there in Roosevelt's interesting tome. The author gives an interesting account of Dana as an editor and a man whose personal enemies, but his chief interest for us is Dana as an interesting product of the revolution that destroyed the old regime in the South and made capitalism the successor to King Cotton, as the ruler of the republic.

## Labor in Australia

Pasadena, Calif.

Editor, The New Leader:

A certain California Danish language publication has recently held up Australia, as a terrifying example of what Socialists will do if given a chance. It is stated that Mr. Theodore, the Minister of Finance, is a Socialist; that the Socialists have run Australia for a number of years and, of course, run her on the rocks. Many of these statements I doubt, but am not sufficiently well posted to answer them. As the matter of Australia being run down by Socialists, is mentioned everywhere, may I suggest you give us some light on it.

C. Sorenson.

The Danish editor is somewhat muddled about the Labor Party in Australia. In the elections in October, 1929, the Labor Party obtained a majority in the lower house but in the Senate the party had only seven of the thirty-six seats. J. H. Scullin became Premier, and E. G. Theodore became Treasurer in the Labor Cabinet. New South Wales was lost but in October of last year, it was recaptured by the Labor Party, which obtained fifty-four of the ninety members of the legislature. It is in this province of New South Wales that the Labor Party has had some difficulties.

Due to the general prostration of capitalism all over the world, Australia has had financial difficulties. A heavy drop in wool and wheat exports brought distress just as the decline in the price of American grain has afflicted our farmers with poverty. The Australian cabinet almost split over a proposal to defer payment on loans due in December, and the premier managed to issue a conversion loan. His opposition to a moratorium increased a large section of the party in New South Wales, led by J. T. Lang, the premier of that state.

The Worker, of Brisbane, issue

of April 1, gives the latest information regarding this conflict between New South Wales and the party, as a whole. A special federal convention of the party met in Sydney, late in March, and adopted the following resolution:

"That the New South Wales Labor Executive, having refused to acknowledge and accept the Federal platform and constitution, and having flouted the decisions and authority of the Federal Executive of the A. L. P., the existing executive of the New South Wales branch of the A. L. P. is hereby declared to have automatically placed itself outside the Australian Labor Movement."

The party has established a provisional executive in New South Wales and the convention declared against the Lang pronouncement to refuse deliberately to pay the interest obligations on loans raised from the general public in Australia and in Britain, which is contrary to Labor policy. Such action, it held, would not restore stable economic conditions and place men back at work, but on the contrary would aggravate the condition. It added that application of the Lang policy to overseas debts would result inevitably in trade reprisals against Australia and in other ways would lead to financial chaos and to increased unemployment among the people.

This is all there is to the story of the "ruin" brought to Australia by the Labor Party. In the United States it is expected that the deficit of the Federal Government will reach a billion dollars in June, and other governments are facing deficits. The situation is due not to any Labor Government but to the prostration of the capitalist system, which the Danish editor defends.

The New Leader is your paper but to expand and win converts to Socialism you must feed it with subscriptions.

## The Evolution Of Economics

THIS book, "Industrial Evolution," by Norman S. B. Gras, Harvard University Press, \$2.50, belongs to the field of economic history. Unfortunately, Professor Gras is throughout, predominantly a historian and only incidentally an economist. That is, the major portion is devoted to description and exposition, and there is only the minimum of analysis and evaluation. And yet the book is among the better examples of "popularization without vulgarization."

In order to realize this, it is only necessary to outline briefly the contents. The first hundred pages and the best hundred pages are concerned with a classification by stages of our industrial history from the Middle Ages to the present. The originality of this section lies in his applying new names to rather familiar historical material. His categories are an improvement over those employed by Bucher in that they are less ambiguous and suggest the characteristics of the respective stages.

To describe the first stage, Mr. Gras coins the word "usufecture." In this period the household is the economic unit, self-sufficient, and producing only for its own consumption. But this industrial form gradually evolves itself into "Retail Handicraft," which in turn gives way to the two phases of "Wholesale Handicraft."

The independent phase, the first subdivision of the third stage, is so-called because the handicraft worker is an independent master who usually carries on his labor in conjunction with farming. His handicraft trade assumes more the form of an avocation than a vocation. The artisan is his own boss, regulates his working conditions, and enjoys an economic equality with the entrepreneur. It was for this form of industrial enterprise that William Morris and his followers felt an intense nostalgia; and on the last page of this book the author reveals the same desire.

However, the independent status of the artisan is changed to one of dependency when, for various reasons, he becomes indebted to his entrepreneur. With the contraction of the debt, the independent master loses his economic equality and is obliged to accept the terms of his entrepreneur-creditor. What this meant is vividly and movingly portrayed by Hauptmann in "The Weavers." But the domestic system must surrender its place of prominence to the economies of the centralized shop which, with the invention and introduction of machinery, becomes the factory as we know it today.

In the remainder of the book, the author is concerned with a brief history of the inventions in the iron and steel, shoe, chemical, and electrical industries. Little or no use is made of the preceding analysis, and in the chapter dealing with general developments in recent industrial history he is content with merely mentioning the important problems. Thus the book is another illustration of a serious defect in economic thought. This defect was aptly expressed by F. H. Knight when he wrote that "To a large degree we find one

group of students (of economics) in possession of the problems and another in possession of the problems and the two living in separate universes of discourse."

Despite this it is possible to justify the writing of the book. Goethe says somewhere that one who is not acquainted with the last twenty-five hundred years of our history must live a hand-to-mouth existence. The present volume affords a pleasant initiation into the task of creating an intellectual surplus.

