

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Wheat Drops to 25 Cents—The Farm Problem and the Need for Relief—The Railroad's Case for a Rate Rise—The B. M. T. and Unionism—What You Can Do for the Miners

25 CENT WHEAT

WHEAT in Kansas which brings the farmer only 25 or 30 cents a bushel is serious business for the whole country. One thing is sure; it won't reduce the price of the loaf of bread to the starving coal miner or city worker. But it may force a lot of farmers off the land where at least they can raise food to feed their families and into the city bread lines.



NORMAN THOMAS

TO MEET THE EMERGENCY

AGRICULTURE is going through an industrial revolution of its own. We can't stop it. We can't wreck agricultural any more than factory machinery. If the American birth rate is falling and our increase of population and mouths to feed is slowing up, we can't change that. Nor can we bring back the days when people ate more pie and cake and less fruit and salad than now. Neither can we wisely subsidize wheat farmers to dump grain abroad and get us into trouble with our neighbors. Nor can we permanently subsidize high cost individual growers of wheat if collectives in Russia and huge farms in America are more effective.

But we can meet the emergency. The Farm Board can keep its grain off a crowded market. If a moratorium can help Germany, it can help farmers on mortgages and tenant farmers on rent. Since a dollar is worth 15 or 20 cents more than four or five years ago we might revise mortgages so they aren't paid back in dollars that will buy so much more than the dollars that were loaned. Above all we can see that the unemployed get work at public buildings or relief so they can buy bread.

THE RAILROADS, SAVIORS OF THE NATION!

THE railroads, better organized than the farmers, are pushing for that 15% freight increase. I have a railroad advertisement telling "how decreased railroad earnings affect you." It appears that the roads have laid off over 400,000 men in five years, bought fewer rails, etc., and may not be able to pay interest on their stocks and bonds. It also appears—the roads admit it—that "the steam railroads built this nation. They saved it in time of war." Nothing is said about the graft the roads got in building this nation or how they failed in war until taken over by the government!

The roads don't offer to cut down high salaries. They don't explain that their scads of presidents and vice presidents would be unnecessary under government ownership. They don't explain why they haven't shared with the public more adequately their savings in technical efficiency. Train tonnage has gone up from 700 tons to 30,000 with one less man, a brakeman! They don't explain their failure to arrange economical consolidations. They don't explain how shippers can pay 15% more when they can't sell their goods at present rates and prices! In short, they don't tell us why it isn't time for us to nationalize the railroads and link them up to a planned national economy.

THE B. M. T. CUTS WAGES

ONE of the best arguments I have ever seen for labor unions was found in the story in the New York papers of the B.M.T.'s plan for reducing wages by cutting bonuses. This transit grant which is after a transit monopoly in New York is out for robbing its employees as well as milking the public. The point is it didn't dare reduce the wages of the motormen, who, the newspapers truthfully told us, were organized! Let the other B.M.T. men go and do likewise.

IF THE MINERS ARE TO WIN

FIRST reports which I accepted put the number of West Virginia coal strikers at 25,000. We have since learned that the number is too high. The union itself has had to hold back men where there was not even relief money enough to buy canned milk for the babies. But the strike is very real and the need great. Victory will be a great gain, and victory lost because of absolute starvation for babies is a defeat for everything decent in America. This remark goes for all strikes. There are various strike committees specializing in different fields. Let me again recommend the Socialist Relief Committee, Lyceum Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., specializing in that area, and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 112 East 19th St., New York City, specializing in West Virginia but which will transmit designated funds to Socialist committees in Kentucky and Pittsburgh.

CARING FOR OUR INVESTORS' DOLLARS

WHERE your treasure is there will your heart be also. Likewise your head. That's why Messrs. Stimson and Mellon are sitting in on this London Conference. Too many American dollars are at stake to keep away. On the whole, in an interdependent world, America should be represented at such a conference. Certainly we'll all suffer if Germany goes under.

THE LAWYERS LOOK AT THEMSELVES

AN Assistant Attorney General in New York State says that lawyers help gangsters make shady alibis. The Chicago Bar Association is proceeding against lawyers who took political snap jobs without working for fees under the City Sanitary Commission. The Cleveland Bar Association is after some big as well as little sinners. That's good, but it shows what the legal profession has become. If you want more of the story and some interesting recommendations for socializing the law, I recommend Morris Glanet's book, "A Lawyer Tells The Truth" (Concord Press, N.Y.C.).

RADIO SPEECHES WITH A PUNCH

SPEAKING of books, it's good to see how widely popular is our own good Comrade Hahn's book, "He Stirred Up the People." These radio addresses with a punch and they are being read and quoted over the country in radical and labor circles. I'm glad the author is Socialist-candidate for President of the Council in Buffalo.

THE BUS SCANDAL TO DATE

A HEARING before the Transit Commission on the application of the Brooklyn Bus Company (a B.M.T. subsidiary) to issue notes to buy from Mr. Faboco's Twin Coach Company, one hundred buses at \$11,000 each, is of great importance for the light it may shed on one chapter of the mysterious and melodramatic story of the bus franchise gold diggers. The B.M.T. wants to exploit the gold mine of the last possible franchise the city can bestow. The public must be vigilant or it will be robbed as it always has been robbed by public utility franchises.

The immediate questions regarding the purchase of these buses are the following: Why did the B.M.T., through one of its subsidiaries, lend \$150,000 to Faboco's company from which they now want to buy buses although there is no record of any similar loan having been made to other companies? Does the price for the buses conceal profits or commission to Faboco and Senator John Hastings, and a slush fund to the politicians to reimburse them for what they may have lost in the Equitable Bus fiasco, with which they were intimately connected? Was such reacquisition a condition under which the B.M.T. got the bus franchise? Did the B.M.T. attempt to get competitive bids for the manufacture of these buses? What profit will the Twin Coach Co. make on each bus?

Behind these questions are the following facts which the public should remember:

1. The Walker administration was elected on a pledge to get city-owned bus service for which it has only put up a perfunctory fight in the Legislature. It has never really fought for the right solution of this problem.
2. Walker's big fight was to give a valuable bus franchise to the mysterious Equitable Company in which his friend Hastings was involved.
3. After the Equitable Bus scandal was finally exposed, Chairman Delaney of the Transportation Board and the whole Board of Estimate completely reversed themselves and gave the Brooklyn franchise to the B.M.T., which proceeding Mr. Delaney had previously denounced in unmeasured terms.
4. In Queens an outrageous scheme, which Walker and his one-time man Friday, the spineless Harvey, now seek to pass off on each other, would have resulted in 112% profit annually to two companies, one of them controlled by the Mayor's crony and Maurice Connolly's old friend, Mr. Rowley, the vice-president of the politically powerful Bank of Manhattan. The other favored Queens Company, not so well backed politically and financially, would probably have fallen into the lap of the B.M.T. which is making rapid strides toward a near monopoly of subways and buses.
5. Meanwhile, this gold-digging B.M.T. utilizes its success in getting new franchises to contribute to the recovery of prosperity by the device of reducing the wages of all its employees except the motormen who are organized. I trust that the other employees will take warning and go and do likewise with the approval of the public.

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Law And Order



—Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

Socialist Relief Committee Jailed in Ky.; Three Miners Killed In Strike Battles

Rival Union Factions Clash in Western Penn- sylvania and Scranton

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HARLAN, Ky.—Because they organized a committee of Socialists to give out aid to the starving miners, Allen Keedy and Vincent Bilotta, Socialists of Harlan, Ky., were arrested on framed-up charges and cooped up in the Harlan jail to await trial. The charges concerned the "obstruction of justice by the intimidation of witnesses." Neither Keedy nor Bilotta have ever talked with said witnesses. The arrested men were "talked to" by the officers for their activity in distributing food relief. One of the officers advised Bilotta that "they were going to bust up the whole damn thing" (food relief work).

But they only think they are! The work will continue under the supervision of reliable workers. To strengthen our work in behalf of the miners, let your gifts be doubled! Let us show them that we can't be beaten, no matter how many of our leaders they railroad into jail! Rush food and money to W. H. Mahon, Socialist Relief Committee, Harlan, Ky., or the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 112 East 19th St., N. Y. C., indicating the contribution is for the Kentucky miners.

Sheriff's Aide Assaults Woman
Mrs. Vincent Bilotta, wife of the relief committee chairman, was assaulted on the highway near the Black Mt. Coal Corp. property when she was walking home alone. The attacking party was none other than "Jim Gangster," Sheriff Blair's favorite guard.

The newly formed Socialist local in Harlan with the allegiance of dozens of local miners, is actively gathering relief for miners and their families.

Hundreds of men in Harlan, where labor leaders have been jailed and mines closed down to starve out the union, are absolutely penniless, foraging about the countryside for their food. To these men, and their families, Local Evarts is delivering all the supplies that it can gather together, at the same time doing excellent work in passing out Socialist literature, which has been supplied by National Headquarters of the party out of proceeds of the Socialism Forward Drive.

By HELEN G. NORTON
(New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Five union members are under arrest at Raymond City after the killing July 20 of two scabs. A blood-hound put on the trail by the state police failed to "get his man" but the five unionists were gathered in as suspects. One of them, William Goff, who has been song leader at local strike meetings, has been a soldier and therefore

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Weeks' Development In the Coal Fields

The revolt of the miners brought about by the breakdown of private ownership of the coal miners, brought three deaths this week, two in West Virginia and one in Ohio. Two scabs were killed in West Virginia; one strike picket, 16 years old, was slain in Martin's Ferry, Ohio.

In Harlan, Kentucky, members of the Socialist Relief Committee were arrested on trumped-up charges and thrown in jail.

The strike in Western Pennsylvania settled down to an endurance test between strikers and operators, with relief for the strikers likely to play the deciding role. On Saturday, the Socialist relief committee in Pittsburgh sent four and a half tons of foodstuffs for distribution in the Allegheny Valley.

In the meantime, factional strike between miners broke out in two sections. The Communist-led National Miners' Union raided a rally of the United Mine Workers at Cannonsburg, Pa. In Scranton, a convention of district one, United Mine Workers, for years a turbulent anarcho district, saw the breaking up of the first two sessions in riots and the final pacifying of the convention with the administration calling in the police.

Wickersham Report on Deportation Withheld

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Inquiries at the White House and Labor Department have failed, thus far, to force into the open the fifth divisional report of the Wickersham Commission—a report said to deal caustically with the record of the Department of Labor under Secretary Doak in deporting helpless aliens who hold radical views or are political refugees from foreign despots.

While denial is made that the document is being temporarily suppressed, the fact remains that later reports in the series have been made public.

Rieve Urges Labor Party

BRYN MAWR, Pa.—(FP)—"Labor cannot win power by going into politics through the political organizations which have been used to rob and destroy his economic organizations," said Pres. Emil Rieve of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers at a conference on "Labor in Depression" held at Bryn Mawr College in conjunction with the summer school for women in industry. Rieve's union is pledged to a labor political party, for which it has begun active organization work in Pennsylvania.

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Textile Union Urges Strikes To Cut Hours

1000 Answer Commu- nist Call in Paterson— U.T.W. Walkout Aug- ust 3rd

AT A MEETING of the Emergency Committee of the United Textile Workers of America in New York City this week, President Thomas F. McMahon, announced that organizers and local officers report a serious condition which threatens the textile industry, and one which demands the immediate consideration of employers and their organizations.

The U. T. W. has advised all local union, North and South, to concentrate their efforts on the adoption of the maximum forty-eight-hour week and if the employers refuse to accept the proposal, then, organized and unorganized textile workers should leave the mills and establish the shorter work day and work week themselves.

President McMahon stated that the maximum 48-hour work week should do more to stabilize the industry, regulate wages and prices and assist materially in the elimination of cut-throat competition and the destructive policy pursued by some employers in cutting wages and prices for their own personal gain, than anything he knows of. He said the plan would give steadier employment to the workers.

Attacks Communists

Commenting on the Communist activities in the textile industry, President McMahon said, "none of these people have a practical knowledge of the textile industry and are merely using it as a means to an end with no desire to improve the condition of the workers. They are only concerned with the advancement of the Communist element in the United States."

He reiterated the position of the United Textile Workers of America—"that the officers and members will have no dealings of any kind with the strikes called by the Communists—that they will receive no recognition by the United Textile Workers of America. He said the only solution would be for the unorganized textile workers to get into the union affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, and the American Federation of Labor, to stay permanently organized, and negotiate through the union for better conditions—that nothing will be accomplished by periodical

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"Starve And Shut Up!"

Deportation, Jail and Violence Is Answer Of Capitalism to Labor's Protests

"YOU will not only take wage cuts. You will not only starve for want of a job. You will not only watch your children go hungry. YOU WILL ALSO KEEP QUIET ABOUT IT."

That is the edict of American capitalism. That is its policy for a period of industrial breakdown for which it is itself responsible. The rulers of America are the owners of its industries. Through their ever-ready political tools—the Republican and Democratic parties in cities, states and nations—their ukase has gone into effect.

Daily reports from textile centers, from mining districts, from industrial cities and from mining communities tell an alarming story ranging all the way from cynical indifference

to starvation, to wholesale deportation raids, illegal jailings, brutal beatings and even murder.

The capitalist class has always been lawless when its plunder has been challenged. For workers, organized and unorganized, the capitalist press, the pulpsters and the politicians have prated of "law and order." In the meantime, capitalism never hesitated to use violence and terror. Witness the shooting up and burning of miners' homes in Ludlow, Colorado. Recall the reigns of terror that have repeated themselves in Passaic and Lawrence and other vassal cities of the textile bosses. Any mining community—West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois—can tell stories of gunmen, state constabulary and coal and iron police clothed in the legality of the law swinging clubs and firing guns as any gang of marauders would.

Doak Leads the Pack

The American workers are face to face with another period of violent repression. A cabinet minister, Secretary of Labor William Doak, a traitor to the working class which raised him to his present position, has sounded the note. Let any group of workers strike for a pittance of an increase, or against further wage cuts, Doak's agents are on the job. In White Plains, New York, their activity was typical. Road builders, hounded by poverty, demand a wage of \$5 a day—which would give them \$30 a week to support themselves and their families. The contractors, waxing rich on city and state contracts, insist on paying \$3 a day—\$18 a week! Bravely, in the face of an army of hungry jobless who might grab their jobs, over 1,000 men go on strike.

The powerful, great and rich Government of the United States then stepped in. Not on the side of the embattled workers. Secretary Doak's agents swooped down on a meeting of strikers and seized 200 of them. Twenty were held for deportation—for the crime of refusing to work for \$18 a week! Nobody knows how many were actually deported. Deportations of strikers take place weekly, but the Department of Labor keeps the facts a secret. There is no redress. Families vainly wait, in paralyzing fear, for the return of their father and husband, their breadwinners. Legal fees are exorbitant. Even if the poor workers could hire lawyers, the speed and secrecy with which the Department of Labor works make legal interference largely useless.

A Relief Committee Jailed

Upon what legal fiction, what pretext does the Department of Labor thus align itself with

the forces of capitalist exploitation? This week the Department of Labor ordered the deportation of a young woman who had helped organize Lawrence textile strikers. The charge on which the deportation was issued was that "Miss Edith Berkman was an alien affiliated with an organization which advocates, teaches or believes in overthrowing the government by force or violence."

That was the reason given officially, yet the fact remains that Miss Berkman was seized only because of her connection with the Lawrence strike. Before her connection with that strike she was permitted to remain in the country unmolested.

Secretary Doak has taken it upon himself to declare strikes against wage cuts to be movements aimed at "overthrowing the government." He could not reveal more clearly the identification of his department and the Hoover administration with the wage-slashing capitalist class.

"Starve and Like It" is the slogan not only of the Federal government, though undoubtedly it has given the lead. Scores of local bureaucrats, open or disguised tools of their respective local owning classes, multiply the incidents of repression. Harlan, Kentucky, offers the most striking example this week. There the members of the Socialist Relief Committee, engaged in the humanitarian work of feeding hungry miners and their families, have been thrown into jail on the preposterous charge of "intimidating witnesses and obstructing justice." The Harlan autocrats apparently figure any pretext will do so long as they land the committee in jail.

"We Will Not Starve!"

There must be a strong, concerted answer which all workers who respect themselves must make. "We will not starve. Nor will we keep quiet about it." This should be the answer of an army of organized, disciplined workers. This army must have two things. It must form a political party giving battle daily to the entrenched political hirelings of capitalism. At the same time it must organize on the job, into trade unions, clean and progressive, dedicated to the single ideal of protecting the workers from the ravages of the depression and, at every opportunity, advancing their interests in claiming their right share of the nation's wealth which they have produced by their brain and their brawn.

The employing class respects power. Labor has the numbers to mobilize that power. There is no time to be lost. Organization work must be speeded up. The Socialist party is the political expression of the advance guard of workers. It invites all to join its ranks.

All Roads Lead to Ulmer Park Saturday For Huge Socialist and Labor Annual Picnic

THIS Saturday, July 25th, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, 25,000 Socialists and their sympathizers will gather at the Great Annual Picnic of the Socialist and Labor movement.

The gathering will mark the opening of an intense campaign in the interest of the Socialist campaign, in which Norman Thomas is the candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. Thomas will deliver the main address of a program of short speeches.

Many features have been arranged, among them a sports carnival in which the Hakoah soccer team will be matched against the Prague Football Club. This game is due at 4 P.M. Other sports include a baseball game between the Young Circle League and the Young Peoples Socialist League and a baseball game between the Vasa A. C. (Finnish Yipsels) and the Meyer London A.A. An additional soccer game is scheduled between the Neckwear Makers Un-

ion Soccer Club and the Meyer London A.A. Track and field events will be participated in by about 100 members of the above mentioned organizations.

The Russian Grand Opera Co. quartet of male voices will render a program of popular folk songs as well as selections from famous operas. The artists to appear are, David Tulinoff, Bass; George T. Treshenko, Baritone; Nicholas Buzanovsky, Tenor; S. Vitis, Tenor. They will be accompanied at the piano by Aaron Pressman, conductor of the Russian Grand Opera Co. In addition,

School Teachers Face Starvation in Chicago

CHICAGO.—(FP)—Actual starvation threatens many Chicago school teachers because the politically controlled school board has failed to pay them for three months, said James Meade, president of the Men's Teachers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

tion, musical selections will be rendered by the Finnish Accordion Quartet, consisting of Viola Turpeinen, Sylvia Polso, Andrew Koskio, director.