Daniel Creamer.

## For the Illiterate

WE need no jacket blurb ("so simply told that you don't even have to know how to read"), to know that the new wordless novels appeal to the sophisticated illiterate. Education is, they say, compulsory in this land, but no one has yet learned how to enforce understanding; and the "rush" tempo that determines our civilization breeds movie-minds and tabloid intelligences. It is to such minds among what some call the intelligentsia that we owe the vogue of the novel-in-woodcuts, and now this "Alay-Op" (Coward-McCann, \$2) all made of drawings by William Gropper.

The story is simpler than Abie's Irish Rose. A team of acrobats is parted by a tenor; the "swinger" remains a friend of the growing family when the singer's dreams don't come true; in the end the two men go their separate ways, and the woman trains her twins for the circus. The value of all this depends, manifestly, on how it is done.

Gropper was a sensitive young artist with a good sense of line, and a neat graphic turn. His early drawings (mainly in the Dial) were economical in technique, and economic in implication. For, like other sensitive artists, Gropper saw that this is, to put it mildly, a rotten world. But, partly perhaps because he was an artist, Gropper was not a philosopher. And, his associates happening to be mainly of the extreme wing, and Russians, he found himself a Communist. Invited to Russia, and pleased with what he was permitted to see, the young and sensitive artist became confirmed in his opinions. These I do not seek now to dispute—but they involve (as Gropper's friend Mike Gold reiterates) the conception of all art as propaganda.

For a few years, therefore, Gropper has been addressing his drawings to the worker. He has sought to capture broad, obvious social lessons; and he has made broad, obvious sweeps upon his paper. Striking caricature replaces subtler satire; but almost always details of background are neglected for the central point, and sometimes a smudge instead of a line obscures even that: when the tenor is presented with twins, I defy you to tell whether he is delighted or dismayed! Such technique may, in general, serve for Soviet propaganda; but, carried into the mere story of "Alay-Op," it makes it no more than a novel in cartoons—and makes us wonder whether, by not being a bit of a philosopher, Gropper is not in danger of ceasing to be an artist.

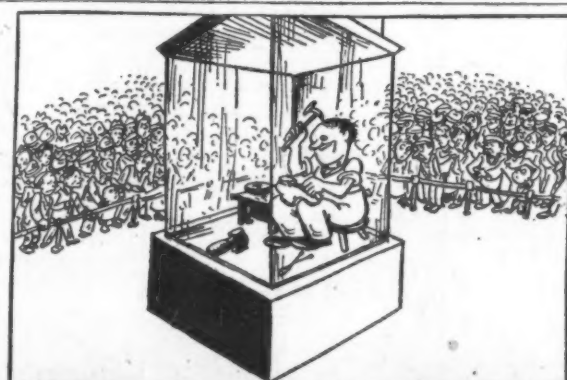
Joseph T. Shipley.

## Chicago Socialists Are Enthusiastic at Success Of Thomas Banquet

CHICAGO—(FP)—Increasing activity of Socialist Party members and the necessity for unions to work through a political party were stressed by Norman Thomas in Chicago at a banquet given in his honor by the Socialist Party of Cook County.

Thomas spoke at Chicago University chapel and at a demonstration on International Good Will Day. The banquet was attended largely by Socialist Party members and sympathizers, and representatives of friendly unions. Thomas' denunciation of the present unplanned economy and his plea for action and more action were received with approval. The general enthusiasm pervading the large crowd had indicated the revival of activity and energy among Chicago Socialists.

WANT A FREE COPY OF NORMAN THOMAS' NEW BOOK? ENTER THE NEW LEADER'S CIRCULATION CONTEST, GET FIVE YEARLY SUBS, AND THE BOOK IS YOURS.



The Worker of the Next Decade: The Man Who Is Not Yet Out of Work.

## Gov. Hunt Urges Rolph To Release Tom Mooney

SAN FRANCISCO.—Popularity of the growing demand for the pardon and release of Tom Mooney is strongly demonstrated in the daily mail now being received at Sacramento by Governor Rolph. The Governor of Arizona writes thus to Governor Rolph:

"We have many people in Arizona who believe that Thomas J. Mooney should be pardoned. I have studied his case a good deal, and I have requests from friends of mine to write you in his behalf. It is useless to go into his case. You know all about it. Because my sympathies have been with Mooney, during the last campaign my opponents used it as a campaign issue against my re-election; hence I am impelled to write you. I know you will use your own good judgment after carefully reviewing his case. I will appreciate it if your attitude towards his release is favorable."

The New Leader is your paper but to expand and win converts to Socialism you must feed it with subscriptions.

## Dictatorship

WITH the growing use of dictatorship as a method of government, it was only a question of time before some ambitious editor and equally ambitious publisher would issue a symposium on the subject. We have not been disappointed. "Twenty-two essays by eminent leaders of modern thought" have produced "Dictatorship on Trial," edited by Otto Forst De Battaglia and published by Harcourt Brace and Co. (\$3.75). This symposium includes essays dealing with all phases from Dictatorship and Love, to Dictatorship in Ancient Rome. Such well known authors as Andre Marais and Albert Einstein are included. However, the writer finds the book one of the most futile symposiums ever presented to the public. Fully one-half of the book, that part describing the existing dictatorships, must be called entirely valueless. Every dictatorship except Russia's is described by an ardent partisan and Russia's is described by a White fanatic. Two hundred pages of good paper gone to waste. The general articles on dictatorship are somewhat better. Emile Vandervelde presents the Socialist position quite well. But none of the articles are inspiring, none of them would have been seriously missed if the book had never been published.