A novel feature of the picnic will be an open air movie show of Charles Chaplin pictures, "The Bank" and "Shanghai." A Mickey Mouse Comedy will also be given. Continuous dancing from 2 P.M. to the early morning hours will take place in the main Casino.

A huge committee of five hundred is being organized to handle the necessary work. Many donations of food were made by the Grocery Clerks Union, bread provided by the Co-operative Bakery of Brownsville, cake by the Cake Bakers Union. Flowers were donated by Fred Spitz, 74 Second Avenue.

Get your tickets now, from your organization or at the Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th street; the Forward, 175 E. 57th; the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street; or the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd street and 14th Avenue.

Democrats' Greed Prevents Fusion of Reading Politicians

Socialists, Sorry G. O. P. and Democrats Can't Get Together; Would Like to Take Their Measure in Two-Cornered Fight

READING, Pa.—All hopes of a fusion ticket to oppose the Socialists in the coming municipal election went a-glimmering during the demand of the Republican wing of the political bird of prey for the offices of mayor and two councilmen. Instead of fusion, so far as the old political splinters of Reading are concerned, there is now confusion; more confusion and doubt than ever in the camps of the rabid anti-Socialists who were willing to sacrifice party independence in an effort to prevent the Socialist administration from continuing in public office. Nevertheless, enough has been said and printed on the subject to convince many old-time Democratic and Republican voters that the Socialists were right all the time when they declared that there is no difference between the two old parties.

However, while there is no difference in principle, there is a difference in opinion as to which side of the discredited political flock should be given the greatest patronage. Greed for office was the wedge which split the Democratic and Republican pie-counter artists as far apart as ever and gave the plain voter who never dabbled in public office an opportunity to see the inside of the fusion machine.

Many Greedy for Office.
The trouble is that, while there are too few candidates who, in the opinion of the fusion advocates, will appeal to the common people of Reading, there are also too many individuals who think well of themselves. "Take me," cried Andrew J. Pink when the office of mayor was under consideration, and "I am willing," purred the perennial ex-Mayor J. Kelm Stauffer in a congenial appeal for the same office.

Finally the Northeastern Republican Leaguers laid down their ultimatum. "You," they told the Democratic fusionists, "are the minority party in this neck of the woods. Therefore you should be satisfied with a Democratic fusionist for treasurer and another for controller. We will take the mayor and two councilmen or we won't play." Then the Billy Wintonites became insulted and bolted.

Socialists Hope for Fusion.
While the failure of Boss Bitting of the Rosedale knitting mills; Charley Eately, the big financial genius and Berkshire hosiery salesman; Wellington Bertollet, the coal dealer-lawyer, and other irreconcilables to unite against the Socialists is viewed as just plain hard luck by the city administration, the Socialist county committee feels no less confident of victory than before, even though it is now pretty certain that the campaign will be waged as a three-way fight.

Had a fusion ticket been placed in the field the vote would have been split at least four ways. The voters would then have had their choice between the Fusionists who were out to beat the Socialists at any price, the Republicans who had been left out in the cold by fusion and just wouldn't accept "no" for an answer, the Democrats who had fed at the public trough before and would have been certain to ask for another helping, and the Socialists. Of them all, the Socialists would have been the only bona-fide, united group in the field. With fusion the Socialists would have won the election very handsily. Without it they will win just the same.

State After Primaries.
The hopes of the rabid anti-Socialist forces are now turning to a "state" which they hope to write after the primaries have cleared the would-be office-holders from the field. Last year an effort to switch votes to two old party candidates, one Republican and one Democrat, was attempted but failed to defeat Hooper and Wilson for the legislature. This year the same tactics are certain to be tried with the sole result that the internal strife within both old parties will become more bitter and more personal.

The election of next November bids fair to be the swan song of Republican and Democratic politics in the entire county. After the cutting has been done there will be so many wounded feelings that the various factions will be unable to hold a caucus without a contingent of state police to preserve order and prevent bloodshed.

Socialists Prepared.
Of all the candidates to enter the lists after the primaries are over, the Socialists will be the only group with an organization behind them. Those who oppose the Socialists will be just individuals without a program, without any economic principles and without a party capable of helping them to victory. The Socialists, on the other hand, are united and will be behind their candidates to a "T".

Not only will the campaign for city offices be waged energetically, but throughout rural Berks Socialist speakers will tell the voters why nothing can be gained by clinging to the political parties which have been in power during all the years that the world was sinking into the greatest industrial depression in history.

In preparation for their county campaign and as a gesture of defiance to the fusion movement, the Socialists have flung a sign across the front of the Peoples Printing Company building at Reed and

Anti-Tammany Rally Draws 2,000 in B'klyn

Walker's Troubles Increase—Doyle in Jail—Prostitution Grows

AN INDICATION of the resentment among New York's masses against the Tammany administration was given last week when over 2,000 men and women attended a Socialist "Smash Tammany" rally held at Havemeyer and Grand streets, Brooklyn. Norman Thomas' indictment of Tammany's record on unemployment and on its long list of scandals was vigorously applauded. Others who spoke included Abraham I. Shipplacoff and August Claessens. In the meantime, the troubles of Mayor Walker continue to pile up. Dr. William F. Doyle, horse doctor who made over a million dollars by securing reversals of rulings before the Board of Standards and Appeals, was committed to jail for thirty days to retaliate on his refusal to tell which public officials he split his "fees" with. The Board of Education has been forced to institute a "shake-up" of its building bureau employees following revelations of graft among clerks and inspectors who "befriended" contractors in return for "gratuities."

The reform Committee of Fourteen revealed that wide-spread commercialized vice has again become a part of the city's life. In the "Red Hook" section of Brooklyn a "red light" district has been flourishing with solicitations carried on in the streets. Investigation of this "red light" district revealed a most sordid picture of poverty and unemployment in which prostitution has sprung up as a natural weed.

A policeman interviewed in the neighborhood came closer to the cause of the revival of commercialized prostitution than did the Committee of Fourteen which concerned itself largely with acquiescence of the police in the traffic.

"Scores of so-called homes in this section have become houses of prostitution," this police officer said. "Most of the people in the neighborhood are out of work. Women have become prostitutes in their own homes to keep their families from starvation. In some cases, men have gone on the streets to solicit trade for their wives and daughters as the only means of keeping themselves from starvation."

The horrible revelations of the growth of prostitution beginning with the period of the unemployment crisis, together with charges showing that hundreds of dance halls have become trading posts for prostitutes and their agents, has started a new wave of anti-vice reform in which the Tammany police commissioner and the capitalist exploiters of women workers have joined with unctuous righteousness.

Lifting of another section of the cover to the Tammany garbage pail shows Joseph Horowitz, realtor, was strangely successful at selling school and park sites to the city at staggering profits, sometimes as high as 100 per cent.

black period of unspeakable and incredible feudalism.

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL
(New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Relief to striking miners, under auspices of Miners Relief Fund of the Socialist Party here, has gone steadily forward. The peak has been reached July 18th, when four and a half tons of food stuffs were rushed up the Allegheny valley in a single delivery. Mine centers at Creighton, Harmarville and Kinloch were reached. In protest against the refusal of city officials in New Kensington, Mellon Aluminum town, to grant strikers living in and from surrounding sections the right to solicit aid from the city's workers, the relief truck and its automobile escort paraded the city with banners flying to announce that aid would be furnished in spite of local official hostility.

The strike in western Pennsylvania now settles down to a test of endurance between miners and operators, with the Government standing uncertainly behind the operators in hope that the miners are not serious. West Virginia is watched with anxiety and some hope is expressed that the strike may spread to the Central Pennsylvania field where miners at Sagamore have already gone out some 2,000 strong. Relief needs grow each day. Miners and their children who stretched every rag in order to have clothing before the strike, are immediately in need of covering for their bodies as well as food. Shoes are especially needed. Continue to address all contributions to Socialist Party, Miners Relief Fund, 613 Lyceum Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

A national coal strike under its auspices is the ambitious plan of the National Miners Union. This was forecast by leaders of the N. M. U. at the national conference of miners in Pittsburgh. The plan is to develop a united front movement among the rank and file of miners, and conduct local struggles leading to a national agreement with the operators.

A conference of 350 delegates met in a suburb of Johnstown, Pa., July 19th, to hear the strike

Farmers! Your Enemy is Capitalism

Don't Jump Out of the Republican Fire and Into the Democratic Frying-Pan

WHEAT selling in the West for as low as 25 and 30 cents a bushel! Kansas farmers reduced to a system of barter, using wheat as a medium of exchange as planters used tobacco in Virginia in the seventeenth century!

To this pass have come the descendants of those who at Lexington "fired the shot heard 'round the world."

In Colorado a widow renting her farm for one-fourth of the crop receives 26½ cents as her return for four months' work on the farm and her tenant receives 79½ cents for his labor during the same period!

Frightful as conditions are for peasants who work for land barons in Hungary, it is doubtful whether they have plunged deeper into misery than the yeomen of the Western wheat belt.

In desperation Kansas farmers in one area are bartering their wheat to merchants for food, clothing and supplies. Vacant buildings and even garages become granaries. Merchants barter in the hope of a higher price within six months.

In another Kansas area farmers have sold wheat for 25 cents in fear that the price will drop to a dime.

In Oklahoma 300 unemployed men and women march into the city of Henryetta demanding food. Accompanied with a preacher, the latter ventured the opinion that it was God's will that the hungry ask for food and if denied they should take it.

Don't Make the Old Mistake

"The farmer is sitting amid the gloom of the wheat fields, convinced that the administration is indifferent to his suffering," declares a Kansas Hooverite. He adds the opinion that the wheat belt is in the throes of a political revolution, a revolution that may heave the Democrats into power at Washington!

Which means that a warning to the farmers is timely. Of what avail is it to you and your families to jump out of the frying pan into the fire? Since the seventies you have passed through a number of crises. The present one is the worst one you have ever faced. It has swallowed the farmer and the wage worker in a common misery.

What hope has the farmer in the Democratic Party? We in the East know it for what it is. It is the property of the corporation kings who rule the United States. For several decades it served the lower middle classes but today it is financed by the great magnates of industry and finance.

Consider what has happened to you since the Populist revolt carried your spokesmen into Washington in the nineties.

Access to markets for your products is controlled by the railroads and steamship lines.

The credit you need is also in the hands of your enemies.

The Revolution on the Farm

Your farm machinery, without which you cannot till the soil, is within the control of giant corporations.

The supplies which you need are also controlled by those who make you pay what they decide you should pay, not what your income will enable you to pay.

At one time you were your own butcher and packer but these occupations have been taken away from you and are also in the hands of powerful corporations.

We might list other important things your fathers did but which you do not do. Every occupation that once contributed to your independence and comfort has been transferred to big empires of capital. You are left with the dregs that do not pay.

You have been conquered by what we call "capitalism" and it has also reduced the wage workers of the great industries to dependence. No matter where you turn, whether it be for credit, for machinery, for supplies, for an outlet to your market, the masters of American banks, railroads, and industries face you with power to make you "stand and deliver."

Your industry is being revolutionized. The change that has

come over the countryside should bring a change in your political action.

A Record of Futile Politics

The Democratic Party can no more serve you than the Republican Party has. That party does nothing in the cities it controls to help the jobless and the starving. It is the party of that capitalism that has made beggars of millions of workers in industry and that has reduced the farmers to a peasant class.

What has happened in politics since the nineties when you fought the good fight against this enemy that was crushing you? Your Populist leaders urged that you unite with the Democratic Party. You did and within a few years your movement was a wreck. Jim Weaver, your presidential candidate, became a Democrat and was supporting Alton B. Parker, the bankers' candidate, in 1904. Senator Peffer was supporting Roosevelt that same year.

The Populists thought they would swallow the Democratic Party and that party swallowed them.

Gold was discovered in Alaska and in South Africa and you became reconciled to the gold standard. The Spanish-American war and the Boer War in South Africa stimulated production and the markets were extended for your crops. Prices rose and you were satisfied. Most of you also returned to the parties of capitalism.

Your Place Is With the Socialists

Then came the World War, temporary "prosperity," and then a slow decline and distress till the collapse in October, 1929. Since then your class has been stripped and your valuables reposed in the vaults of your enemies.

Now there are the beginnings of barter in the farming area, the lowest form of exchange, one that belongs to the infancy of the human race! Your women and children suffer. Many of you have lost the savings of a lifetime. Your future is dark. Hoover offers little more than kind words.

What are you going to do? Again drift into the Democratic Party as you did in the nineties and reap the same results?

Let us hope not. The hour has come for the men and women of the laboring class in the cities and on the farms to face the fact of a tremendous revolution in industry and agriculture. The fruits of that revolution have been reaped by the masters of capital and finance.

Your place is in the Socialist Party, there to work for the control of the powers of government so that these powers will serve you. The railroads should be ours. The industries should be ours. The great powers of production and the agencies of exchange and distribution should be in the hands of the people to be owned collectively for the welfare of all.

You say it will not work? Capitalism does not work. It is a miserable failure. Your distress is grim evidence of this failure. It will soon be nearly two years since the system broke down and there is no evidence of an early recovery.

The capitalist parties fail you but they serve those who live on your toil. A linking up of the toilers of the farm and the cities is essential to break the fetters that hold us in bondage. The Socialist Party is an organization composed mainly of men and women who suffer with you. They are awake. They know the need of fundamental change.

The Socialist program is your program. We invite you to join in the greatest struggle in history for the abolition of the system that has brought desolation into our homes and that penalizes us with beggary.

N. Y. Labor Council Veto Plan to Protest At Unemployment

The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City last week rejected a resolution to arrange a great parade of trade union men and women on Labor Day to call attention to the plight of the jobless and the cutting of wages by the employing class.

The motion was made by Herman Woskow and was supported by Leonard Kaye, who pointed out that the unions affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor are facing similar conditions and have by a unanimous vote, decided to organize a great protest parade on Labor Day.

Woskow, a delegate of Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 51 and Kaye, representing the Press Assistants' Union, No. 23, made earnest pleas in support of the proposal and called attention to the action already taken in Chicago. Kaye said that "we are suffering today from a cataclysm worse than half a dozen cyclones or earthquakes." A few conservatives opposed the motion and no other delegates, excepting one, took the floor in favor of the motion. The proposal was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Dissatisfaction is also rife among progressive labor men in the fact that the American Federationist carries an advertisement of the Majestic Radio Company. It is reported that workers employed by this corporation are on strike against a drastic reduction in wages.

Pioneer Youth Camp To Entertain Members Over This Week End

An opportunity to work and play with their children will be given members and parents of Pioneer Youth of America this Saturday afternoon and Sunday at the organization's national experimental camp, Rifton, N. Y.

Tours of the wooded mountain-side camp in the foothills of the Catskills will be conducted Saturday afternoon by the children along the camp's nature trail and spots of local interest. Visitors will be invited to work in the camp or to play on the athletic field. After a picnic supper, the children will give a program which will be followed by a campfire for the guests.

A. J. Muste, Vice-President of Pioneer Youth, will speak on "Youth's Place in the Labor Movement" at the Sunday morning conference, the general theme of which will be "Achieving a New Social Order Through a New Education." Other speakers will be Fannie M. Cohn—"A Next Step For Pioneer Youth"; Alexis C. Fern, Camp Director—"Essentials in a Worker's Camp"; Harry Rubenstein—"What Parents Can do for Pioneer Youth."

Walter Ludwig, Executive Director, will preside at the conference and will report the work of twelve Pioneer Youth leaders in five Southern mill towns, from which he has recently returned.

THIS SATURDAY!

SOCIALIST PARTY
Trade Union - Workmen's Circle

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YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE
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Allentown Strikers Need Help at Once

7,000 Strikers and Their Families Carrying On Struggle

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
ALLENTOWN, Pa.—This is an urgent appeal to save courageous human beings from being forced back to jobs paying starvation wages. Seven thousand textile workers are out on strike in Allentown, Lehigh County, in Pennsylvania.

At the inception, it seemed to have been almost a spontaneous rebellion of the silk workers against wage cut after wage cut. Over 7,000 workers and about 20,000 of their dependents, women and children, innocent victims, are now destitute. They are without present or future hope. Many have no place to lay their heads. Their union has been doing excellent work. The people of Allentown have been very liberal in their support. Never before in the history of Allentown has such support been shown, and yet it is inadequate. Daily calls come from destitute homes. They must not be forced back to their jobs without victory. The need is urgent. They must be helped now, today.

The Socialist Relief Committee, organized by the Socialist Party of Allentown for the relief of striking textile workers, is making a nation-wide appeal for relief. There is no better record than that of the Socialist Party and affiliated organizations in their efforts to help in all strikes, on an impartial basis to the strikers. A responsible committee has been appointed. No money will be spent on office force or rent. All services will be furnished gratuitously, on a volunteer basis.

We appeal to you as individual or organization to send your contribution for as much as you can afford; if you can send us no money, send food and other supplies. Won't you help the courageous textile workers and their families? Make your check payable to Socialist Relief Committee, Gertrude H. Spronger, Treasurer, Labor Temple, 126 North Sixth Street, Allentown, Pa. Receipts will be furnished on request.

The following are the committee in charge: Walter H. Huhn, chairman; Fay Kuhn, secretary; Gertrude H. Spronger, treasurer; Russell Boos, Wilson Fehnel, Althea Moyer, Edna Wilson.

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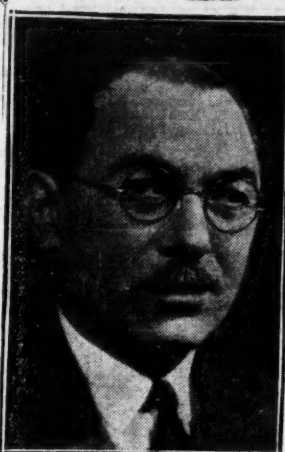
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Sigman's Life an Example Of Workingclass Devotion Masses Mourn His Death

Heart Failure Brings End of Former Garment Union President



MORRIS SIGMAN

SCORES of thousands of needle trades workers joined this week to pay their last respects to Morris Sigman, for years president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Sigman died of heart failure Sunday night in Storm Lake, Iowa, where he had made his home recently. Sigman was 51 years old. He has been ill ever since his retirement from the presidency of the union in 1928.