L. R.

## "Precedent," Based on Mooney-Billings Case, Moves to the Bijou

After six weeks of success at the Provincetown Playhouse, "Precedent," the play that so ably has dramatized the outrageous Mooney-Billings case in California, is now being moved to a larger theatre on Broadway—the Bijou, on West Forty-fifth Street. This move has been decided upon by the producers of the play—Harmon, Traube and Hart—not only as a means of making the message of the play available to a larger audience, but also in order to allow spectators to see it in comfort during the Summer months, the tiny Provincetown Playhouse having been discovered to be too hot and airless for warm weather.

The success of this play, about a frame-up of two prominent labor leaders, has been altogether surprising. "Precedent" opened on April 14, to the accompaniment of warm approval from the metropolitan newspaper critics, and has had a steady and mounting patronage ever since. By bringing before the public the authentic facts of this flagrant case of injustice, interest in the fate of the two innocent men who still languish in prison on false charges after fifteen years, has been re-aroused. Only by such consistent propaganda can the cause of true justice and fairness be aided. Not only is "Precedent" strong, honest and sincere propaganda, but it is also a skilfully-contrived and thoroughly absorbing play—a play that would have been dramatically interesting, even if it were not based on truth.

## Pocketbook Strike Call Authorized

(Continued from Page One)

to bring about a peaceful adjustment of the dispute, the employers on Monday morning refused to take union workers into their shops. A day later they requested their employees to see them individually.

The joint council of the union then authorized the calling of a general strike at such a moment as the officers deem necessary. The ranks of the strikers are fast, the employers meeting the stark refusal of the men and women to deal with them as individuals. The strikers have had a series of daily meetings in the Rand School, where they have been addressed by Wolff, I. Lederman and other leaders of the organization.

The success of the union in halting the operations of the "run-aways" who are attempting to pay wages less than half those paid in New York City has greatly heartened the workers. In Fall River, Ritter attempted to pay wages of \$4, \$5 and \$6 weekly. The local labor movement then took notice. When several workers were discharged because they attended a meeting to discuss the situation, the strike followed. The central labor union of Fall River has charge of the strike.

"If the union lives up to its traditions of devotion, discipline and fighting spirit, there can be no doubt of the outcome," Wolff declared, in a statement to The New Leader. "This is a difficult situation requiring all the common sense and devotion every union member possesses. The employers are trying to take advantage of the crisis to make the workers shoulder all the burdens. With the help of our members and an aroused public opinion, we will prevent this."

VIENNA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS THIS SUMMER! YOU CAN GO AS THE GUEST OF THE NEW LEADER, WITH ALL YOUR EXPENSES PAID, IF YOU WIN THE FIRST PRIZE IN THE NEW LEADER'S CIRCULATION CONTEST.

## The Chatterbox

### More Sonnets

There is no solace in a thwarted end  
To us who could have found fulfillment sweet.  
And that is why it is so hard to blend  
The spice of love with bitters of defeat.

Say what we will in philosophic grace  
Against the ache—for having failed to stir,  
Yet words are flappings in an emptied space,  
Against the symphony that might have been.

True it would need no magic but revolt  
Over the burdens we have borne so long.  
To shrug them down and gaily make a bolt  
For greens of laughter and the groves of song.  
But being sadly sane, we keep in mind  
The grievous ruin we would leave behind.

It was not so very long ago, when all of us inferior and naturally unfit folks were treated to the heroic drama of "Saving America." What a thrilling memory! How come it is possible that you have all forgotten that splendid day in autumn, 1928, when the representative of the House of Morgan stalked through the frenzied Exchange and rallied the scattering forces of Moneydom with that now famous battle cry . . . "150 for a million shares of U. S. Steel Common!"

With those words, the panic-stricken legions came back into settled formation, and carried through. The Republic was saved. The world breathed easier. The big men of the nation would yet save the cause and set us all back upon the ways of prosperity.

Confiding men and women held on to their stocks and securities. Only to drop them later on, in a slow and painful scale of loss and bankruptcy. With U. S. Steel now below par, and all the rest of the gambling board melting away in value like an ice-cream cone in a July sun, it looks like the magic of the old wizards is just so much more bunkum for history to mark, tag and place away in its morgue for perished beliefs.

Clay gods all of them, from Andy Mellon down to Babson the Great. And to paraphrase that old tear spurring ballad of the Gay White Way, don't blame it all on Herbie Hoover. The whole show is "busting" wide open, and the silly works are pretty poor stuff, as such gadgets go.

Of course, it will take some time for the sheared lambskins, and the busted business men to see the light. Old religions die hard. Old gods keep writhing a bit before they pass out. Maybe the workers will see things clearly first. Prexy Green of the A. F. of L. University is actually threatening to slap the wrist of Moneybags with a strike or so, if wages are lowered.

As matters stand now, there are mighty little wages to fight about. Folks that are just out of work, get very little wages. And people who are working in these dreadful days are secretly glad to get whatever is offered to them, union or no union. And the end is beyond sight. This business of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies is a thin whisper against the crashing thunder of ruin.

If ever organized labor will learn the need for distinct political identity, it must learn now. Even the power of striking has no threat unless it is backed by mass writing on the ballot.

For Socialists and for Socialism, these are days of dilemma. We ought to be human enough to stand upon our platforms and shout . . . "We're for you so." But one is something more than just mortal, who persists as we do in our faith. So we stand sad and sane before the manifold scenes of despair, and hopefully present to worker and capitalist alike, a way out of this chaos.