The body of Sigman was brought to New York Wednesday under an escort of union men, headed by international vice-president Morris Blais of Chicago. Wednesday afternoon the body lay in the auditorium of the International Building, 3 West 16th street, where it was viewed by thousands of his former followers. Thursday morning the body was taken to the Forward Building, where funeral services were held. Leaders in the labor and Socialist movement spoke warm eulogies. Among them were Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International, and David Dubinsky, its secretary-treasurer. Interment took place at the Workmen's Circle plot in Mount Carmel cemetery, close by the graves of Meyer London and Max Pine, two of the heroic figures in the New York workingclass movement.

A Disciplined Personal Code
Sigman's story is interlocked with that of the ladies garment workers union. It fits logically into three categories. First was his participation in the slow and painful task of building a union from among some of the worst exploited workers in the country. Then, in later years, came his struggle to save the union from the wreckage into which Communist adventures had pushed it. Finally, the Communist defeat. Sigman gave valiant battle for a cleaner and more progressive unionism than that which had made possible the growth of Communism. Subsequent to Sigman's defeat of the Communists and their ousting from the union generally, Sigman himself lost out in factional fights which plagued the International.

The deceased union leader was a man of impeccable personal character. He gave himself an austere and disciplined personal code which prohibited any compromise with his position as a leader of poor workers. Whatever gains he may have won for the workers, Sigman remained to the end a poor and modest worker. It was typical of his character that he would not permit himself the innocently regarded pastime of card-playing for fear that gambling might somehow embarrass his obligations to the labor movement.

Faced Electric Chair
Sigman was born in Bessarabia, Russia, in 1880. At the age of 21 he was working in England in a clothing shop. He arrived in New

Nation-wide Drive for Doles Planned by Hoover Regime

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S nationwide mobilization of the charitable organizations to save the rich from an increase in federal income and estate taxes, needed to feed and clothe millions of the unemployed and their dependents during next winter, was formally announced in the capital July 21.

The Association of Community Chests and Councils, through Allan T. Burns, its executive director, reported to Fred B. Croxton, chairman of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, that a nationwide drive for funds would take place Oct. 19 to Nov. 25. His survey of conditions is based on detailed reports from 184 cities of 25,000 population or over. There are 376 cities of that size in the nation. He found that "welfare and relief needs will be more acute next winter than last."

"The second conclusion to which

the survey leads us is that private philanthropy cannot possibly raise all the funds needed to meet the aggregate demand. The larger percentage of the direct relief burdens must be met through municipal and county appropriations."

Burns announced that the country had been divided into ten regions for the charity drive. In 244 cities the community chest organizations will have charge, and in 132 cities special committees will collect the donations.

By thus organizing a huge charity campaign, while Congress is not permitted to meet in special session to vote federal funds to relieve the unemployed, the administration hopes to postpone for at least a year the laying of an increased surtax on the incomes of millionaires, and the collection from large estates of some hundreds of millions of dollars which would otherwise be directed by Congress to flow into public relief channels.

Pending actual collection of these increased taxes, Congress could order the floating of a federal bond issue to provide immediate funds. In view of the increasing financial troubles of municipal and county governments, due to wholesale delinquency in tax payments, the Hoover scheme of compelling local governments to provide these relief funds is certain to be challenged as soon as Congress meets.

Socialists should insist on federal aid, financed by taxing the wealthy—thereby re-distributing a small part of the growing proportion of national wealth that is going into the hands of the very few.

Comrades who can devote two or three hours every Friday to selling The New Leader are requested to notify our office. Those who have been engaged in this effort have done good work for the paper and incidentally for themselves.

International Congress Opens In Austria

Radio Broadcasts Opening Session—Giant Olympic Meet Draws 80,000

THE Fourth Congress of the Labor and Socialist International opens today, Saturday, in the Konzerthaus in Vienna. The opening speeches were made by Vandervelde, president of the Executive, and Seitz, president of the Austrian Social Democratic Labor Party. The opening session was broadcast by the Hilversum wireless station in Holland.

On Thursday the Fourth International Women's Conference opened and continued into Friday. The opening speeches at this conference were also broadcast. The program of the Women's conference includes (1) Women in the Economic System; (2) Women in Agriculture; (3) Women in the Home; (4) Political Reaction and Its Effect on the Emancipation of Women; (5) Progress of the Socialist Women's Movement Since the Brussels Conference in 1928.

The list of delegates to the L. S. I. Congress was not fully completed in the last report received from Friedrich Adler, International Secretary, but he reports that the Vienna Congress is larger and more representative than any which preceded it. The latest list from Adler reports the following delegates and countries, with more to be reported.

Delegates Listed
From Great Britain 42 representatives, including Stanley Hirst, the chairman of the Party, and Philip Baker, the well-known expert on international law, have already been reported. Belgium is sending 44 delegates headed by Vandervelde. De Brouckere and Van Roosbroeck. The Danish delegation of 40 men and women comrades will probably be headed by Prime Minister Stauning. Up to the present Germany has sent in the names of 97 delegates, including many comrades well-known abroad, such as Severing, the Prussian Minister of the Interior; Lobe, President of the Reichstag; the three Party Presidents Crispian, Vogel and Wels, and Breitscheid, the President of the Parliamentary Group.

So far 25 delegates have been announced from France, including Leon Blum, Bracke, Longuet, Renaud and Paul Faure. Thirty-eight delegates are coming from Sweden, led by Per Albin Hansson and Gustaf Moeller. The Dutch delegation includes 11 delegates, among whom are Albaria, Wilhout, Oudegeest and Vliegen. The Czechoslovak Socialist Democratic Party is sending 48 delegates, including Dérer, Minister of Education, Soukup, President of the Senate, Dr. Lev Winter and Gustav Harman. The 44 delegates from the German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia will be led by Czech, the Minister of Social Welfare. There will be 26 delegates and fraternal delegates from the United States, including Morris Hillquit, Harry Laidler and Clarence Senior. Latvia is sending 17 delegates, Rumania 11, and the newly affiliated Ukrainian Socialist Party nine. Switzerland will be represented by 16 delegates.

Five representatives of the Social-Democratic Party in Japan, and Bakhalie (Bombar), the Secretary of the Indian Trades Union Congress, will be among the fraternal delegates to the Congress.

THE VIENNA Socialist organization has printed a booklet of 32 pages entitled "The Path of the International" by Fritz Brugel. An edition of 420,000 copies has been published. The booklet is dedicated to the Labor and Socialist International, the fourth congress of which is now meeting in Vienna.

The first workers' Olympiad, attended by 80,000 workers from 26 nations, opened in Vienna last Sunday as a prelude to the International congress. The opening day was dedicated to the children of the workers.

Dramatic scenes marked the opening ceremony, over which President Miklas of Austria and Herr Seitz, Vienna's Burgomaster, presided. When the standard-bearers of the competing nations took their stand at the tribune, suddenly, with a spontaneous gesture of comradeship, the French and German delegates stepped toward each other and clasped hands.

The new Vienna stadium in the Prater (Vienna's great park), which was built by the city's Socialist administration at a cost just short of \$1,000, is the scene of the Vienna Workers' Olympiad.

The stadium comprises an athletic field, a swimming bath system and a bicycle track. The athletic field is built in the form of an antique amphitheater 260 yards long by 200 yards wide and is surrounded by 10,000 concrete seats to a height of forty feet, which with standing room will accommodate 80,000 spectators. There is a football field 75 yards wide by 119 yards long, a separate space for high jumping, throwing the shot, discus and javelin and a 430-yard cinder track.

Hungry Woman, Insane, Tries to Eat Grass; Hoover Photograph Fails to Cheer Another

Two New York women narrowly escaped death from starvation this week.

Miss Vivian Dow, jobless and broke, was in the psychopathic ward at Bellevue Hospital after a policeman had found her eating grass in the southwestern part of Central Park.

The other was Mrs. Ida Lawne, 50, who had locked herself in her top floor apartment at 300 Avenue A, to starve to death with her three cats and kitten. She had paid her last \$15 to the landlord.

The walls of her room were bare except for a framed religious motto and a photograph of President Hoover, apparently cut from one of his 1928 campaign placards. She emerged yesterday to ask aid from her next door neighbor, Terry Donohue, who moved to 300 after rain and wreckers had driven them from 253 Avenue A. They got her food and a physician and policeman contributed for more.

Spain Plans To Break Up Huge Estates

Jobless Would Gain by Parcelling Out of Pasture Lands—Socialist Heads Cortes

IN Spain an agrarian committee has reported recommendations for reform in two provinces which would break up estates of 200 acres and estates of more than 400 acres of pasture land.

The project would be applicable immediately in only districts where the jobless are numerous, but a 50-per cent surtax on all large land owners in other districts would be ordered immediately. A total of 120,000 pesetas (about \$12,000), would be appropriated immediately for the purchase of tools and seeds, the money to be returned to the government after the first crop.

The terms of indemnification to land owners would be decided by the Cortes next meeting. The project states that if the government believes the Cortes can settle this problem by Aug. 1 the matter should be left to the Cortes, and if not, the problem being so urgent, it should be settled by decree.

If the measure is approved by the government, as seems certain, 150,000 unemployed persons in the south will be affected.

Three Deaths in Strike
In the same two provinces it has been an age-old tradition for farm owners to lodge and feed unemployed workers and this had become law by a decree of the cabinet but this compulsion placed so many of the jobless upon the farmers that the measure has been repealed.

In southern Spain there are 150,000 jobless workers in desperate circumstances and a general strike called by the syndicalists in Seville has resulted in the killing of nine. Trouble arose when Angel Pestana, national head of the Sindicato Unico, led a funeral procession in honor of a syndicalist killed by police. The police, attempting to halt the procession, clashed with the paraders and amid the flash of revolvers and carbines the killings occurred.

Last week Julian Besteiro, veteran Spanish Socialist who was conspicuous in the movement that ousted King Alfonso, was elected President of Parliament.

Scranton Building Tradesmen Strike
SCRANTON, Pa.—(FP)—Four hundred members of the plumbers, steamfitters and sheet metal workers' union went on strike when the bosses announced that

Socialist and Communist Students Stage Joint Parade Against Hitler

In the city of Frankfurt-on-Main a group of Socialist students and a group of Communist students staged a joint parade. For a fortnight the Hitlerites had been causing disturbances in the universities in Berlin, Kiel, Munich and Hamburg. Eight days previously the Fascists in the university of Frankfurt had paraded. Because many Germans consider the scar-faced fraternity boy the stereotyped student and because most of the fraternities boast the blind sort of patriotism upon which Hitler has managed to prosper, it had become necessary to demonstrate that not all students were Hitlerites.

Throughout the year there has been the usual hostility between the Communist students and the Socialist students. The Communists, capitalizing the unrest which pervades all of Germany, jeered especially the policy of the Social Democrats who, to down Fascism, have had to support the not-too-enlightened Brüning government and only a common enemy could have united these two points of view.

The Communists considered their numbers inadequate for a large demonstration and the Socialist group agreed to join them on two conditions: 1, that only students be allowed to march (in order to prove to the inhabitants that actual students were protesting Fascism) and 2, that the Communists refrain from using their customary war cry of "Red Front." The Communists accepted these reservations and abided by them.

The day before the parade circulars were distributed among the student body. They were signed by the Communist and Socialist groups and appealed to all students who opposed Fascism. Necessary arrangements were made with the police.

A good number turned out. A half dozen red banners proclaimed the evils of "Fascism in the Universities." A band led the marchers and played the International, the Marseillaise, and one other song common to both groups. Trucks of police guarded either end of the parade, individual policemen marched alongside to preserve order.

In a few minutes the line passed the university. The fraternity boys were having their usual 11 o'clock meeting in the main hall. A few of them shouted "Hail Hitler" and a few oaths about Communists. Then the parade walked through the main streets of Frankfurt. The number of marchers and the sound of the music and singing necessarily attracted attention. In an hour the demonstration returned to the university. By this time the National "Socialists" had collected and, as the parade passed the main entrance, they sang "Deutschland Ueber Alles" and the Hitler Song. At the other side of the building the parade halted. One Communist and one Socialist spoke, mentioned that Fascism must be driven out of the German university, that everyone hoped this united front could be maintained. The crowds could see that not all students are National "Socialists." The parade had accomplished its purpose.

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The Way Out of Chaos in the Coal Industry

By Louis Stanley

CAPITALISM OFFERS "REFORMS" BUT INSISTS ON PROFIT SYSTEM — A SCHEME FOR NATIONALIZATION — SOCIALISM AND COAL

Where does the solution of the problem of the coal industry lie? In four preceding articles, Louis Stanley, special writer for The New Leader, has traced the ills of the industry and the toll they take in human misery from the miners and their families.

This, the concluding article of the series on "Coal and Capitalism," surveys the various cures offered by those intent on patching the rents in the system while keeping it intact for private exploitation. It also presents the principal nationalization program thus far put forth, and concludes with an important message for Socialists who regard coal, as well as the other major industries, as possible instruments for bringing a world of progress and happiness at contrasted with the present scheme of chaos, exploitation and hunger.

V. Can Private Ownership Succeed?

PRIVATE ownership in coal has brought privation to coal miners and disorder to the industry. Can capitalism in coal succeed in righting itself? Can it give the workers the opportunity to live life well?

Supporters of the capitalist system have made desperate efforts to save coal for private enterprise. Great ingenuity has been exercised in elaborating clever schemes for cajoling, begging or demanding that the private owners behave sensibly. The most important, because its formulation by the United States Coal Commission in 1923 gave it a semi-official character and stamped it with the mark of practicability, tried to accomplish the most that was possible by disturbing the status quo the least. Its plan contains the following features:

The Coal Commission's Plan

1. **PUBLICITY.**—"The first step toward protection of the public interest in the mining and marketing of coal as a continuous and efficient service is a better public understanding of the coal business. Guided by facts rather than rumors, by information rather than prejudice, the people will be able to exercise wisely the powers of the Government over this type of private business to which society has given a larger value and special opportunity." The Commission, therefore, recommended the coordination of fact finding by the existing agencies and advocated the complete and compulsory collection of information about the coal industry. "This commission does not advocate publicity about private affairs, but it holds that the transportation of coal in interstate commerce is so affected with a public use and that coal enters so intimately into all the necessities and conveniences of modern life that there is no longer any private right to secrecy as to such matter as costs, profits, wage rates, and working conditions."

2. **ADMINISTRATION:** Having practically admitted that coal is a public utility, the Commission makes certain to retreat from the logical conclusion of socialization and falls back upon regulation, and found fault in other industries. It recommends the creation of a coal division in the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is already charged with the regulation of railroads and other means of transportation and communication in interstate commerce. The new division would regulate and supervise the coal industry. In an emergency the division would act as the Federal fuel distributor.

3. **REGULATION OF THE BITUMINOUS COAL SUPPLY:** To meet the tremendous problem of overdevelopment in the soft coal branch of the industry the Coal Commission recommends that the Interstate Commerce Commission make judicious use of its present powers. It can permit the installation of railroad sidings and the allocation of cars according to the need for opening up of the new mines applying for assistance. It is intimated that the control of the I. C. C. over freight rates can enable it to establish differentials determining the market and the market price of coal originating in any locality.

4. **REGULATION OF THE ANTHRACITE COAL SUPPLY:** The Coal Commission suggests two methods to break the monopolistic control in the anthracite: (1) the levying of a graded tax on royalties and differential profits and (2) encouraging consumers to use substitutes for hard coal. With respect to the first the Commission says it is the "one remedy short of price fixing or public ownership . . . for the protection of the public interest."

5. **MODIFICATION OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS:** "The consolidation, grouping, or pooling of bituminous mining operations should be not only permitted but encouraged, with a view to insuring more steady production, less speculative prices, a wider use of long-term contracts with consumers, better living conditions, more regular employment, and lower costs. The existing legal barriers to such an economic arrangement should be removed, the necessary protection to the public interest

being retained by requiring supervision of the financial structure of the consolidation, as is prescribed in the transportation act for railroad consolidation."

6. **LICENSING:** All who ship or sell coal in interstate commerce, whether operators, wholesalers or jobbers, should be licensed by the Federal Government.

A Coal Parliament

Going over the material gathered by the United States Coal Commission and making investigations of his own, Professor John E. Orchard of Columbia University proposed a method of regulating the coal industry based on the German experience with the Reichskohlenrat or coal Parliament. In an article in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" for February, 1925, Professor Orchard urged the creation of a permanent coal commission or parliament consisting of representatives of the United Mine Workers, the National Coal Association, the railways, the iron and steel industry, some organization of smaller consumers, and the Wholesale Coal Merchants Association. The parliament was to be set up by the industry itself. The chairman was to be a person not connected with any of the above groups but was to have a thorough knowledge of the industry. In a rejoinder the executive secretary of the open shop controlled National Coal Association, Harry L. Gandy, found even this mild proposal unsatisfactory. The character of his criticism may be judged by the title of his reply, "A Proposal That the Coal Industry Be Let Alone."

Dividends Without Control

Two of the keenest students of the coal problem, Walton H. Hamilton and Helen R. Wright, published a book in 1926 on "The Case of Bituminous Coal" under the auspices of the Institute of Economics. Their proposals for curing the ills of the industry were eagerly awaited. In 1928 appeared "A Way of Order for Bituminous Coal," in which they ad-

vocated a scheme of worker-consumer control with private ownership similar to that proposed by Professor Henry Clay as a solution of the British coal difficulties.

Hamilton and Wright call their scheme "the way of a captive industry," "captive" referring to the joint government by consumers and mine workers. The basic idea is "that the mining of coal be made the joint responsibility of those who have a stake in it."

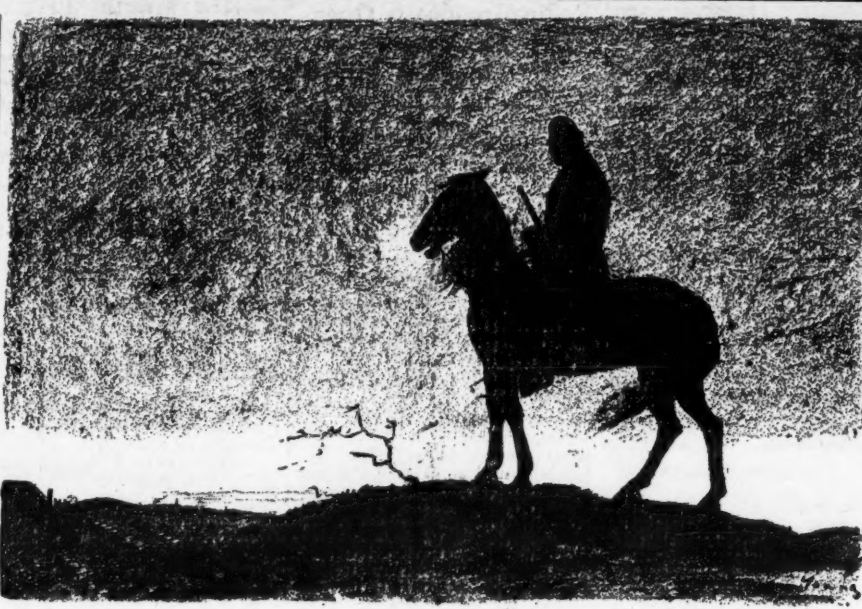
They propose the chartering by the Federal government of a corporation to be known as the Federal Bituminous Coal Company which is to have "all formal control over the production and primary sale of coal." Fundamental to the whole plan is the recognition of property rights. The right to income from investment is separated from the right to a voice in control. Convinced by their careful inquiries that the usual form of capitalism in coal cannot find a way out of the existing mess, Hamilton and Wright want to preserve the private ownership and still have the management of properties in the hands of those who will run the industry for service. To this end they provide for two kinds of securities besides the usual bonds and short term notes: (1) debentures and (2) shares of common stock. The debentures are to pay 5 per cent. on their face value and are to be transferable and listed on the exchange. The shares of common stock are to be 35 in number. They are not to pay dividends and are not to be transferable. There are to be two classes of these shares. Class A is to consist of 110 shares, 55 assigned to consumers of coal of various categories and 55 to the men who produce the coal as represented by a formal organization of their own. Class B consisting of the remaining 44 shares is to be assigned to the administrative and technical officials. There are to be a president and a board of directors consisting of the president

and fourteen others chosen by the common share holders voting by blocks of eleven shares. The government is to help set up this corporation and then establish a bureau to collect, interpret and publish facts with regard to coal. This bureau is to serve as a disinterested critic of the industry.

The Watson Bill

The latest program for dealing with the soft coal industry has been sponsored by the United Mine Workers. It was introduced as a bill by Senator James E. Watson of Indiana on May 3, 1928, and hearings were held in December, 1928, and January, 1929. The provisions of the measure are as follows:

1. A Bituminous Coal Commission is created consisting of five



The Operators' Answer to the Coal Problem—Coal and Iron Police, State Constabulary, Force and Violence.

members appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

Defects of Reforms

The four schemes described above for the reform of the coal industry all try to preserve the profit system. The Coal Commission's proposal and that presented in the Watson bill which follows it substantially sets up government regulation which is bound to fail as it already has in the case of railroads and other public utilities. The juggling of valuations and other book-keeping items, the guaranteeing by law of a return on the investment and the difficulty of controlling the multitudinous factors that go into the conduct of a complex business enterprise make it impossible for the government regulators to handle the situation adequately. The Orchard suggestion of a Coal Parliament, besides its impossibility of adoption by the necessary parties, takes it for granted that all the interests in the coal industry are really concerned about developing a well coordinated business. There are elements who find things as they

are satisfactory, there are others who only complain about a segment of the industry which comes within their experience. The conflicting profit-seeking interests will not bring order out of chaos and will do little good to the miners. Hamilton and Wright's "way of a captive industry" is restricted by its own limitation to the soft coal industry (as is the Watson bill). The anthracite is left to other inventors. We can sympathize with the authors' desire to exclude private owners from the conduct of the industry and leave matters in the hands of producers and consumers but we cannot agree to the payment of 5 per cent. on their investment to the now sanctified absentee owners. It is economically unsound since the industry will have to be conducted to earn the five per cent. interest, an obligation which may well ruin the best thought out plans, and it is morally unjustified, since the holders of debentures will be doing nothing to earn their dividends.

Properties should be obtained by confiscation or purchase as circumstances may dictate. The burden of financing should be placed upon the rich by means of taxation whether or not there is a bond issue in the transitional period.

Nationalization Scheme

Only one plan for the nationalization of the coal mines of the United States has been seriously proposed in recent years. It originated with the United Mine Workers of America. Under the influence of the Socialists the U. M. W. convention as early as 1894 called for the nationalization of the coal mines. At the Cleveland convention of 1919 nationalization was endorsed again. In 1921 a regular convention set up a Nationalization Research Committee consisting of John B. Phelan, chairman; William Mitch and C. J. Golden. This committee, after consultation with experts, drew up a plan but it was refused publication in the "United Mine Workers Journal" and it never secured the opportunity of a hearing at the

Commission. No railroad shall build any siding or switch, or cut its lines for any siding or switch to any bituminous coal mine or tipple, until after it has received permission from the Interstate Commerce Commission, and such permission shall only be granted upon the approval of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

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RELIGION AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CLASSES

CAPITALISM RECOGNIZES NO SECTS IN EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS; LABOR'S INTERESTS MUST ALSO EXCLUDE SECTARIAN DIVISIONS

By James Oneal

This is the final installment of this series. We have received some letters approving the articles and the Socialist Party has no pamphlet dealing with this subject it is possible that this series will appear in pamphlet form. We shall be glad to hear from our readers offering criticism and suggestions before undertaking to reprint the series as a pamphlet.

V.

WE MAY now bring this discussion of religion and Socialism to a close. The Socialist movement is primarily based upon the interests of the working people and appeals to workers as a class. Its aim is to obtain power in government and industry. When that power is obtained it will be used to socialize the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, public utilities and great industries. Capitalists and corporations will no longer own these things and be enriched out of the labor of millions of workers.

Meantime the Socialist movement helps in the day-by-day struggle of the working masses and encourages organization of unions in this struggle. Every measure of political power that is won through political action will also be used to bring relief to the masses. During the period when power is being won the aim is to strengthen the organizations of the masses, to educate the workers in class consciousness, to foster reliance in their own intelligence, initiative and power, and to build a well-informed and determined movement that will keep in mind its final purpose of abolishing capitalism and establishing a cooperative commonwealth.

It is impossible to do all this by appealing to this or that sectarian or non-sectarian group. Moreover, when Socialists help to obtain an old age pension law for aged veterans of industry or unemployment insurance for the jobless such legislation cannot be made to include only Catholics or to exclude Protestants. Effective anti-injunction legislation would be as much a victory for the Free-thinking workers as for Catholic or Protestant workers. All favorable and all reactionary labor or social legislation affect all workers alike regardless of their religious views. For this reason they should leave these views outside their Socialist and union meetings with their rubbers when they consider and act upon matters that concern all.

The Uniting Interest

The American, the Italian, the Jew, the German, the Irish and other workers in many nations; the Catholic, the Protestant, the Mormon and the Free-thinking workers; the skilled and the unskilled; the farm worker and the wage worker, all work side by side under the same conditions for an owning class. They recognize the bond of common interest that unites them and they have established Socialist parties and labor unions in many nations. Experience

taught them that what unites those who exploit them is not nationality, color or religion but their common interest as owning capitalists. One may find among the directors of great employing corporations native and foreign born capitalists as well as Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Free-thinking capitalists.

The masters of industry act together. There is no instance of them dividing into opposing groups along national and religious lines in industry. Workers should display a similar solidarity in thought and action.

This solidarity of upper class groups runs through all American history. Puritans settled New England; Catholics settled Maryland; Quakers settled Pennsylvania; Episcopalians settled Virginia and the Carolinas. Colonial masters of all these faiths not only owned Negro slaves but indentured bondmen of their own color and faith. Thousands of white workers bound to years of service were owned by these masters. Much of the Negro slave codes applied to these white workers.

The religious faith of Southern slave owners did not prevent the owner from owning or selling slaves of his own faith. Catholic sold Catholic, Protestant sold Protestant, Baptist sold Baptist, Methodist sold Methodist, and so on.

Louisiana was the great Catholic state of the South because of the French and Spanish elements of the population. Most of the enslaved Negroes were Catholics like

their masters. The slave auctions in which families were separated did not differ in Catholic Louisiana from similar sales in Protestant Virginia and the Carolinas. The slave code was the same. Working conditions of the slaves were the same. Fugitive laws were the same. Punishments were the same.

Negro Slave-Holders

Even the Negro who became an owner of Negro slaves, whether he was a Protestant or a Catholic, followed the same course as white owners in this matter of exploiting human chattels. It is not generally known that there were Negro owners of slaves in the South, some of them becoming quite wealthy. Seventeen years ago Professor Dodd in the American Historical Review called attention to the fact that 18,000 slaves were the property of Negro masters in the South just before the Civil War. Carter G. Woodson in his study entitled "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830" gives a long list of these

owners in the older slave states. Catholic Louisiana is of special interest. Of the nearly 1,000 Negro families that owned slaves, there were twelve by the name of Maytort. They owned a total of 215 slaves, an average of nearly 18 for each family. Two owned 25. One Negro owner in South Carolina owned 84 Negro slaves. In his standard history of the American Negro, Ulrich B. Phillips discusses this phase of slavery. He mentions one Negro planter in South Carolina who on the eve of the American Revolution owned 200 Negro slaves and was married to a white woman. In some instances the Negro slave owners who became wealthy were recognized as the social equals of white masters. Woodson wrote that "Having economic interests in common with the white slaveholders, the Negro owners of slaves often enjoyed the same social standing. It was no exception for them to attend the same church, to educate their children in the same private school, and to frequent the same places of amusement." He also mentions two Negro owners of slaves in Virginia who had white wives and who lived unmolested among their white neighbors.

The Negro owners of slaves joined with white owners in opposition to emancipation!

Phillips wrote that "Oral testimony gathered by the present writer from old residents in various quarters of the South supports the suggestion . . . that many of the well-to-do colored freemen tended to prize their distinctive position so strongly as to deplore any prospect of a general emancipation for fear it would submerge them in the great black mass."

Dodd tells the story of a visit by William Lloyd Garrison, the anti-slavery agitator, to South Carolina at the close of the Civil War. He congratulated a former Negro owner of slaves that slaves had been emancipated and the Negro replied: "What, me happy at de freein' o' my niggers?"

Catholic and Protestant Bosses

This Negro ownership of Negro slaves is brought into this discussion because of its bearing upon racial, national and religious factors in the struggle between workers and the upper classes. We have seen that Catholic and Protestant owners possessed slaves of their own faiths but it is also evident that when the slave himself purchased his freedom and in turn became a slave owner the Negro master ranged himself with all slave owners and opposed the emancipation of the people of his own race and color!

What all this means is the following:

The interests of masters everywhere are the same and mastery induces them to act together. Religion, race, nationality and color do not provide a basis for common thought and action. Those who try to think and act on this basis simply play into the hands of their enemies, the upper classes.

Let us apply this reasoning to present industrial relations under

the capitalist system of production. The raw materials, machines and industries are owned by capitalist corporations. Workingmen cannot gain access to these industries without the consent of the owning class. Like the slaves and the white bondmen of old the wage worker has one thing which the owning class must have. This is labor power. This power was once owned by the masters. Today it is owned by the wage worker but it is useless to him unless he can market, that is, sell it to the owners of industry.

Every wage worker knows this. The capitalist buys this labor power but he will buy no more than he can use. If he cannot sell the commodities produced by the worker he will not buy any labor power at all. He will close his plants and the worker must shift for himself as best he can. This year (1931) it is estimated that not less than 6,000,000 workers cannot sell their labor power. Capitalists will not buy it because they cannot use it.

The Negro capitalist will not buy it from the Negro worker or any other worker. The same thing is true of the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Free-thinking capitalists.

All capitalists think in terms of profits for themselves, not in terms of human welfare. Industry may be operating briskly only to be followed by an industrial collapse. The Catholic capitalist does not keep the Catholic worker at work and discharge all the rest. He closes the plant against all workers. The capitalists of other faiths, colors and nationalities do precisely the same.

In short, labor power is a commodity which the capitalist buys without making any distinction among the workers. He purchases his other raw material in the same way. The Catholic or Protestant capitalist does not look for raw materials produced by workers employed by Catholic or Protestant capitalists. He buys in the cheapest market he can find and he buys the cheapest labor power he can get.

All this is commonplace, but the worker who permits sectarian prejudice to influence his thought and action is certain to forget it. In order to sell his labor power at a higher price than the capitalist is willing to pay the wage worker unite in labor unions. To bring their full numerical power to bear upon the wage scale it is essential for all workers in the industry to stand together. They cannot maintain this unity of action if they are divided in any way upon sectarian lines.

Class Consciousness

This is the reasoning back of the Socialist phrase "class-consciousness." All workers should think in terms of one class that has common interests and aims. As sellers of labor power their interests are opposed to the employing class as buyers of labor power. Therefore, complete solidarity of labor should be the worker's aim. The same principle holds good in political action. The Socialist party

AFRAID!

FOR years I have been mystified why any intelligent human should be proud or ashamed of being a Negro—or a Jew, or a German, or any other label of a worn-out, discredited nationalistic or racial propaganda. I believe that the ultimate to which any individual can aspire is that person's conception of the uttermost in real manhood and womanhood of color or creed.

Some time ago a proclamation ended chattel slavery in the United States, and an amendment admitted these ex-slaved people to citizenship with all rights and privileges in a republic where free men were invested with the inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Now, nearly seventy years after that memorable event, do we find an ambitious, happy, progressive group of people, proud of their citizenship in this, our land of mythical justice and equality, glorying in their manhood and unconscious of any forced reactions to a previous condition of servitude?

No! The situation is definitely and painfully much to the contrary. For very emphatic reasons, this big minority group of American citizens of heterogeneous ancestry, called Negroes, but whom I know to be colored Americans, are still thoroughly exploited, discriminated against, denied their constitutional rights of franchise, segregated, mobbed, robbed, raped and lynched. Here they are, over twelve million human souls, taught to apologize for being something other than white!

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If these colored people who, strangely enough, are so much more approved and appreciated abroad than they are here in their dearly-beloved America, where they are barely tolerated, would only renounce their Judean leaders wherever they are to be found, in church or state, chuck the affable lying, usurping Republican and Democratic politicians and allow deeply bought experience to speak aloud and be heard, let knowledge and intelligence restrain, inspire and guide them to true manhood and womanhood and to fellowship in a world empire of equality, then the near future would at least be hopeful.

The Socialist Party has a dignified place in its ranks for all Negroes who have the courage to raise their curly heads in leonine grandeur, strike off the corroded shackles of political custom, fall in triumphant step with the multitude of the world's downtrodden of all nations, and surge forward over forward to the glorious climax, the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.

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Hot Weather Stuff

ONE of the strangest conglomerations of visitors yet to step off the train at the Moscow railway station is on its way to visit the Soviets.

It consists of a group containing George Bernard Shaw, Lady Astor, Sherwood Eddy, John Haynes Holmes and some sort of a peer or a duke or something whose name we didn't catch.

God knows what these oddly assorted folks will find to talk about in the case of Sherwood Eddy and John Haynes Holmes God probably does, for these two have been talking to God for some time back. But knowing Sherwood Eddy, who quit his big shot job in the Y. M. C. A. to join the Socialist Party, as well as we do, and Lady Astor as little as we do, we find it hard to think of anything they may have in common. The same goes for John Haynes Holmes and George Bernard Shaw, though to be sure they are both hard-boiled tetallars.

So is Eddy, for that matter and we have a sort of a dim recollection that Lady Astor has been around singing. "Lips that touch liquor shall never touch mine." But it can't be that they have decided to pal up merely because they happen to be all dry.

Sherwood Eddy has a penchant for discussing the sex problems of America's undergraduates and this is about the only subject under the sun on which G. B. S. has not at one time or another been articulate. Maybe Shaw will get enough out of Sherwood for a new play. Let's hope it's better than "The Apple Cart." That thing was enough to make us doubt that G. B. S. was really writing his own plays. It must have been another fellow with that name.

And after they clean up Prohibition and Lady Astor gets through bragging on her Virginia estates to John Haynes Holmes, what then? Will they chin around about the City Affairs Committee and the Queens' bus scandals and smashing Tammany rather than reforming it? Or will they just discuss the lights and the mulliks and let it go at that? We yearn to know and it won't be long before we will, as all four sling mean type-writers and if four books don't come out of this trip we will be deeply disappointed. I don't know why they dragged along the pear or whatever. Maybe he's just to smash baggage or pick up any epigrams that Shaw and the Lady may drop on their travels.

Last night we went up to the most unlikely place in the world to find the class struggle in full cry. We mean the smug, Rabbitt hut of White Plains in Westchester County, New York. There seven hundred big-muscled, calloused proletarians who make and mend the roads of the County under contract are out on a hell-for-leather strike against a wage-cut that would reduce them to \$3.20 a day for the hardest sort of work for which they had been getting \$5.

They stood up in a steaming hot hall, because there were no chairs in the meeting-place which was a huge vacant garage and for two long hours listened attentively to speakers in English, Italian and Spanish, who urged them to stand together against the clubs and rifles of the cops, the threats of the contractors and the efforts of the venal Federal authorities to deport them.

Among them were many colored workers who have been in the front ranks on the picket lines. Looking from the speakers' platform across the ranks, one sensed the courage that is in these men whose existence is never noted (except at times like these) by the wealthy stock-gamblers who have made Westchester a vast and most expensive playground for New York.