We are tempted for the moment to hold the Fords, the Hoovers, the Schwabs, and the Morgans in the stocks of public derision. Perhaps, they have it coming to them. We ought to make them swallow all their long speeches about "prosperity forever," under this system. We ought to make them wriggle and mess about in the mire pens of their own greed and stupid arrogance.

We ought to say to them loudly: "Well, you big shots, you workers of wonders, you supermen, what a lot of measly wash-rags you turned out to be. Did you played King Canute too long. The ocean of circumstance didn't fall for your bluster. It just swept in on your nice big and pie and if you don't watch out you'll get more than wet feet out of this foolery."

But let us forget them a moment. There are some one hundred and twenty million of folks in this land we have more serious business with right now.

We ought to talk to them, as did the Soviet representative at Geneva, Litvinoff, before the capitalist league of nations. When a Communist talks like a Social Democrat, he can make even diplomats think.

As even he presented a clear analysis and a program for relief out of the international mess, we can make effective presentation and receive more than just polite attention from our own people.

Millions of leaflets carrying a plain story of our troubles and a simple statement of our program should be handed out right now in hand to hand and door to door canvass. All our resources ought to set along those lines, and concentrated in a solid month of such endeavor. We have the men who can write such leaflets. We can raise the money for the printing. We ought to find the manpower for the distribution. That ought to be our job for now on.

Much will be made by the American Communists of all shades, out of Litvinoff and his splendid speechmaking at Geneva. And rightly so.

Only a close check-up upon Litvinoff's method and substance before Geneva, and the usual conduct and speechifying of the Workers' Party here at public gatherings will bring strange contrasts to it. At Geneva, the Soviet Russian Government has a man of intellect, a thorough master of world economics, an excellent speaker, and a temperate human being withal. He suffers from no inferiority complications. Nor is he obsessed with any self-importance. He knows the lies that beset the rest of the world, nor is he ignorant of the troubles that harass his own government. He does not bluster, he is driven to no exasperated name-calling, and yet with incisive probe and slice he gets under the thick hides of confirmed die-hards, and makes them feel as well as see the truth that illumines his own eyes. The front pages of the world bulletins print and discuss and give great prestige to his words and the land he represents.

Not all the stuck horses, or bitten fingers of policemen, or bashed in heads of comrades in all the riots, parades and demonstrations held by Communists here or elsewhere could accomplish in a thousand years of such procedure, what one earnest and able emissary did with his democratic tactic and simple eloquence at Geneva, the other day.

The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic has a brighter burnish on its escutcheon of hammer and sickle, and there is less harshness in the throats of men today when they speak of the Soviets throughout the world.

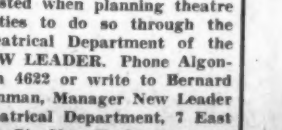
Again, to repeat . . . Litvinoff spoke like a Socialist who has belief in democracy. And the world listened seriously.

S. A. de Witt.



## Music

**In Robert Newman's  
New Production  
at the Royale**





# Senior Plans Big Leaflet Distribution

## Other National Office Notes—Socialist Party Activities in the States

(By A. New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—A number of pieces of literature distributed before the end of the Socialism Forward Drive is the new goal set for drive workers by the national drive office. Letters from various parts of the country indicate that the branches are taking responsibility for getting their members to contribute. The national office, however, has just sent a letter to ten thousand persons largely outside of party activity, asking them to help in circulating one million to three million pieces of literature in the next two weeks.

"You can join our Socialism Forward campaign even if you cannot contribute," the letter reads. "The breakdown of capitalism has given all who believe in a social order a challenge that we can ignore only at the risk of losing all chance of success in any near future. We must use every opportunity of getting our ideas before the people."

The letter asks every person who receives it to send for at least 100, but 300, pieces of literature. Samples of the blue unemployment insurance sticker, and of the three by five inch flyer are enclosed. They sell for a quarter a hundred each. A new six-page leaflet on unemployment insurance is included. It sells for 50 cents for a hundred. If a person sends a hundred of each of the three, there would be 3,000,000 pieces of Socialist literature out in the next two weeks. Largely through the efforts of Joseph Beane and Alfred Baker Lewis, the contributions from Boston have increased during the past week. And they write that they are going to continue.

More good news comes from Reading, Pa., where a special committee of five has been formed to help the drive, according to Ralph Bigony, local organizer.

Marion County, Indianapolis local, sends in \$111 cash and pledges for that much more and reports that meetings have been much better attended.

Buffalo, N. Y., had a drive meeting with over 500 persons present.

Other cities in that state are working on meetings. New York City is trying to arrange a theatre benefit for the drive.

Drive Contributors

The following are recent contributors to the Socialism Forward Drive:

A. W. Strehlow (additional)	\$ 2.00
Otto E. Jensen	2.00
W. J. Wright	1.00
Branch 114, Workmen's Circle	10.50
Minnie E. Allen	2.00
Finnish Socialist Branch, Norwood, Mass.	20.00
Allen Wagner	2.00
Adeline D. Miller	1.00
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# NEW LEADER

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

Editor ..... James O'Neal  
Assistant Editor ..... Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit,  
Abraham Cahan, Al-  
bert Einstein, Harry  
W. Laidler, Norman  
Thomas, Joseph P.  
Cohen, Jesse Wal-  
lace Huchan, Wm.  
M. Feigenbaum, John  
M. Werk, McAllister  
Coleman, Joseph T.  
Shipley, Louis Stan-  
ley, Louis Waldman.