Westchester is one of the richest suburbs in the world, mainly taken up by the estates of retired cloak-and-suiters and their golf-shooting offspring. They have gone up there from West End Avenue and Riverside Drive to duck paying the city taxes and now they are hollering their heads off because the road-makers refuse to starve in silence. They have herded these workers into what the local press call, "flap-houses," shoddy frame boarding-houses where they would not kennel their dogs. They have watched complacently while the workers have been given one wage-cut after another and now they are terribly put out because these same workers are striking. The same old yawp, "If they don't like this country, why don't they go back where they came from?" is being voiced by every cheap skate, grafting politician and cockroach capitalist in the County and they have taken nineteen of the union members to New York for deportation.

As usual, the American Civil Liberties Union is on the job and I doubt if the authorities will get away with their wholesale deportations. Times are changing and changing fast from the days when "The Buford" sailed. These same Spanish workers have relatives at home who a few months ago were under a long-nosed king and where is Alfonso now? Running around London with his neatly rolled umbrella.

I hope by the time this reaches you the gallant strike of the Westchester road-makers will have resulted in a smashing triumph. But at any rate, here's the best of luck to the veritable salt of the Westchester earth. Remember boys, the Socialists are with you as they are with the workers in Pennsylvania and West Virginia and wherever else the labor movement really moves.

Some day I hope to be able to dope out that mysterious thing called "crowd psychology." Here is a bunch of little farmers and shop-keepers cheering that filthy gutter-rat Legs Diamond, the much shot-up racketeer, following his acquittal on the charge of sadistically torturing a farmer in the Catskills.

I am not much concerned about the fate of Legs. Undoubtedly some better marksman than he has yet encountered will write a leaden finis to his career. But it does give pause to anyone naive enough to believe in the innate decency of humans to think that there should be cheers for such vermin as Legs Diamond. It's about the same as though we all got out and threw ticket-tops at a bed-bug on his return from a trip around the bedstead.

But it's dumb to get het up in this hot weather about racketeers like the cheap Legs. Heaven knows he has taken his chances which is more than can be said about his respectable confreres in old-line politics, the stock market, the American Legion, the Chambers of Commerce and the Red Cross.

McAllister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

Moratorium And Disarmament

By Emile Vandervelde
Brussels (In July)

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S offer of a moratorium, like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky, has stirred up all kinds of action, especially in France and Belgium.

In these countries where the "reparation credits" due from Germany amount to considerably more than the war debts, a general suspension of payments makes a big hole in their budgets. It is well understood that the United States is also making a sacrifice. It must be remembered that disaster for Germany spells disaster for all Europe. It is well understood, furthermore, that Mr. Hoover's initiative isn't inspired by philanthropic solidarity, but by an intelligent understanding of the best interests of American capitalists; and these interests definitely coincide with those of other capitalists.

But, nevertheless, the prospect for the French Government of giving up an income of more than two billion francs (worth about 4 cents apiece) and for the Belgian government of losing several hundred million in a hard blow, considering the financial confusion of all countries, including France and Belgium.

And so the Hoover proposition has raised a storm in petit bourgeois circles where only a very vague conception obtains of the forced solidarity involved by the development of a world-wide economy. So, in France as well as in Belgium, when the conserva-

tive governments adopted a sensible attitude toward this serious affair they encountered sharp resistance on the part of their political friends and had to seek the support of the Socialists.

In France, where our comrades had had previous consultations with Rudolf Breitscheid of Germany and William Gillies of Great Britain, we saw the unexpected sight of the Socialists voting for the Laval government while the elements of the Right, Franklin-Bouillon and the 100-per centers, lined up with Herriot and the Radicals in the opposition.

It was about the same in Belgium, with the difference that the opponents of the Hoover proposal were much fewer in numbers. In fact, in our little country the business elements were favorably inclined toward it. The man in the street thought that, after all, the Hoover proposition might be the beginning of great things. And the Socialists viewed the general moratorium, first of all, as a measure to avoid an imminent catastrophe in Germany and, in the second place, as the first step toward the solution proposed by the Socialist International at its congress in Hamburg in 1923—the liquidation of the World War through the wiping out of the war debts.

Only this Socialist support hasn't been given without certain formal reservations concerning

the matter of reparations.

In France Leon Blum pointed out that in balancing the French war debts against the payments to be made by Germany, there remained a margin in favor of France representing reparations. He said that his country's right to reparation of the direct damage done to the civilian population by the war, a right formally recognized by our German comrades at Frankfurt and at Hamburg, couldn't be overlooked without striking at the most elementary principle of justice and that it came before and above the treaties.

We ourselves, in the Belgian Parliament, said about the same thing.

The Belgian Socialists joined the other parties in accepting the principle of the Hoover proposition, on the one hand, and in invoking the inalienable right of Belgium to reparation of the damage inflicted upon it by unprovoked aggression in 1914, on the other. It was pointed out in this connection that although Germany always had contended that the Treaty of Versailles, as a whole, was imposed upon it by force, it had spontaneously admitted, from Aug. 4, 1914, that it was under obligations to repair the wrong it had done to Belgium.

At Versailles even, Von Brockdorf-Rantzau, representing Germany, said:

"Public opinion in all the enemy countries complains about the atrocities committed by Germany in the course of the war. We are ready to acknowledge the wrong we have committed. We haven't come here to lessen the responsibility of the men who have carried on the war, politically and economically. We repeat the declaration made to the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, 'Belgium has been wronged and we wish to repair the damage.'"

Furthermore, it wasn't only Germany that recognized Belgium's special right. Thanks especially to President Wilson, a privileged position was given to Belgium regarding reparations. England and France freed it of its war debts. The United States, without going quite that far, reduced its war debt to a trifle. It is just because of this that today, if the general moratorium were to be applied purely and simply without considering its effects, the suspension of its debt payments to the United States and of its credits from Germany would mean for Belgium a net annual loss of 570,000,000 Belgian francs (worth about 2 1/2 cents each). For a country like the United States, or even like Germany, this is a trifle. But for a little country, with its finances already in bad condition because of the crisis, it is something enormous and, to tell the truth, it is an injustice.

We said this to Parliament. But we also said something else. If thus far the various administrations of the United States have been able to keep their ears closed to the question of war debts, they have done so, to a large extent, while saying that they couldn't consider debt remissions that might help increase armaments.

And isn't it ridiculous to see, in the midst of a world crisis and on the verge of an economic disaster, Germany finding millions of marks to build "pocket battleships," France spending billions of francs to throw up a formidable barrier of cement forts along a frontier already protected by a double row of fortresses, and little Belgium itself, which certainly has no warlike lusts but which is obsessed by fear of fresh aggressions, determined to follow this example, despite the Socialist opposition?

At least the Hoover moratorium will allow Germany and Europe to catch their breath, to draw back, to prepare, if they are capable of such action, to tackle in a new spirit the interlocked problems of reparations, war debts and reduction of armaments with the object of effecting general and controlled disarmament. It all will amount to nothing, if they all don't search their consciences, if it doesn't result in preventing next year's conference on disarmament from ending in a set-back that would be nothing less than a disaster.

Chancellor Bruening And The German Socialists

By Benedict Kautsky

VIENNA, JULY 7

GERMANY'S internal and external political situation has been shifting in headlong fashion during the last few weeks.

At the end of May it looked as if domestic difficulties occupied center of the stage. The proceedings of the national convention of the German Social Democratic Party, held in Leipzig the beginning of June, were devoted almost exclusively to matters of internal policy. The problem of how to shape the opposition to the bourgeois Bruening government formed the center of discussion.

The Party Executive, whose standpoint was defeated by Otto Weis, Rudolf Breitscheid and Wilhelm Solmann, contended that opposition to the Bruening government shouldn't be carried to the point of overthrowing it. It was true that this government's economic and social policy was reactionary and must be fought by all Parliamentary means and through negotiations; but, nevertheless it was better, under present circumstances, than the Hitler-Hugenberg government sure to be set up after Bruening's fall.

Only if Bruening were to be swung so far to the Right by the influence of the Nationalists that a maintenance of the policy of toleration by the Socialists offered no more advantages to the working class than unrestricted rule by the National Socialists (Hitlerites) and the German Nationalists, should a clean break with Bruening be made. Even though German Parliamentary life today was merely a caricature of real Parliamentary life, was nevertheless, better than a National Socialist dictatorship and guaranteed the workers much more freedom of action. Above all it must be remembered that in Prussia and a number of other German States, Baden and Hesse, for example, the administration was very materially influenced by the Social Democrats, a strategic position that would be lost at once if the National Socialists were allowed to enter the National Government.

The Opposition, on the other hand, averred that the limit of concessions to the government had been reached, and even exceeded, already. Some of the more extreme speakers asserted that a National Socialist government couldn't be any more reactionary than the present Government. The Opposition attached special importance to the question of the vote on the "pocket battleship," when nine members of the Reichstag, in defiance of the general attitude of the Socialist group and of group discipline, had voted against the appropriation for the battleship, while the majority of the group had refrained from voting.

The position of the Party Executive was supported by the overwhelming majority of the delegates. The convention demanded perfect party unity, especially at a time of the greatest danger, and condemned the breach of discipline by the nine deputies. No signs were to be seen of the danger of a split so frequently announced as impending by the Communist and the bourgeois press. The most fiery speakers, both on the Right and the Left, made it plain that the debate was only over differences as to tactics, not over principles. There wasn't a single defender, on principle, of the Bruening government in the whole convention, nor was there one who would have defended the policy of toleration at all costs. There was

Socialists Tolerate Reactionary Government as Alternative to Nationalist-Fascist Regime

merely a weighing of the various possibilities and necessities. The very frankness with which the delegates openly voiced their differences of opinion furnished the most convincing proof of the passionate desire for unity and of the party's unbroken determination to fight.

The fairy tale about the senile, aging Social Democracy, propagated by the Communists and the National Socialists, was blown to bits during the debate on the problem of winning the rising generation for Socialism. Cold figures showed that the German Social Democracy was, in its great majority, a young party and that it had more young people in its ranks than the entire membership of the Communist, or the National Socialist, party.

The day after the ending of the Leipzig convention the German government put the Socialists' feeling of responsibility to a severe test. It issued a decree imposing new burdens, most of which it laid upon the shoulders of the toiling masses. There was no doubt that the condition of German finances demanded immediate and energetic action in order to put a stop to the steady in-

crease in the deficit, or at least to reduce it to a bearing degree.

The new emergency decree, issued by the Bruening government without the approval of the Reichstag (which isn't in session), aimed, first of all, at cutting down materially the cost of unemployment insurance and placing a heavy burden upon the manual workers and "white collar" men in the form of an increase in their income tax. And there were indirect burdens, such as increases in the tax on sugar, mineral water, etc. The social content of the emergency decree was barred by the fact that the needs of the German local administrations, which derive most of their income from their share of the national tax receipts, were met to only a very slight degree. This means that the communities, which are bearing the heaviest load of responsibility for the care of the jobless and needy persons in the present crisis, will be compelled to hold their relief work down to the limit and to raise the funds necessary to carry on their administration by imposing all kinds of unsocial taxes.

This emergency decree was regarded by the German workers as a brutal blow in the face. It is

Sing A Song of Colorado

Where Rockefeller Rules and His Cossacks Shoot Up Miners When They Strike

THE United Mine Workers Journal finds valuable ink and paper to spare to print a hymn of praise to Colorado. Before the American Mercury rushes to insert the ode in its column of oddities, we present it to the readers of The New Leader. It was written by the former labor leader (!) Frank J. Hayes, one-time international president of the United Mine Workers. Here's the precious gem:

Colorado, speak it softly, in the realms beyond the skies.
'Tis a word the angels murmur when they speak of paradise—
For the Master's hand is on it, and His presence
hovers near—
Ten thousand peaks of grandeur, He, in beauty,
sculptured here—
Ten thousand streams set flowing from the green hills
to the sea,
As He touched it with the glory of His own divinity.

Colorado, speak it softly, let no strident voice be heard—
There is music, born of beauty, in the cadence of the word—
And here in silent wonder and in reverential love,
'Mid the mighty, snow-capped Rockies, in the cloud-
lands far above,
I have found again the lost dream, the faith of clearer eyes,
In the Master's great cathedral, reaching upward to the skies.

There is another verse but these two are the funniest. The former labor leader who sings thus the glories of Colorado "in the realms above the skies" deserves a wooden medal for the quality of his verse and a shower of over-ripe tomatoes for his sentiments. He merely forgets that Colorado is the state of Rockefeller tyranny in the mines, of the Ludlow massacre, of state cossacks riding hell-bent for murder over defenseless workers of women and children burned to death in rickety cabins.

The United Mine Workers Journal is the house organ of John L. Lewis, "Hooverized" labor leader, and what is left of the miners' union under his administration. It is edited by Ellis Searles, who never put in a day's work in a mine, but whose hard task is keeping in the race with Ralph Easley and Matthew Woll as a red-baiter. Editor Searles, if he knows his business, might have Poet Hayes write an ode to the Massachusetts that burned Sacco and Vanzetti, a couplet to California which framed Tom Mooney, or a quatrain to Pennsylvania which starves and terrorizes its miners. He might print a sonnet to any of the Southern states on the glories of lynch law, and wind up, in the Christmas number, with an epic poem on the solid substantial men of Jerusalem, who nailed Jesus Christ to the cross.

Big Meeting Opens Socialist Campaign in Hopewell, Virginia

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HOPWELL, Virginia.—A large crowd turned out for the opening rally of the Socialist campaign in Hopewell, last Saturday night. About 300 people stayed from beginning to end, while hundreds of others heard part of the two hours of oratory. The rally was held on "Red Square," at the corner of Broadway and Randolph streets.

The speakers were W. F. Billings, candidate for State Senator, and David G. George, candidate for House of Delegates. Both speakers were showered with congratulations and assurances of support. A number of new members were gained. The political bosses of the city are very much perturbed at this writing, as are also the "county rings" in the four counties included in the senatorial district. The capitalist newspapers of Petersburg and Richmond concurred in denouncing the election for House and Senate in the Hopewell district would be close. Meetings will be held regularly until election day ever yesterday night at 8 o'clock on "Red Square." All comrades and friends are urged to attend to arrive early and to help with the meetings. The new speakers will be Alexander Walker, Jack Herling, and others.

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The Chatterbox

MORRIS ARONOWICH died last Thursday at noon, of heart failure. He was barely past his sixtieth year when he died. Except for a few old cronies and the regular burial committee of his Workmen's Circle Branch, only the immediate family attended his interment the next morning at Mt. Lebanon Cemetery.

This is the only newspaper in the whole world that makes mention of his passing. And that because his eldest son is the editor of the space in which this strange death oration is made.

My father came here in the winter of 1900, driven from Wilna, then of Russia, for his revolutionary activities. The complete lack of work or means to support his bride of a year forced his search through Germany, into England, and then to the "Golden Land." The searchers for food and freedom settled in a wine-cellar on Ludlow street as general dishwashers, waiters and what not, with food and lodging in a back room as wages. Three months later I was born. The rest of the story is dull except for the man himself.

He went to night school, schooled himself into a fair mastery of English, and even attempted to prepare for a profession. But the second child followed, a family to support stood in the way, wages at house painting were small, hours were long, and in spite of all his diligence and energy, he just barely got along trying to keep food in the pot, and the rent paid.

Soon after his arrival in New York, he gathered up the trail of protest and revolution, and joined in with the Socialist and labor movements. He had a particular talent for bringing him into immediate recognition and leadership. He possessed one deeply rooted quality. He was unconsciously class-conscious. He was a worker until the day he died. He would not be otherwise. Although ever and so often his children pleaded for him to retire into quiet and rest for the remainder of his days, he made definite refusal. His firm reply always carried this reason: "I gave you children nothing. I cannot take anything from you."

And so he carried on, in every phase of his Socialist activity, giving all he was capable of giving in service and devotion, without ever daring to demand or expect any reward for his work. On the day we buried him, we learned that for twenty-five uninterrupted years he had been the treasurer of his Workmen's Circle Branch, the Progressive Wilna, Number 28, and had missed only one meeting in all that time.

There is no record in the Party headquarters on how many leaflets he distributed, how much house to house canvassing he did, how many hours he spent watching election counts in rock-ribbed Tammany districts.

The Jewish Daily Forward has no record of the non-literary lads who used to assemble with Abe Cahan, the editor; Feigenbaum, and others, in the original cellar office somewhere off East Broadway. These fellows did the volunteer yeoman work of distributing the newly born workman's paper all over the city. For over a year, Morris Aronowich was the tireless director of out-of-town circulation. Daily he trudged to the ferry landings and carried the bundles for Jersey and Brooklyn. Today The Forward is the largest Jewish newspaper in the world, and prosperous. A number of the old timers are prosperously paid employees of that paper. The old time volunteers are forgotten and unused.

My father never mentioned this to me in all the days after death, when he found occasion to disagree on idealistic grounds with the policy and methods employed by the newspaper he had helped to found. This service I knew myself. I was then a lad hardly eight years old. I used to accompany him on his delivery rounds to the river front. I knew how he felt about publicity of any kind, and so I made no attempt to inform The Forward city desk of my father's death. It was appropriate that he pass on as he lived, unnoticed and unneeded.

And perhaps I would have refrained from any obituary procedure here, if I were not sure he would be pleased to have his life brought to notice as a symbol for service in the labor movement.

It is in that light that I find it excusable to tell you about one Morris Aronowich. He dreamed to the legion of those who work within a dream. His comrades are numberless on both sides of the divide. They have left no memoirs in fine volumes on library shelves. They have written no treatises on theory, practice, and what not, of revolutionary doctrine. They have spouted no rhetorical fluff into the stone-deaf ears of the past. They have strutted in no postures of power and have not fought silly duels in personal codes of vanity.

They have left behind them the accomplished fact of revolutions. They have built great parties for freedom in almost every civilized part of the globe. They are the most unhonored in every victory. Yet their reward is in their rejoicing... when the occasional gain is made. They suffer the most deeply in every defeat.

In radical movements, in labor unions, and even in wholly religious endeavors, the leaders too often go stepping upward and over the shoulders and heads of the masses they propose to lead, with an ambition and plan for personal grandeur and publicity, that we would decry in any capitalist or reactionary.

These same leaders fall out among themselves and quarrel for seats of power, using principle for pretext, when retention of prestige is the selfish purpose behind the division. Movements built up like coral reef by insignificant entities like the Morris Aronowichs through years of patience and tireless devotion become the battle ground for contending groups of intellectual pretenders. Schisms take place. Parties split into impotent splinters. And the loss is greatly that of the men and women who gave so much of their lives into building up the original whole.

I speak here for the hundreds of branch secretaries, thousands of committee men and women, thousands of leaflet distributors, platform carriers, branch organizers, and the rest who carry on the work of a Socialist party in this unhappy land. My father was of them, and always remained one of these.

I say these are the speechmakers I listen to. I say they are the leaders, to be followed by the erudite, the articulate and the clever few who now demand and use the rights of leadership.

I say that all the profits, all the prosperity, all the wealth produced by Socialists within the Socialist movement should be more equally divided for the benefit of all who have made that wealth possible. And this applies to the joys of recognition for services rendered as well of the moneys that may be earned by Socialist endeavor. And I say that service in the Socialist movement means the maximum of work for its ideals with a self-imposed minimum of reward.

All this I say here, because these were the precepts with which my father lived, worked on and died.

And since in my own light of reason he was right, I ask that his spirit live on among us for the cause he loved and served so long and so well.

S. A. deWitt.

STAGE

Broun "Shoots the Works" And Hits

SCREEN

First Time in Brooklyn at the Fox Theatre



Sally Eilers and George O'Brien as they appear in "A Holy Terror" which will grace the Fox Brooklyn screen this week. Fanchon and Marco's new stage revue is called the Submarine Idea, while Sam Jack Kaufman and others help complete a big bill.

This Week on Stage

BROUN DOES IT AGAIN

HEYWOOD BROUN, Socialist, journalist, and student of the stage, combines the best elements of all these in his revue, "Shoot the Works" at the George M. Cohan Theatre. The idea behind Broun's show—a cooperative undertaking to prove to the theatrical world that talent is the most important thing in the theatre, and, secondly, to provide jobs for over a hundred unemployed actors, musicians, and stage hands—is a great one. And the show is as good.

"Shoot the Works" is a revue that does not depend on the time-honored props of musical shows—gaudy and expensive sets, non-performing show girls and jokes about the middle sex. There are no standard stars. But the show does have an abundance of good music, and excellent voices to sing it; it has skits with the touch of originality; it has the best-looking chorus we've ever seen in a musical show; and it has an intimacy that makes it more than two hours the most pleasing sort of summer pastime we can think of.

First there is Broun, himself. Broun appears in a few light sketches associated with his difficulties in getting the revue started. At announced and unannounced moments he introduces the numbers, tells the critics how to review the show, and recalls the days when he was a critic himself. Broun's development as an actor proceeds by bounds nightly. Johnny Boyle, who put the show on with Broun, shares a major burden. His high spots are some soft shoe dancing that go a long way to recompense for the sad absence of Jack Donahue.

George Murphy sings songs and dances in a graceful manner. Imogene Coca, Lee Brody, Julie Johnson, Frances Dewey and Virginia Smith share a number of swell songs among them. Taylor Gordon, Negro singer, displays a voice the equal of which is seldom heard in musical shows. William O'Neal does himself proud in a number written by the composers of "Zwei Herzen." There are others, all first rate. Edward J. MacNamara, for instance, who has joined the department since he last did service as the knowing policeman in "Strictly Dishonorable."

Broun had his heart set on getting some Socialism into the show in addition to the basic idea of cooperation. He had the old Wobly song, "Pie in the Sky," put up in jazz rhythm. The entire chorus, lead by O'Neal, mounted on soapboxes about their demand, "We don't want pie in the sky when we die! We want our share right here on earth." Broun's budding campaign for alderman on the Social-

In Billy Rose's Musical at the 44th St. Theatre



Phil Baker, who, together with Fannie Brice and Ted Healy, help make "Crazy Quilt" fine hot weather entertainment.

ist ticket also comes in for notice. The song writers have given generously of their work. There are good numbers by Max and Nathaniel Lief, Michael H. Cleary, E. B. White, Sid Herzog, Ann Ronell, Jay Gorney, E. Y. Harburg, Irving Berlin, Ira Gershwin and others.

There are two good reasons why you should see this show. One: it's a cooperative venture; two: it's one of the best revues in year.

—EDWARD LEVINSON.

German Film Operetta

"DOLLY MACHT KARRIERE," New Ufa Film at the Cosmopolitan.

Despite their customary unproductivity, manifesting itself in unpretentious settings and a comparatively small cast, UFA again succeeds, by sheer directorial ingenuity and faultless casting, in making something worthy and engaging out of what might have been the veriest inanity. "Dolly Macht Karriere" (Dolly Gets Ahead), the successor to "Die Drei Von der Tankstelle" at the UFA Cosmopolitan performs the always difficult task of making you overlook its shortcomings in plot structure by being alternately witty, charming, gracious, ludicrous and insane, but never dull.

Chiefly responsible, in this reviewer's opinion, for the aura of ineffable charm which surrounds the whole picture and remains with you even after you've left the theatre, is the presence, in

"A Jew at War" Is Newest Amkino Film at the Cameo

The futility of war is the theme of the new Amkino picture "A Jew at War," which follows the Clarence Darrow evolution picture, "The Mystery of Life," into the RKO Cameo Theatre Friday.

David, the leading character, played by Veniamin Zuskin of the State Moscow Jewish Theatre, enacts the role of a dreamer and idealist who believes more can be accomplished through work and peace than through bloodshed.

David illustrates how progress can be made during peace time when he becomes the head of a State industrial enterprise. He shows how the country as a whole can rebuild itself through concentrated peace time effort in the same manner as a single organization.

Michael Gold is responsible for the American titles of "A Jew at War," which will be at the RKO Cameo Theatre indefinitely.

Alton Jones and Marion Morrey in Piano Recital, Thurs.

Alton Jones head of the piano division of the Department of Music Education in the summer sessions at Columbia University and Marion Morrey will appear in a two-mano recital at the McMillan Academic Theatre 116th street and Broadway, on Thursday evening, July 30. The public, as well as the Columbia student, is invited. The program: "Concerto in D Minor," "Vivace," "Variations on 2 pianos on a theme of Handel," Brahms; "Scherzo," Saint Saens; "Moy Meli," Arnold Bax; "Blue Danube Waltzes," Schuler-Evler (arranged by Abram Chasins).

the proceedings of a pert young miss called Dolly Haas, who gives one of the most spontaneously vivacious, joyful and graceful performances which it has been our pleasure to see in a twelve-months of releases.

Other excellent characterizations are contributed by Kurt Gerson as Silberman, an owner of a cabaret and Oskar Karlowicz, as Fred Halton, a young composer. These two actors by their constant reappearances in UFA productions here are rapidly becoming almost as well known to American audiences as our own home product.

"Dolly Macht Karriere" like "Zwei Herzen" which it resembles in some respects, has to do with the vicissitudes in the lives of an actress, a music composer and a cabaret owner; three ingredients which provide the proper excuse for the occasion—introduction of song and dance. Dolly Kiaren works in a hat shop but has aspirations of becoming an actress. She is in love with Fred Halton, played by Oskar Karlowicz, who is a composer of popular songs but who makes a living by playing the clarinet. By a ruse, Dolly manages to gain the interest of Silberman, owner of a well known cabaret, who takes her under his managerial wing and in a short time makes her the talk of the town. Playing under an assumed name she manages to keep her success from her sweetheart. The latter, under advice from his friend, takes her to the latest Berlin sensation and while she is hidden behind a screen in her dressing room tries to induce her to sing it by pretending to be madly in love with her. Dolly enraged at his perfidy has him thrown out of the theatre. Later she does sing the song and the two are reunited amidst great rejoicing.

The music in this picture while pleasing and characteristic does not quite measure up to the haunting quality of the melodies in "Zwei Herzen."

BEN KORNZWEIG.

From Newest Amkino Picture at the Cameo



The scene above is from "A Jew At War," the latest Amkino film which begins a run at the Cameo theatre today.

Lilting Music and Fine Acting Make "Merry Wives" at the Little Carnegie Worth Seeing

"Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" or "The Merry Wives of Vienna," new Viennese film operetta, continues merrily on its way up at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse where it is now in its third week of excellent business. According to the management of the Playhouse, none of its recent foreign language offerings has evoked the vast enthusiasm which this latest production of Geza von Bolvary is stirring up among audiences which crowd the theatre, hot weather notwithstanding.

The lilting music of the piece (by Robert Stolz, composer of "Two Hearts in Waltz Time") is said to be chiefly responsible for this, together with the quaint atmosphere of Vienna in 1875, the splendid acting of the German cast and the fact that the picture is easily understood and enjoyed without a detailed knowledge of the German language. Willy Forst, Lee Parry, Irene Eisinger and Paul Hoerliger are the featured players in "Merry Wives" which will continue indefinitely at Little Carnegie.

Barbara Stanwyck in "Night Nurse" Proves Hit at the Strand Thea.

"Night Nurse" starring Barbara Stanwyck, will be held over for a second week at the Strand Theatre. It also started an engagement at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre yesterday.

"Night-Nurse" seems to be a picture made for the public and not solely for the critics. Despite some adverse criticism, it has taken on its place among the box-office smashes of the season. Over the week-end the picture played to the largest audiences the Strand has held since "Public Enemy," and at 10 o'clock Monday morning lines stretching in both directions had turned the corners at 47th and 48th street.

Sterling performances by Barbara Stanwyck, Ben Lyon, Clark Gable, Joan Blondell and the remainder of the cast in a story by Dora Macy, author of "Ex-Mistress," seems to have won the public favor.

Leo Brecher, Noted Theatre Owner, Sails Tonight on Europa

Leo Brecher, prominent New York theatre owner and a pioneer in the exhibition here of foreign motion pictures, sails tonight on the Europa with Mrs. Brecher for a six weeks' business trip to Germany where he will complete negotiations with a number of leading producers for the showing of their films in America, principally at his Little Carnegie Playhouse.

Commenting last night on the future of European pictures in this country, Mr. Brecher gave it as his opinion that, in spite of linguistic differences, the demand on the part of intelligent theatre goers for this type of entertainment is steadily increasing. He pointed to the outstanding success of several recent film importations in proof of this and drew attention to the excellence of foreign pictures generally, especially since the advent of talkies.

BROOKLYN

FOX
"THE HOLY TERROR"
Fox Movietone Picture with GEORGE O'BRIEN, SALLY EILERS, ANN PENNINGTON
IN PERSON
FANCHON MARCO
"SUBMARINE" Idea
WARD & FINKLE
RANDOLPH & BOB
LEE & STUART
ROBERT CLOY
SAM JACK KAUFMAN
BOB WEST
Eddie Magie

"The Common Law" With Constance Bennett To Continue at Both The Mayfair and Albee

Constance Bennett's latest released picture, "The Common Law," from the popular novel of Robert W. Chambers, has been held for its second week at the Mayfair and Albee Theatres. Joel McCrea heads the supporting cast, which includes Lew Cody, Marion Shilling, Robert Williams, Hedda Hopper, Walter Walker, Paul Ellis and Yola D'Arvil.

The story concerns an American girl, who after breaking with a sportsman with whom she has been living, turns to modeling for an artist who appreciates her beauty of face and figure to the extent of falling in love with her. As he is about to propose marriage he learns of the other man and decides he will take her on this basis. Her anger at this proposition keeps them apart for weeks, until the night of the Four Arts Ball, when their love triumphs—he proposing marriage and she accepting his former living arrangement. The interference of a snobbish sister brings them to the altar, but not without situations that tend to provide excellent screen entertainment and a delightful performance by Miss Bennett.

"Green Pastures" Celebrating 600th Consecutive Showing

"The Green Pastures" will celebrate its 600th consecutive performance at the Mansfield theatre next Tuesday evening (July 28) and the occasion will be made a gala affair, observed backstage as well as in the front of the house. Delegations from a number of cities which are bidding for the attraction after the completion of its New York run, and the Chicago engagement announced to follow, will be present as spectators. The same is true of a group of friends of the producer, Rowland Stebbins; of the author, honored by the 1930 Pulitzer Prize, Marc Connelly; and the New Orleans newspaper writer, Roark Bradford, whose book, "O! Man Adam an' His Chillun" constituted the genesis for the sensational success of the spectacle. Charles G. Stewart, general manager of the producing firm, is cutting short a vacation at Newagen, Maine, to represent Mr. Stebbins in receiving the avalanche of congratulations pouring in from every side.

Back-stage, Richard B. Harrison and his associate players, and Hall Johnson, who organized and trained the heavenly choir, will be equally busy with representatives of colored organizations from throughout the entire country who see in the record-breaking success of "The Green Pastures" recognition and confirmation of their claims in behalf of Negro achievement in the fine arts.

Heywood Broun Shoot the Works!

Dialogue mainly by Nunnally Johnson
Dances staged by Johnny Boyle
at the
George M. Cohan Theatre
BROADWAY AT 43RD STREET
Even. 8:30, 11 to 12:30; Mat. Sat. 11 to 12:30; Midnight Show Wednesday.

ERLANGER'S Even. 8:30, Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30
The Civic Light Opera Company
presents
Gilbert & Sullivan
BIG DOUBLE BILL
"Trial by Jury"
and
"Pinafore"
with
Fay Templeton
ALL STAR CAST OF 55
Direction of MILTON ARON
"THRIFT PRICES"
EYES: 50c to \$2. WED. MAT. 50c to \$1. SAT. MATS. 50c to \$1.50.

"Hush Money" with Joan Bennett and 8 RKO Acts at Hipp.

At the Hippodrome this week Joan Bennett is starred in "Hush Money," a drama of subtle society crooks. Hardie Albright, whose marvelous performance in "Young Sinners" brought him stardom, is co-featured while Owen Moore and Myrna Loy play other important characters.

Rulz and Bonita, colorful South American dancers, presenting an ensemble beautifully produced as well as interpreted, top the eight act vaudeville program. Bob Albright, the big breezy Westerner and his pretty accompanists, Murray and Allen, jesters of 3,000 years ago and Johnnie Mills with Tim Shea, head over heels in fun, supply the show with an abundance of laughs. A real novelty is "The Enchanted Forest" presented by Les Kiklicks which brings to life our old nursery rhyme friends; Little May Joyce sings four popular numbers while twanging a guitar; the Case Brothers with Marie exhibit the latest dance steps and daring acrobats on a strand of steel and Helene McGinnis, "dizzy but happy" completes the stage entertainment.

Fox B'klyn Presents Ideal Summer Bill—"A Holy Terror" and a Big Stage Review

Both picture and stage show at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week take the audience into the cooler regions of the great outdoors. "A Holy Terror," on the screen, is an action romance set for the greater part in Wyoming, while Fanchon & Marco's "Submarine" idea goes to the bottom of the sea for its origin.

"A Holy Terror" is the screen adaptation of Max Brand's best seller, "Trailin'" and presents the adventures of a young New York society man in the West where he searches for the man he believes shot his father and where he falls in love with a beautiful girl. Sally Eilers portrays the girl. The supporting cast includes La Roy, Humphrey Bogart, Stanley Fields, James Kirkwood, Robert Warwick and Richard Tucker.

Sam Jack Kaufman and his band offer a medley of the hits from "Sunny Side Up," with Eddie Magie assisting with a chorus or two of crooning.

The stage is devoted to Fanchon & Marco's "Submarine" idea depicting an undersea fairyland with gorgeous mermaids and beautiful rhythms and melodies. Special talent has been enlisted by Sammy Lee, the producer—Radcliffe and Bob in "Dark Doin's Beneath the Sea"; The Aerial Bartlett, Robert Cloy, tenor; Ward & Pinkie, Claire Lea & Richard Stuart, Steve Moroni, and the Sunkist Beauties.

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" To Continue At the Europa

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" ("Two Hearts in Waltz Time"), Viennese screen operetta, is to continue at the Europa. On Friday, July 31, this German picture is to enter the forty-third week of its continuous engagement at the same theatre. Over 250,000 people have visited the Europa in the last 10 months to view "Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt."

CAPITOL NOVARO

In Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's
"Son of India"
with
MADGE EVANS, CONRAD NAGEL, MARJORIE RAMBEAU
—ON THE STAGE—
"ALL GIRL REVUE"
Jane & Katherine Lee—Bobby Grice & Her Rhythm—Chester Hale Girls—Bunchuk & Orchestra
EXTRA: DOGVILLE COMEDY

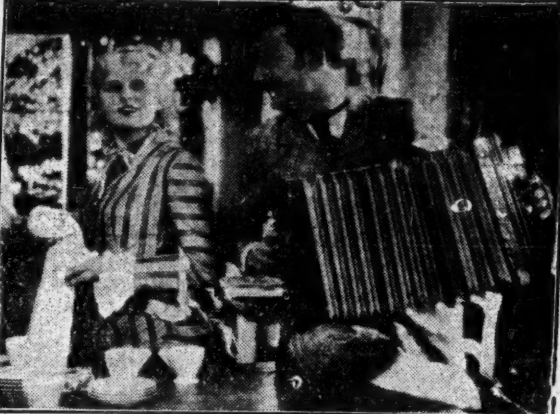
BARBARA STANWYCK in "NIGHT NURSE"

with BEN LYON
Joan Blondell—Clark Gable
New York & Brooklyn
STRANDS
Popular Prices

Grand Entertainment for Everybody! EDWARD G. ROBINSON in "Smart Money"

with James CAGNEY at the COOL
Winter Garden
BROADWAY & 36th STREET
Continuous—Popular Prices
Smoking in Balcony

Proving Popular at the Charming Little Carnegie Playhouse



Lee Parry and Willy Forst in a scene from "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" or "The Merry Wives of Vienna," new Viennese film operetta now at Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse. A story of Vienna in the year 1875, the picture is being enthusiastically received for its quaint settings, clever acting, and lilting music by Robert Stolz, composer of "Two Hearts."

"Holmes" Picture Held Over at the Warner—Also Opens at Beacon

"Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour" has scored a sensational success in its American premiere at the Warner Theatre, and will be held over for a third week. It opens also at the Beacon Theatre Thursday night.