Published Every Saturday by the  
New Leader Publishing Association,  
People's House, 7 East 15th  
Street, New York City.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year Postpaid in the United States ..... \$2.00  
Six Months Postpaid in the United States ..... 1.00  
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries \$3.00

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

SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1931

## Capitalism in the Dock

THE trend towards a sweatshop America is evident in some sections and some industries and the continued depression is giving many masters of capital and finance considerable anxiety. Frank Kent, a keen observer, recently wrote in the Baltimore Sun of the fright that has come to many of our ruling oligarchs. The sickness of their own system is a mystery to them and they are afraid that it will go down in ruin. What is around the corner they do not know but they are afraid that it is a pit that will swallow them up. Deflated values make them peevish and apprehensive. What to do they do not know. For them the future is in the lap of the gods.

Meantime the social pit yawns for workers and many are tumbling into the abyss. Some six million wage workers are there and a few million farmers. What is just as pathetic are the hundreds of thousands hanging on the edge of the pit. Working for a few dollars a week, they earn about enough to poorly feed an animal, not a human being. That we do not exaggerate is evident from a report of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor which shows that wages as low as three dollars a week are paid in some Massachusetts textile mills by new firms that have taken over abandoned mills. Thousands of mining towns and small manufacturing centers are also bleak hells of misery for jobless men with families and for others working part time at reduced wages.

All the indications point to a capitalism on its death bed after a carouse of ten years in which it fed upon the misery of millions across the Atlantic. Now it is a monstrous Caliban feeding on its victims at home and yet fearful that its gluttony is a death feast just before the end. The abyss is filling up with its human casualties, discontent is widespread, and the incentives for a vast movement of the working class are accumulating every day. Transformed into intelligent action, these incentives within a year or two may break down old prejudices, conservatism and ancient views and emerge as a powerful Socialist movement.

Capitalism is in the dock, accusing fingers of millions are pointed to it, its apologists can present no reasonable defense of its horrible failure, and its dominion has become a menace to all but a handful of fat usurers.

Never was the time so opportune and so necessary for Socialist education. It appears that we are in a race with chaos and every comrade should find a place in which to serve in these trying days.

## Another Labor "Trial"

CONVICTION of Albert Hoffmann of "conspiracy" in the strike of Pennsylvania hosiery workers at Stroudsburg adds another notorious frame-up in American labor history. Our readers are referred to the interesting story of this case on page four of this issue. The contrast in the treatment of four slayers of Alberta Bachmann, a girl striker, and of Hoffmann, leader of the strikers, is revealing in its revelation of legal machinery rigged against workers.

These cases are too numerous in this country to be explained on the theory of an accidental miscarriage of justice. They never occur in England and on the Continent. The fact that some labor men have been acquitted in such cases is no answer to our accusation and the fact that some labor men, as in the case of the McNamara brothers, have been guilty of crimes charged to them does not alter our judgment.

There are cases like the Sacco-Vanzetti "trial," the Mooney-Billings affair, and the shocking Centralia convictions which show that American courts can be transformed into brothels when the hates of exploiting classes are aroused. That they are possible in this country is simply evidence that the workers after a hundred years of trade union organization have no political power. No ruling class would dare challenge a ballot-armed labor army if that army were using its political power effectively and eating away the power of the enemy.

It is not only that labor victims are railroaded in court trials. Our reactionary classes are so powerful that when evidence is piled mountain high of bias and perjury after the trials the victims often go to the chair or stay in prison. With such facts staring us in the face it is mockery for conservatives to boast of labor's power in politics. We hope that the frame-up at Stroudsburg will stir the whole labor movement, that this latest victim will be released, and that the experience will contribute to more effective use of the political power of the working class.

## A Times Boner

INCIDENTAL to a consideration of economic conditions in Russia the New York Times says something that should head the list of boners for this month. It observes that in the "capitalistic countries there is, of course, hardship due to unemployment, but there is no starvation, no misery, certainly no destitution; there is even a fair measure of comfort arising, as some complain, from too generous methods of public insurance and relief."

This assertion is astounding. One may in the columns of the Times in the past year or two obtain evidence in refutation of this view. Special articles on unemployment, destitution of the farmers, pathetic stories of workers in the breadlines, occasional items regarding jobless men committing suicide, and even letters have told a tragic story that is in conflict with its observation.

When the editorial page does not know what the other pages have been saying it is time for the staff to take stock. "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth" as a policy may result in all departments becoming as harmonious as a kraut band.

## The Scottsboro Case

EIGHT young Negroes sentenced to death in Alabama for a crime which it is very doubtful they committed have become of interest to American Bolsheviks. This in turn has brought a conflict with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has provided counsel for the condemned boys. Through the International Labor Defense, a Bolshevik auxiliary, a war is being made against the N.A.A.C.P., the latter being charged with "treachery" in handling the case. The Bolsheviks go so far as to charge that organization with employing an insane man to look after the case.

This is a disgusting performance with death staring eight boys in the face. It is not likely that the condemned had a fair trial. Negroes, as a rule, find the cards stacked against them in white courts. Because this is true those who sincerely desire justice for the accused will not juggle with their lives. The N.A.A.C.P. has a staff of the most eminent lawyers in the country to advise it in such cases and we may be sure that it will do everything to protect the rights of boys of their own race and color.

The Bolshevik organization is a collection agency that is more interested in collecting funds and diverting them to its own propaganda than anything else. Its shameful misuse of funds collected in the names of Sacco and Vanzetti is a case in point. Moreover, it is credited with doing some things which we cannot now mention out of consideration for the lives of the accused. Later on we shall return to this matter when some things can be said without injuring victims who stand in the shadow of the electric chair.

## IN A NUTSHELL

The Pope warns us that we should not support Socialism. Thank heaven we can save our souls by supporting Tammany piety, profits and graft, and say nothing of the vice squad.

Capitalism is committing suicide, and the present generation must save itself from the results thereof.—John Wheatley, former Labor member of the British Parliament and a Catholic.

In the past eighteen months the total wage cuts of steel workers at Mansfield, Ohio, have reached 37½ per cent. A vote for capitalism is a luxury that workers cannot afford.

The life of society is being strangled by the forms which once promoted it. The really vital and powerful tendencies of our times are toward a higher and wider form of social and economic organization—towards Socialism.—Thomas Kirkup.

Jouett Shouse of the Democratic National Committee has been to Texas to put "heart" into the Democrats. Socialists are trying to put brains in their heads.

Morality and religion are but words to him who fishes in gutters for the means of sustaining life, and crouches behind barrels in the street for shelter from the cutting blasts of a winter night.—Horace Greeley.

Twenty-one utilities corporations show a gross increase of nearly 44 million dollars in "earnings" for the year 1930 which shows the utility of private ownership of utilities as well as the futility of workers voting for utility candidates.

Many plans are being suggested to help some railroads out of their difficulties. We are sure that President Hoover will be sympathetic to a dole to relieve the distress of the owners.



# THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

## VI.—The Task Before Us

(Editor's Note: This is the sixth installment of a revised booklet, "The Next Emancipation," by James O'Neal. It has been published to sell at cost, 10 cents postpaid, by the Negro Labor News Service, P. O. Box 66, College Station, New York City, or 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.)

By JAMES ONEAL

CONSIDER the situation in the South. Thousands of white workers there have deep prejudices against the Negro. Yet many thousands of these whites are steeped in the deepest poverty. They get little more education than the Negro. Why are they ragged, ignorant and poor? Because the same ruling whites that rob the Negro worker, rob the white worker!

If every Negro's place in the South was filled by a white man, conditions of the white workers would be what they are now. But the white worker, because of his ignorance and prejudice, sees only the color line and not the class line. He sees the Negro, whom he dislikes instead of the white masters, whom he should dislike.

Now, the Negro worker dislikes the white worker because the latter dislikes him. YET BOTH ARE ROBBED BY THE SAME CLASS OF WHITE CAPITALISTS, CONTRACTORS, BANKERS AND EXPLOITERS IN GENERAL!

The great task before the workers of both races is to make both sides of the class that rob both will continue to exploit them. There is no hope for either so long as they hate. There is hope when they cease to hate. This will be the beginning of understanding, and understanding is necessary before there can be unity of action. Even in the South, this is possible, and we have seen the beginning of that union of white and colored labor in behalf of their common interests.

A White Labor Hero  
In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in November, 1919, there was a striking instance of this unity of white

and Negro wage workers. Bogalusa was the headquarters of the Great Southern Lumber Company, whose sawmill is said to be the largest in the world. For some time it had made use of unorganized Negro workers against white wage workers. What happened is told by Benjamin Brawley, in his "Social History of the American Negro," p. 349:

"The forces of labor, however, began to organize the Negroes in the employ of the company, which held political as well as capitalistic control in the community. The company then began to have Negroes arrested on charges of vagrancy, taking them before the City court and having them fined and turned over to the company to work out the fines under the guard of gunmen. In the troubles that came to a head on November 22, three white men were shot and killed, one of them being the District President of the American Federation of Labor, who was helping to give protection to a colored organizer."

Here is a glorious beginning of that understanding between white and Negro workers against the common enemy. A white union organizer gave his life in defense of a Negro member of the wage working class! Extend that understanding between the workers of both races from Bogalusa, throughout the South and the North, and this class brotherhood would wipe out much of the ignorant prejudices that prevail.

What is wanted is not a "white" South or a "black" South, but a working class South and a working class North. The workers on the docks in New Orleans some years ago were also involved in a strike, and the white and Negro workers stuck side by side and shared in the hardships and sacrifices of the strike. These incidents show that the accused prejudices can be wiped out and unity of the workers of both races obtained. To realize it should be the aim of intelligent men and women of the white and Negro working class.

Negro workers should organize into unions and continually insist upon the trade unions extending help to them in this work. They should continually insist on the color line being wiped out where ever it exists, and that Negro unions be amalgamated with the other unions. They should point out the advantages to both white and Negro workers in such unions. They should send committees before the unions for this purpose. Wherever possible, they should get a white unionist who understands the need of this to supplement their appeals.

This is the way to labor solidarity in industry.

There is nothing harder to make the prejudiced white understand than the question of "social equality." The same white worker who holds this prejudice may be working in the same ditch, on the same farm, or in the same factory with Negro workers. He may be working for the same master. He may be getting wages that are little more than the Negro worker receives. He may be living in a shack that he calls "home," just as the Negro worker does. In the South, his children may be deprived of an education just as the Negro's children often are.

Yet this white worker, who in every respect has been reduced to a level equal to that of the Negro worker, is afraid of "social equality." In the South many such white workers believe that they are a part of what is called "white supremacy." As a matter of fact, both the Negro and such white workers are victims of a "white supremacy" exercised by exploiters.

Such white workers need not fear social equality. The white masters have placed both Negro and white labor on the same plane of equality of servitude. They will stay in this equality until both join hands to liberate themselves from those who buy their labor power and exploit them in the labor market.