During its past week-end at the Warner Theatre, "Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour" showed its cumulative appeal and grossed \$600 more than on its first week-end. Admitted by critics and the public to be one of the best of English-made pictures, this picturization of Conan Doyle's famous novel, aided by the acting of Arthur Wontner and an able English cast, has proved the first serious threat to American movie supremacy.

Fay Templeton Plays Familiar Role in "Pinafore," Erlanger's

Long personal acquaintanceship with and admiration for Milton Aron as a producer, as well as the natural desire to share in the pleasures of the success of his Gilbert and Sullivan season at Erlanger's Theatre, are given as a reason by Fay Templeton for returning to play her familiar part of "Buttercup," in the "Pinafore" opera which comes back to the West 44th street house Monday, July 27, for another two-weeks' engagement.

The short opera, "Trial by Jury," will be staged as a curtain raiser to the nautical piece, making the program a double opera event.

The Palace, First Time in History, Holds Over Its Complete Bill

A new chapter will be written into the archives of the RKO Palace next week, when for the first time in the history of the ace house of vaudeville, a complete bill will be held for a second week. Lou Holtz, whose genial genius for moulding Palace bills into happy-go-lucky revues in which even the audience takes part, will continue as master of ceremonies. Wm. Gaston, in addition to his own act, will appear with Holtz in a number of especially prepared bits; Ethel Merman has a battery of songs, new and old; Lydia Roberti and her infectious smile holds forth for the third consecutive week, with Harold Arien at the piano. Lew Pollock, theme song writer; Morgan and Stone with their banjos, Florence Robinson of the dancing feet, and Arthur Feltley, master of the trampoline, comprise the balance of the bill.

ROXY
7th AVENUE and 50th STREET
BY POPULAR DEMAND
JANET GAYNOR
CHARLES FARRELL
In Fox Movietone Hit
Sunny Side Up
with
EL BRENDLE—MARJORIE WHITE
FRANK RICHARDSON
SHARON LYNN
—ON THE STAGE—
50 MILLION YEARS AGO
Mammoth Pre-historic Spectacle!
Wildcats, Cavemen, Dinosaurs, 250 Stone-Age Performers, Orchestra
Roxyettes, Ballet, Chorus

Another Amkino Triumph!
A JEW AT WAR
A tense drama of a man who saw the futility of war... man against man... Jew against Jew.
R K O CAMEO 42nd St. & B'way
EXTRA SHARKEY-WALKER Fight Pictures

NEWEST VIENNESE FILM OPERETTA
"DIE LUSTIGEN WEIBER VON WIEN" (The Merry Wives of Vienna)
By the same Director and Composer as the celebrated "TWO HEARTS IN WALTZ TIME"
LITTLE GARNEGIE PLAYHOUSE 57th St. E. of 7th Ave. Continuous
Pop. Prices

DOLLY
CHARMING GERMAN MUSICAL FARCE
starring
DOLLY HAAS
Ufa Germany's Youngest Screen Star
"The Girl with the 'It'"
A UFA PRODUCTION, with Oscar Karlowicz, Kurt Gerson, Alfred Abel and others.
BEGINNING TOMORROW
at UFA COSMOPOLITAN
The 19th St. & Bway. Cool and Comfortable.
Continuous 12:30 to 11:30. POP. PRICES

THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4632 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Textile Union Urges Strikes to Cut Hours

(Continued from Page One)
outbreaks and strikes with no union membership after the strike is over.

Strike in Paterson
A trial of strength between the Communist National Textile Workers Union and the United Textile Workers Union, under the leadership of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, is taking place in Paterson, the great silk center of America.

The N. T. W. has carried on organization work quietly, especially since 1929. The Associated Silk Workers of America, a local organization founded in 1919 and controlling several skilled crafts, noted the growing militancy of the workers and laid plans for a strike. The Associated decided on a vigorous organization campaign.

In order to add to its strength, it determined to negotiate for affiliation with the United Textile Workers of America, the A. F. of L. union having jurisdiction over the silk industry. A. J. Muste, chairman, and Louis F. Budenz, secretary, of the C. P. L. A., were chosen negotiators. On July 19 the amalgamation was formally consummated.

The Associated Silk Workers retain their name and joined the U. T. W. as one of its locals.

Workers Restive
Meanwhile strike sentiment had grown very strong, and workers from unorganized shops were sending delegations to both the N. T. W. and Associated Silk Workers headquarters asking to be organized. There seemed to be no limit to the working day in the small shops, in one of which a worker reported having put in 10 hours a day six days a week, and having received only \$24 for two weeks' work, or at the rate of 20 cents an hour. It was reported that even the bosses would welcome a strike if it would bring some stability to the industry.

At the same time that the amalgamation agreement was being ratified at a mass meeting called by the Associated Silk Workers, the National Textile Workers were holding a conference of textile workers from Allentown, Pa., Northampton, Mass., Pawtucket and Central Falls, R. I., Putnam, Conn., and Paterson and Passaic, N. J. Eighty-nine are reported to have been present. They were addressed by William Z. Foster of the Trade Union Unity League,

and chose a committee of 18 to get in touch with workers all over the country and prepare for a national silk strike.

In accordance with the decisions of the conference, a united front general strike committee was immediately formed in Paterson, and it set July 22 as the date for a strike. The demands included the first five of the 10 national demands, and in addition the 5-day week and unemployment insurance. About 1,000 walked out on strike.

The joint action committee representing the Associated Silk Workers, various unions of the U. T. W. and the C. P. L. A. the same day decided to call a general strike on Monday, August 3, if demands for an 8-hour day, wage increases and other improved conditions were not agreed to meanwhile by employers.

MUSIC

Lewisohn Stadium, Amst. Av. & 138 St.
STADIUM CONCERTS
PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
VAN BOOGSTRAEEN, Conductor
EVERY NIGHT at 8:30
PRICES: 25c, 50c, \$1.00 (Circle 7-7978)

Nanty-Glo Sees Big Gain By Socialists

Registration in Coal Town Jumps From 3 to 200—Other Party News

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NANTY-GLO, Pa.—In this corner of the miners' hell there is little doubt of a working class victory through the Socialist party in the election next November. All indications are that this advance of the Socialists will spread to other nearby cities and towns within the next year or two.

In the previous registration of voters there were only three registered as Socialists but in the recent registration the number increased to 200. But even this does not tell the complete story. The 200 thus registered consist almost exclusively of voters who do not come within the range of the masters of the mines. Many miners, perhaps a majority, will vote the Socialist ticket although they are not registered as Socialists.

The heels of the miners are dogged by company spies and for a miner to register as a Socialist is for him to invite disaster. The mine owners assume that they have a property interest in the political opinions of the miners and that a miner owes it to his employer to vote for the parties and candidates of the capitalist class.

Spies Flood Meeting
An example of this was a local meeting of the Socialists held on June 27, which brought out mine superintendents, spies, and coal and iron police. The next day a miner was discharged for attending the meeting. Nathan Abel, a leading member of the Socialist local, decided that the Socialists are strong enough to fight this intimidatory policy. He wrote a strong letter to the mine superintendent and the discharged miner now has his job. The miners consider this a big victory, the first of its kind that they have won, and the prestige of the Socialists has been increased among the working class voters.

From a few members in recent years the Nanty-Glo Socialist local has increased to a membership of 500. Nathan Abel is the Socialist candidate for the city council and there is little doubt of his election in November.

To spread the Socialist message in other towns the Socialists are arranging a Cambria County picnic for August 23, at Park Hill Grove. Many autos and trucks will be decorated with Socialist insignia and they will pass through other towns on the day of the picnic. On August 29, a concert and dance will be held in Nanty-Glo for the benefit of the miners and their families. Abel and others will also make short speeches and it is expected that a substantial sum will be realized. The recent success of Nanty-Glo has been a great help in awakening the workers and it is hoped to engage hundreds of other speakers before the end of the year.

National

Scottsboro Case Protests
All local, branch, and state organizations, as well as any Socialist-led unemployed councils, who have sent resolutions of protest in the Scottsboro case to Governor B. M. Miller, Montgomery, Alabama, should notify National Headquarters, Party Executive Committee, 150 West 15th St., New York City, of the resolutions. Organizations who have not yet taken up this matter are urged to do so at once. Individual party members also might well write to Governor Miller.

Indiana

Local Richmond is conducting a campaign on several fronts to spread the party's message. A branch at the local college reaches the intelligentsia. The city authorities wouldn't allow park street meetings, so the comrades have secured the use of several vacant lots for open air gatherings. The local organizer, Comrade Riley Hubbard, is a minister, and he is in great demand at the churches, clubs, and religious groups. Party headquarters itself, with its auditorium and four class rooms, is in a district inhabited entirely by workers, mostly unskilled laborers. Speakers "from soapboxes to college professors" are offered to meetings of any kind by the local Socialist speakers' bureau.

New Mexico

A new branch of the Curry county local at Melrose has been formed with nine charter members. Pending permanent organization, inquiries about this branch should be addressed to John Williams, state secretary, Box 7, Clovis.

Connecticut

HAMDEN—Don't forget the picnic in honor of the State Executive Committee at The Sleeping Giant State Park, Mt. Carmel, Hamden, Conn., Sunday, July 26. Those coming by way of New Haven should drive out Whitney Avenue to Mt. Carmel Avenue. The park is only a short walk or drive out this Avenue. The proceeds will go to "The Commonweal," the Socialist Party's state paper.

NEW HAVEN—Regular monthly meeting held Monday, July 20. Charles O'Connell was elected to represent the Local at a conference of progressive organizations which will lay plans to help the striking miners. A motion was passed to co-operate with the New Leader in its subscription campaign. The Local voted to endorse the National call to increase the dues to that office. Some

Duncan Joins La Follette Group; Socialists Force His Resignation

A NUMBER of press dispatches in recent weeks have carried stories stating that Senator Thomas Duncan, elected on the Socialist ticket to the Wisconsin Legislature from a Milwaukee district, had passed into the camp of the so-called "progressives." The New Leader has waited for word from the Milwaukee comrades and now reprints the following statement which appeared in a recent issue of "The Campaigner," the Milwaukee Socialist weekly.

"As The Campaigner will be expected to say something on the re-signing of Thomas M. Duncan, state senator, from Socialist party membership by the executive committee of the party in Milwaukee, we shall try to do so as briefly and as reliably as possible. "Although given preference by the party and elected first to the state assembly, and finally to the state senate, Duncan does not appear to have felt any scruples in aligning himself with the progressive insurgents of the Republican party now in control of the state, even while still serving the Socialists as a state senator.

Duncan was for years private secretary to Mayor Hoan. As Hoan was in France when Duncan accepted the executive secretaryship from the Republican governor, he suggested that the party wait until Hoan's return, when he himself would arrange for a conference with Hoan and other party members to consider the situation and his status as a party member. When after Hoan's return he did not do this, the executive committee of the party called him from Madison for a meeting.

In spite of newspaper guesswork and lurid accounts of the meeting, it was a calm and friendly conference. A city campaign committee was organized, with the following members: Edward Uhry, and John Delmonico, is the committee. National Executive Committee member, Jasper McLevey also attended the meeting. He urged the members to put up a lively campaign for the coming city election.

Pennsylvania

LANCASTER—Our local in Lancaster County, Pa., is planning a picnic in the United States, plans to challenge the powers that be in the coming elections. We have decided to nominate a complete slate with the confident belief that workers and liberals of all opinions will follow us. Among the offices to be filled are two city commissioners, three school directors, one assessor, one judge of elections and two election inspectors in every precinct. Petitions must be filed with the local nominating convention, which is being called for Sunday, July 19th, at Party Headquarters, 10 S. Queen street. The election will be the election of an organizer.

ERIE COUNTY SOCIALIST PARTY has issued an invitation to all Socialist Party members and sympathizers now residing within the 29th Congressional District to attend a convention to be held on Sunday, July 26th, 1931, at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon at the Workers' Circle Hall, 128 East 23rd street, Erie, Pa. Included in the 29th Congressional District are Erie and Crawford Counties.

Both Erie and Crawford Counties will be the agenda of the State Executive Committee. However, as in so many other places, due to the after-war hysteria and the split within its ranks, the units composing the Socialist Party in the 29th Congressional District disintegrated. In the 1924 national election the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania lost its official status on the ballot.

Last October a few members called a conference of former members to discuss the economic depression and the advisability of reorganizing the Socialist Party of Erie. At this conference which was attended by thirty-five former Party members was present Arthur G. McDowell, State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Erie. The economic situation was discussed and about sixteen of those present were convinced of the need for an organization. These remained the present Socialist Party of Erie was formed.

Comrade Samuel A. Baker, youthful member who took an active part in the conference was elected Secretary and Organizer. Indoor meetings were held through the winter, and with the coming of hot weather open air meetings have been held in the public square.

Maryland

BALTIMORE—The State Convention meets in Hagerstown, Sunday, Sept. 13th. A special bus will leave Baltimore party headquarters. Get in touch with your branch secretary with State Secretary Neidhart for reservations. Every party member should attend. The fare will be small. The comrades up-state are urged to arrange a large turnout. Every comrade and party sympathizer is urged to volunteer to arrange meetings in the various parts of the city. Comrades are wanted to speak, give out literature, or do other duties in connection with the general work of the meetings. Those who wish to volunteer their services are asked to get in touch with Or-

N. Y. Socialists Begin to Hold Noon Meetings

Other Activities in Party Branches of the City—6th A. D. May Move

THE first of a number of noon meetings contemplated by the Socialist party was held last Tuesday on the corner of Washington and Johnson streets. It was unusually successful. A large crowd listened to a battery of speakers which included Leonard Bright, Harry N. Perlmutter, David M. Cory and Lester Shulman. New Leaders were sold and many interesting comments were heard from those who listened. These noon meetings will be held in various parts of the city and the number increased as the campaign goes on. The next one will be held on Wednesday, July 21, at 12 noon, at 22nd street and Broadway. Suggestions are solicited concerning other sections of the city where such meetings can be held. More volunteers are needed to assist on committees.

CHELSEA—Look for the sign of Chelsea Branch at the picnic. Bring your lunch and let us have a real picnic. The picnic will be held on Sunday, July 27, at 96 Avenue C. The branch will soon announce the attainment of new headquarters. August Claessens, candidate for Alderman, will give short talk on his experience and observations in the South.

4th A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held on Friday evening, July 31, in the clubrooms at 327 E. 9th street. (No Hunger Edition on Friday evening.) How about 17-Editor: The New Leader.

Morningside Heights—Franz Daniel, Philadelphia organizer will speak under the auspices of the branch on Sunday, July 26, at 11:30 a.m. "Cooperation with Working Class Movements." Comrade Daniel has achieved considerable success in Philadelphia strikes. These meetings are held in the headquarters of the branch, 558 W. 125th street, at 8:30 p.m. Everybody welcome! (How about this branch ordering some "Hunger Edition"?)

Bronx County
A meeting will be held on Sunday, July 26, at 12:30 p.m. Immediately following the business meeting a discussion will take place on "World Wide Economic Conditions and the European Crisis." A meeting of the branch will be held on Sunday, July 26, at 12:30 p.m. Everybody welcome! (How about this branch ordering some "Hunger Edition"?)

Michigan
The party picnic in Rouge Park, July 18th, was a great success. Members of Branch No. 1, Detroit, German Branch Detroit, Lincoln Park Branch, Southern Oakland County Branch, were present. Many new friends and sympathizers. A mass picnic was held on Sunday, July 19th, at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon at the Workers' Circle Hall, 128 East 23rd street, Erie, Pa. Included in the 29th Congressional District are Erie and Crawford Counties.

Virginia

Meeting in Richmond, July 18 and 19. The State Central Committee planned an active campaign, adopted a state constitution and platform, etc., and finally, after a sixteen-hour session, delegated the remainder of the agenda to the State Executive Committee. Several organizers will be working in the state in the next few weeks, including Jesse Gross, Irving Salter and Charles Sunarsky of New York, and David George, state secretary. J. P. Rice, special organizer, and Alexander Walker, of New Jersey. Besides these, the L. I. D. has Mr. Herling, Donald M. Smith and Donald Lee to co-operate with us in labor education and organization.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill reports that both branches in Nassau County, as well as the Rockland County local are having good success in attracting new members to the movement. Local Rockland County meeting in new members at every meeting, and next Sunday will endorse the Socialist Party for public office. The Williamsburg branch will also have assistance from the Y. P. S. L. circles. The subject was "Smash Tammany." The speakers were Norman Thompson, Shipman, Harry Schachner, and Harry Kirtzer. The second of this series of meetings will be held on Sunday, July 26, at 12:30 p.m. on Washington and Johnson streets last Tuesday. (This branch ought to have a supply of the Hunger Editions. How about it?)

Williamsburg—The first of a series of huge out-door rallies was held last Friday and was most successful. An estimated 2,000 people were present and gave the speakers a fine reception. The committee taking care of the meetings consisted of practically every active member of the Williamsburg branch and also received assistance from the Y. P. S. L. circles. The subject was "Smash Tammany." The speakers were Norman Thompson, Shipman, Harry Schachner, and Harry Kirtzer. The second of this series of meetings will be held on Sunday, July 26, at 12:30 p.m. on Washington and Johnson streets last Tuesday. (This branch ought to have a supply of the Hunger Editions. How about it?)

NASSAU COUNTY—Cedarhurst Branch celebrated the first anniversary of the organizing of the County, and the installation of officers for the second half of this year in its new and spacious headquarters, 209 Lord Avenue (corner Bayview Avenue). Inwood. The crowd was the largest ever assembled. The new officers are: Organizer, Jos. L. Sugar; Treasurer, Anthony Lancy; Financial Secretary, Rose Breslau; Recording Secretary, Mary Mirin; Corresponding Secretary, Anna Horowitz; Secretary, Morris Kirtzer. Organization and Propaganda Committee, 5 members; House Managing Committee, 7 members; Executive Committee, 10 members; Literary Club, Educational Committee, 8 members. After the ceremonies and the presentation of a service, music was rendered throughout. It was the early hours of the morning that saw "finis" to a most enjoyable evening.