(To be continued)

# The New Leader Mail-bag

## LAND VALUES

Editor, The New Leader:  
In his restatement of the Socialist program in The New Leader, Norman Thomas mentioned the expropriation of the landlords by taking in taxes the full ground rent. Will you or Mr. Norman Thomas please explain just what you mean by that? Do you expect to make converts among the thousands who own a one or two-family house by taxing them out of existence? The taxes we pay now are heavy enough. I could not sell my house now for two-thirds of what I paid for it but it is assessed at over 85 per cent of its cost. Suppose a tax on the ground on which it stands were assessed, say, for \$10,000 of which, say, \$2,000 represented the value of the house. Under the proposed system, suppose the proposed \$10,000 yearly in rent. According to Mr. Thomas, that amount would have to be paid in taxes to the city. I'll say the landlords would be expropriated. Who would want to own a home? Not yours truly.

JOS. WOLLMANN.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor, The New Leader:  
Your correspondent, Mr. Wollmann, like a good many others, has jumped to wrong conclusions as to the effect of making society the landlord. A tax rising to the full rental value of land would facilitate small home owning. This it would do, (1) by making possible the exemption or almost complete exemption of homes from taxation, and (2) by making possible city planning which is now impossible in any definite way so long as everybody has to go for the land owners. Under our present unscientific tax law, a man is actually penalized by owning a home. He raises the value of his extra rooms for a rental on the value of the rooms; the return on the value of the land apart from the rooms would go to society. Even now there are land values and house values and that division could be made more scientific. It would probably take a

period of a few years during which to make these readjustments in taxes; that is, to shift the burden from an indiscriminate levy on land and homes to a burden on land. Of course we Socialists, not being single tax adherents, would also keep and increase income and inheritance taxes.

NORMAN THOMAS.  
New York City.

## HOOVER'S ADVICE

Editor, The New Leader:  
Just a word from the Evergreen State. Socialists are so well advertised as hen's teeth, but it's just as consoling to the few of us to hear of Socialist gains in other places.

Just listened in to Hoover's welcome address to the International Commercial Club when he left it all up to them to sponsor the movement to relieve the depression and diminish the burden of the unemployed. Understand how are they to go about it when the most influential members are the manufacturers of war materials? Looks as though they would defeat their own purpose which ever way they jumped.

If it wasn't such a heinous crime to study social economics maybe the people would learn to take an interest in their own affairs and governments would be asked to function instead of commercial clubs. That's just one of the big sticks that gets into our government machinery, and neither of the old parties dare pull it out.

Yours for social democracy,  
T. D. GRIFFIN.  
Longview, Wash.

## MONOPOLY PRICES

Editor, The New Leader:  
With respect to the article by Gus Tyler, a well written and interesting one, too, it seems to me that Socialists are apt to overlook an important aspect of capitalist economy and they put more faith in the results of free competition than is warranted. Does it always follow that when an industry is very profitable there is an immediate influx of new capital and enterprise into that industry so that its advantages are offset and the consumers thereby protected? Not necessarily, and allow me to illustrate.

During this period of depression commodity prices have fallen and wages have been reduced so that certain industries are now more profit-

able than before, for example, the electric power and gas industries. The wages of workers have been reduced but they pay the same rates for gas and electricity, therefore their real wages are less. It has not come to my attention that there has been a rush of competing organizations into these industries. Take another example. The price of wheat has been greatly reduced, due, of course, to the habit of those terrible Russians of dumping (or is it dumping?) but has the price of bread been reduced? Here again, I have not observed any rush of competing elements into this industry. Or, to come closer home and to our milk problem, the ease with which the price of milk is raised whenever desired and prices kept at a level, to resort to the vernacular, a caution.

What is the reason for this paradoxical state of affairs? You guessed it. Monopoly, a limited field for operation, restraint of trade through racketeering and other obstacles.

I merely want to point out the necessity for reforms such as control of rates and prices, higher taxation, social insurance and better labor laws, and the need, necessarily for class action on the political field by the workers.

SOL PERRIN.  
New York City.

## BOLSHIES IN PUEBLO

Editor, The New Leader:  
Communists here are striving to get a hold by ridiculing national figures in the Socialist movement. They hang around at our meeting places trying to force their way in and get the use of our halls to speak in after we pay for them. They also distribute their literature at our meetings which is full of false accusations against Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and other national figures in the Socialist movement. They charge the Socialists of Reading, Pa., and in Wisconsin of grafting. They are striving to arouse the workers to violence. As a Socialist I shall continue to discourage violence and insist on the workers using sane methods for solving conditions that confront them.

There was a Communist organizer at our last two meetings. We permitted him to speak seven minutes and Lester Shulman very ably defended Socialism against his ridicule. He returned to another meeting and

demanded the floor. I informed the Communist that he positively could not use the hall. After had addressed the meeting along fundamental principles, the Communist asked one question, "What are the workers to do for something to eat until election?" I replied that all we could do under this system was the best we can until we can make the change, that is what we have done thus far. I hope you can nip this violent advocacy and answer to the untruths of Communist organizers and their press. I know that if Norman Thomas was linked with the master class he could not be what he is in the Socialist movement.

J. T. LANDIS.  
Pueblo, Colo.

This is a new party local and we assure its members that these Communist activities are nothing new. Wherever a few of the brethren are able to form a "nuclei" they so act except in the larger cities where they have learned that they cannot get away with their pleasanties. The members should exclude these gentlemen from their meetings for the same reason that they would exclude a half-wit or a rowdy drunk.—Editor of The New Leader.

## The Bronx Free Fellowship

"International Relations and World Peace" will be the topic of the Rev. Arthur L. Agnew's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1891 Boston road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening, May 24.



## THE COMMUNIST HOPE IN WAR

WAR is one of the things which drives an issue between the Communist party and the Socialist party. After all, Communists are people who are opposed to all wars up to this time but they think there might be just one more war, and that would be a good war because you would have the proletariat on one side and the bourgeois and the capitalists on the other, and that would end war. The only trouble about that is that we did have a war to end war.

I was talking to a Communist and he said he didn't believe in the last war; he didn't believe in the Civil War; he didn't believe in the war of the Revolution, but he would like very much to have fought with the Greeks against the Persians at Marathon.

I said, "Well now, Sam, that is a little academic, of course. Nobody is going to conscript you for that war, and maybe if you were around at the time of that war you would not have wanted to be in it. The Athenians were possibly going around tapping young fellows on the shoulder as we did in the late war. If you are going to swear off on war you have to swear off complete."

## A DISAPPOINTED OFFICER

A GOOD many people say, "Yes, I am for peace; I don't believe in war. Of course, I would be for a defensive war or a righteous war."

That opens up a very big loophole. I never knew a war that was not a righteous war to the people who were fighting it. When I was a newspaper man with The Tribune, I was in a front line trench at Rheims. The orderly said, "Oh, I'm so sorry you newspaper men came today. Yesterday the Germans were bombing me all day long and wounded one or two of my officers and 10 of the men. Today is very quiet. I am disappointed."

I said, "Oh, that's all right, we are just newspaper men. We have got to take our lot, we won't blame you."

"Well," he said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll get some of our men to fire rifle grenades over at the Germans and maybe that will stir them up."

I said, "Mon Capitain, don't trouble—don't bother. If you fire rifle grenades at the Germans, they might fire back after we have gone and wound some of your men."

Well, he did fire the rifle grenades but nothing happened. The Germans seemed to realize that this was just a Cook's tour and didn't pay any attention. But they let me look through a periscope at the front line of the Germans, about 70 yards away.

## "NO MORE LAST ROUNDS"

"ISN'T it curious," I said. "Here I am, an American newspaper man among French soldiers. If anybody had asked me I would have said then, 'Yes, my country is fighting for self-defense. Our cause is right.'"

Any Frenchman there would have said, "My country is fighting in self-defense; our cause is right." Then if it had been possible for me or a French soldier in that trench to climb over and walk that short distance we would have met a German, and that German would have said, "My country is fighting in self-defense and my cause is right." And if you had asked a Turk or a Bulgarian or an Italian—everybody down the line, everybody would have said the same thing.

No soldier likes to go out and have his head blown off unless he feels that he is fighting in a righteous cause. So if you just say, "I am against war but I would fight in a righteous war," you are saying nothing at all.

Before my luck went so bad I used to play in poker games and we used to say, "The game will stop sharp at 1 o'clock," and at 1 o'clock somebody, generally a loser, would say, "Let us play one last round," and at 5 o'clock in the morning we would still be playing last round. So I say if you are going to swear off war you have got to swear it off altogether. You have got to say, "We have played the last round; not any more last rounds whatsoever."

## THE ENGLISH SHOOT AN ENEMY

LET me tell a short story about the curious impersonality of war. I was talking to an Englishman, an actor, and he had served with the British Army at Gallipoli, and the word was sent out that a young English officer had disappeared. He had either been killed or captured, and there was a possibility that a German would come into the lines using his name. The soldiers were to look out for anybody who gave the name of this missing English officer. An officer going down the trench met a young man in his uniform, challenged him; the man gave the name of the missing officer, so he immediately arrested him.

And as soon as they arrested him the man admitted that he was a German. He said that he had taken the clothes of the British officer who had been captured. He spent two or three hours in the British lines noting their machine gun emplacements. He was court-martialed and had no defense. The verdict was that he be shot within an hour.

Thereupon he sat down with the English officers in a tent. Outside the tent they could hear the British soldiers with their picks and shovels digging the grave for him. He was a nice young fellow, he spoke English well. They had an hour to kill; they didn't think he was a dirty villain; he did the same as any man would do under the circumstances. They didn't want to talk about the war. They talked about shows in London. Had he ever seen Beatrice Lillie? Yes, and he thought she was funny. Had he seen Gertrude Lawrence? Yes, but he liked Beatrice Lillie better. Had he been to this place for a cocktail, or had he read this book by Galsworthy? Talk along that line, and then finally he thrust his wrist out and looked at his watch and said, "I know this is not easy for you fellows, but it isn't easy for me either; isn't it about time?" And so they took him out and shot him.

If it is said war is a natural thing, I say it is not natural. There was not a soul in that tent that wanted to take that young fellow out and shoot him for doing nothing that seemed to them wrong or villainous. But the rules of war said it had to be done. The rules of war are not the rules of humanity. The time to swear off is right now.

## Police of Los Angeles Arrest Busick Twice; Others Are Threatened

LOS ANGELES.—(FP)—William Busick, Socialist, running for councilman in the ninth district, was dragged from his auto by the police red squad, handcuffed and taken to jail "for distributing red literature in his district." The desk sergeant pointed out to the arresting officers that the literature was the New Era, Socialist paper, of which Busick is editor. Officers then claimed that Busick had parked his car more than a foot from the curb. Since the car had been moved, there was no proof either way, so he was booked on a charge of "disturbing the peace."

Busick was held for several hours and released on bail of \$100. Almost immediately thereafter, he was arrested again and taken to a different station, "on suspicion." He was not held, however, and the police later denied this second arrest. Other men working for Busick in the district, have been threatened by police, and campaign literature has been taken from them and destroyed. Complaints to police headquarters have brought no relief.

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