30,000 Fewer Jobs in Calif.
SACRAMENTO, Cal. (FP)—Employment in California industries for June, 1931, showed a reduction of 33,000 or 18 per cent from June of 1930, according to the California Division of Labor Statistics. The average weekly earnings for the same period dropped off \$2.33, or 9.17 per cent, according to the same authority.

The Way Out of Chaos In the Coal Industry

(Continued on Page Four)
conventions of the union. The committee, nevertheless, published their scheme in 1922 in a pamphlet entitled "How to Run Coal." In the meantime John Brophy's district in central Pennsylvania, No. 2, commenced a vigorous campaign for nationalization. The scheme provided for in "How to Run Coal" was summarized by the committee as follows:

1. A Secretary of Mines in the Cabinet.
2. A Federal Commission of Mines, to control budget and policy on the basis of continuous fact-finding.
3. A national planning council, to administer policies, with miners, technicians and consumers represented.
4. The safe-guarding of collective bargaining through joint conferences.
5. Freeing production management from wage squabbles and sales problems, by making wages the first charge against the industry and therefore making wage measurements one of the functions of the Federal Commission under the principles of collective bargaining, which will be safeguarded by an independent joint wage scale committee.

The Committee saw the broad basis for the success of nationalization. It outlined the following necessary conditions:

1. Administrative organizing minds in the public service.
2. A competent technical staff.
3. A 100 per cent organized union.
4. Collective bargaining publicly accepted as the basis of wage agreements.
5. A large labor representation in all departments of Government.
6. A political party.

The Nationalization Research Committee estimated that it would cost four and half billion dollars to purchase the coal industry and the coal reserves in the United States. Of the legal obstacles the report stated: "The truth is, there are no insuperable legal difficulties in nationalizing coal. The very lawyers who now picture the difficulties will draft overnight the bill that will bring it off. To fight along the lines of the rules of law is to play the game of corporation lawyers. The job of the miners is to emphasize the social and economic facts in the light of which the rule of law must be applied."

Socialization and Socialism

The particular nationalization scheme proposed by the miners' committee may not be considered the best one at the present time but its central idea of socialization, that is public ownership with democratic control, is correct. It is up to the Socialist Party and its supporters to carry on the necessary research to produce a plan upon which all advocates of socialism can unite with enthusiasm.

National Notes

Jamboree Resolutions—At the Yipsels Jamboree, which was held in Reading on the 11th and 12th of this month, the following resolutions were passed by the assembled members of the Young People's Socialist League: 1. That in view of California's guilt for the incarceration of Mooney and Billings, the Y. P. S. L. urge a widespread boycott of California products and of the Olympia games which are to be held there in 1932; 2. That Comrade Morris Hillquit be asked to withdraw from participation as counsel for oil firms suing Standard Oil and Vacuum Oil companies, and that this be called immediately to Europe where Hillquit is attending the international congress.

New York City

Yipsels Aid Picnic—All Yipsels of New York City will be expected to serve on the Picnic Committee, today at Ulmer Park. They should report as early as 10 a.m. A baseball game will be played between the Y. P. S. L. and the Young Circle League for the benefit of the miners. The Y. P. S. L. has strong hopes of winning it back.

Miniature International Congress—A Miniature International Socialist and Labor Congress will be held on Sunday, August 2, at the Palisades Interstate Park. Various questions will be discussed by members of the Y. P. S. L., which will be of the type which the Congress now going on at Niagara will discuss. Further details will be announced next week, meanwhile circles should make arrangements to go en masse.

Abe Bricksy left the beginning of this week for a trip through the mine strike area. He has gone to obtain first-hand information on the strike and the relief methods employed by the party's relief committee. When he returns he will have much to tell.

Street Meetings

Noon Meeting
Tuesday, July 28, 12 noon—22nd street and Broadway. Manhattan: Speakers, Leonard Bright, Harry N. Perlmutter, David Kaplan, Benjamin Blumenthal.

Manhattan

Monday, July 27—137th street and 7th Avenue: Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Frank Pore, 138th street and Broadway: Speakers, Max Delmonico, J. Murphy, E. Koppel, Fred Hodgson, D. Black, B. Benjian, Waljerstein, H. Benson, B. Brastrow, L. Lieberman.

Tuesday, July 28—7th street and 2nd Avenue: Speakers, Milton Mandel, Max Eisenberg, Ethelred Brown, 7th Avenue: Speakers, Edward P. Gottlieb, J. Salter, Joseph Dean, D. M. Cory, L. C. Kaye, Schachner, Max Delson, Tim Murphy, E. Koppel, Fred Hodgson, D. Black, R. Benjian, Waljerstein, H. Benson, B. Brastrow, L. Lieberman.

Friday, July 31—22nd street and Broadway: Speakers, H. N. Perlmutter, Warren Montross.

Thursday, July 29—21st street and 8th Avenue: Speakers, Edward P. Gottlieb, J. Salter.

Saturday, Aug. 1—Columbus Circle: Speakers, David Fenwick and others.

Saturday, Aug. 1—137th street and 7th Avenue: Speakers, Ethelred Brown, F. Pore.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ EMBROIDERY UNION

Local 88, E. L. O. W. U. 1 E. 15th St. Algonquin 4-2837-3888. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the O.C. of the Union, 2 E. L. Friedman, President; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Strick, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potier, Rec. Sec'y.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL No. 8. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Locum, 945 Wiloughby Ave. Phone Plaza 4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Filman, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Strick, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potier, Rec. Sec'y.

HEBREW TRADERS

175 East Broadway: Telephone Drydock 8818. Meetings every Monday and Tuesday, 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-President; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL No. 10, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone Wia 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Perlmutter, Manager; Sec'y: Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Art. Manager.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. S. John Black, Attorney and Counsel, 225 B'way, Room 1701. New York, N. Y. Delegates meet at the Brooklyn Labor Secretariat, 949 10th Ave., Brooklyn, on the last Saturday of each month at 5:00 p.m.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

1 West 16th Street, New York City Telephone Cheeser 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION

A. C. W. of a Local "Big Four" Office, 40-42 W. 17th Street; Suyestant 5555. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p.m. in the office. Philip Oretsky, Manager; L. Kachin, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tomkins Square 5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6500-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schoenberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 133 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9870-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday at 7:30. Local 1, Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. 14 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunter 7018. Morris Kaufman, General President and Secretary.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.

LOCAL 101, 102, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 6-7332. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers Union. Office and headquarters, 245 Wiloughby Ave. Brooklyn, State 6708. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. Officers: President, J. H. Stenberg; Vice-President, Sam Koff; Business Agent, H. Kaimorff; Secretary, Samuel Minde; Treasurer, H. Heib.

Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present in concrete form, the ideas of progressive Youth. It includes contributions of news and views.

Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 1101, E. L. O. W. U. 1 E. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed. Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION

Local 489, Brotherhood of Painters, 100 West 14th Street, New York City. Regular Meetings every Wednesday evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street. P. W. Koff, President; Alvin Boettner, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

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INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

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, Harry W. Ladd, Norman Thomas, Joseph P. Kamp, Joseph T. S. Shuler, Louis W. Waldman.



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SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1931

Perils Facing the Unions

INFORMATION from Washington is that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when it meets on August 6, will face problems that indicate the climax of old conservative policies. It is obvious that among the miners there is no longer much respect for old policies and leadership and the members are fighting a desperate battle through a number of organizations. The promise of leading industrial magnates not to cut wages has proven dead sea fruit as might have been expected. The union "individualism" philosophy which prompted rejection of unemployment insurance legislation has also come back to haunt the council members. President Green, it is reported, will recommend an appeal to Congress for direct federal relief for the hungry millions. In various sections of the country it is said that some unions favor a protest strike against unemployment neglect, wage reductions and general misery.

What will be the answer to these problems? More of Wolf's "individualism" which masked Hooverism? If direct federal aid is demanded will this not be a "dole" according to the current philosophy? If a general protest strike is approved, how can there be any unity of action on the basis of unions so organized that cooperation is almost impossible? The best that could be done in the nature of a strike would be to recommend a one or two day "vacation" in all industries accompanied with great mass meetings of protest. That would make the misery and distress vivid and impressive.

Still more important. The council has no mandatory powers but it could frankly state to the workers of the nation that non-partisan political action has miserably failed and suggest that more effective action be taken in all future elections. This would mean a break with the parties of capitalism and approval of independent labor politics. Across our Canadian border the organized workers are rapidly shifting to this independent political action. This leaves American workers the only organized labor movement in the world that follows a policy belonging to the infant period of labor history. It is a dark period which the American working class is facing but out of it can come that fighting spirit, inspiration, and class consciousness that are essential to avert disaster. What will be your answer, gentlemen, on August 6?

Legion "Justice"

IT is a poor month that does not bring a report of a labor "trial" that resembles a Fascist court. California "justice" heads the list. Eight men said to be Communists who attempted to organize a strike of agricultural workers were sentenced to the longest terms of imprisonment ever imposed in a labor case in this country. However, the terms of five have been reduced from 3 to 42 years to one to 14 years, one has been released as he was not near the scene of the strike, and two are held for deportation. The case will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The character of the "trial" may be imagined from the cocky statement of the head of the American Legion at El Centro. "The way to kill the red plague is to dynamite it out," said the Legionaire. "That's what we did in Imperial County. The judge who tried the Communists was a Legionaire; 50 per cent of the jurors were war veterans. What chance did the Communists have? That's the way we stamped it out in our county."

Indeed, it is surprising that this popinjay did not demand that the trial be held by a Legion post. By his own admission the cards were stacked against the accused men and, of course, they didn't have a chance. Any man who cooly writes his approval of this is a scoundrel and should be quarantined against contact with civilized human beings.

Those who can help the Civil Liberties Union to carry the case to the U. S. Supreme Court should send their contributions to that organization at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Babbitt Sociology

A READER sends us a clipping from a San Francisco house organ of utility interests, gas and electricity, which chants the glories of private ownership. It quotes from John Marshall, the American jurist, who in his "Life of Washington" made a reference to communal ownership of land and produce in early seventeenth century Virginia. This experiment was abandoned and the land was divided and reverted back to private possession. The conclusion is that because communal possession proved a failure modern capitalist exploitation should be accepted without a murmur.

This is infantile reasoning that we expect from American Babbitts. They have no knowledge of the fact that historical change completely alters the character of problems. There were private estates later in Virginia that failed, especially during certain crises in tobacco culture, but such failures do not necessarily mean the failure of private enterprise under any and all conditions. At one period in history private enterprise is in accord with progress even though it may mean hardships for the working class; in another period such enterprise is a barrier to further progress and it is in the interest of workers to abolish it.

We now have reached the latter stage. Today private and corporation ownership of utilities, great industries, railroads and so on is not only a fetter upon progress but it has produced a hell of hunger and unemployment for millions. The capitalist system of production is today the greatest failure in all history, just as much a failure as the communal venture in Virginia in the seventeenth century. To reorganize it on a Socialist basis is not only to serve its victims but also to make further progress possible.

A Puzzling Unionism

ABOUT 10,000 workers employed by the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit corporation will have their wages "readjusted." In these days of declining wages it often happens that wages are not reduced. They are simply "readjusted." All workers except the motormen on the elevated and subway lines are affected by the wage cut. The latter belong to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the rest are conscripts of the company union maintained by the corporation. The wage reduction is made in spite of an increase of net income of nearly \$200,000 in excess of the previous year. The rugged individuals who own get more and the ragged individuals who work get less.

Whether the workers will be goaded into a strike by this revolting greed we do not know but some years ago they did and the struggle brought out an interesting situation. The motormen worked. They had a union and they had a contract. Other unions not connected with the transit lines helped the strikers. Sympathizers rode busses in support of the strikers.

There is a puzzle here. The lines were union and they were non-union at precisely the same time. They were union by action of the motormen and they were non-union by action of other unions. The motormen by remaining at work helped to break the strike but as union men they would insist that they were not strike-breakers. Workers who worked at other jobs on the lines, however, were known as strike-breakers.

These are the puzzles, conflicts, and contradictions that come of isolated unionism. Real solidarity is impossible and weakness is the result.

IN A NUTSHELL

To those who have no jobs and who are standing in the breadlines it will be comforting to know that the U. S. Department of Labor reports an average decrease of 2 per cent in retail food prices in 51 cities. As Mr. Dooley once said of automobiles, everybody has food or they know where they can get it.

With all the errors Socialists may commit, with all the temporary reverses that may fall to their lot, they are marching forward in the only forward movement in the world. All the forces of evolution are their allies and supporters, and their eyes are forever fixed upon the shining goal of emancipation.—Eugene V. Debs.

Everything is all right! Matthew Woll reports he has quite a number of corporations back of his ten year plan for the "stabilization" of American capitalism. There is a rumor afloat that the plan provides for an undertaking establishment to bury those who die of starvation in the meantime.

Error soon passes away, unless upheld by restraint on thought. History tells us (and the lesson is invaluable) that the physical force which has put down free inquiry has been the main bulwark of the superstitions and illusions of past ages.—Channing.

Socialism will be the holding company that will possess the powers of production and distribution with the members managing the industries for the welfare of all.

Socialism will work out the redemption of the wage slave without a sanguinary conflict. It is unfurling to the wind no battle banners except those inscribed with peace and good will to man.—Eugene Debs.

Of course, you cannot change human nature but changing conditions will make the same human nature express itself in diverse ways. Put a well educated and civilized man at sea on a raft with his fellows without food for a week and he will want to eat one of his associates in distress. His human nature does not change but his environment does. Beware of human nature expressed by starving men in the breadlines.

It is reported that Hoover hopes to cure coal ills. Thus far the Hoover pills for ills have only succeeded in sending his patients into convulsions.

A hundred years hence our descendants will consider us and our institutions with the same contempt we vouchsafe to the Middle Ages.—Zola.

News Flashes From Here And There

NATIONAL Industrial Conference Board, an employers research group, finds that "hourly-wage" rates in the building trades are 27.4 per cent higher than in 1923. The catch: while "hourly-rates" may be higher, total earnings have dropped away down. Building contracts awarded in 37 states in May were estimated at \$306,079,000,—a decline of 9 per cent below April. And building contracts this May, measured in dollars, were 33 per cent under what they were in May, 1930. Still, "hourly-wage" may be the best way of measuring wages in the building trades. An hour's work is all some of the workers get.

There were 1,331,138 employees on steam railroads on April 15th,—a decrease of 241,428 jobs since April 15th, 1930. . . . Class is thicker than patriotism. Filipino capitalists are strong opponents of independence for the islands, Clyde H. Tavenner, editor of the "Philippine Republic" declares. . . . The Voorhis School for Boys, Calif., sends checks for \$80 and \$23 to the West Virginia miners. The \$80 is money saved by the boys giving up a meal. . . . Not one labor measure was enacted into law in the last session of the Tennessee legislature. Three cheers for "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies!" . . . 8 I.W.W. have been arrested for carrying on organization work at Boulder Dam, at Las Vegas, N. Mexico. . . . Daily papers in Chicago are asked to carry appeals for public donations to feed hungry school children. . . . The bricklayers and masons international union is attempting to get Sec. of Labor Doak to take time off from deporting striking workers to enforce the "customary wage" law enacted by Congress to safeguard wages on Federal construction jobs. . . . Opposition of Chicago Federation of Labor temporarily blocks franchise grab of Illinois Bell Telephone Co. . . . Will County National Bank, third largest in Joliet, Illinois, closes front doors and repr ones too. . . . Three times as many men as were needed have flocked to Traverse City, Michigan, to get jobs picking cherries. . . . Silk weavers of Perkasie, Pa., have settled a week's strike with a compromise agreement. The Van Houten Silk Mill attempted to cut wages 50 per cent. . . . Part of a nation-wide fight against motion picture operators union seen in Chicago indictments charging union leaders with racketeering. . . . Maj.-Gen. Frank Parker wants all factories prepared and ready to turn out munitions on short notice. Peace is dull to major generals. . . . The Plaza theatre in Trenton, N. J., has enjoined movie operators against picketing. The men are striking against pay cut.



Drawn by Art Young.

The Paradox of American Labor

The Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung, chief organ of the Austrian Socialist party, is issuing a special edition on the occasion of the convening of the International Socialist Congress in Vienna this Saturday. Through the courtesy of the Arbeiter Zeitung, The New Leader is able to present the following article written by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party of America.

By Morris Hillquit

TO the Socialist trained in the Marxian ways of thought the American labor movement presents a puzzling paradox.

The United States is the country of the most advanced capitalist development, yet American labor is most backward in organization and achievements, political enlightenment and militancy. Only twelve per cent of the industrial workers are organized in trade unions and such trade unions as exist, are mostly conservative and often ineffective.

They are not united under one head. While the American Federation of Labor contains the majority of the organized workers of the United States, there are other workers, that have no organizational connection with it. Because most American unions are organized on archaic and narrow craft lines, their mutual relations are often marred by "jurisdictional disputes", i. e., controversies about their respective rights to certain overlapping types of work. These disputes sometimes degenerate into open warfare. Thus it happens that a building construction is tied up by a strike, not on account of any dispute between the workers and the employer but because of quarrels among the workers.

The American trade unions are not affiliated to the International Trade Union Federation and are practically isolated from the international labor movement.

Labor's Politics

In politics they are neutral or "non-partisan" in theory, but in practice they support the Democratic Party, one of the two ruling bourgeois parties of the

The Backwardness of Trade Unionism In An Advanced Industrial Nation

United States. The Democratic Party, which in times of electoral campaigns is fond of adopting more liberal slogans and catchwords than its sister party, the Republican, particularly on the subject of alcohol prohibition, in fact represents the same economic interests. Its backbone are the reactionary Southern states, notorious for their merciless exploitation of child labor.

With the exception of some rudimentary and totally inadequate forms of old-age pensions recently adopted by several states, there is no system of social insurance in America and none is demanded or seemingly wanted by organized labor. Odd as it may seem the American Federation of Labor is opposed in principle to all forms of social legislation on the ground that it represents a species of dangerous paternalistic governmental interference with the affairs of the workers.

Socialism's Difficult Task

The last annual convention of the Federation was held in the Fall of 1930, in the midst of the severe business depression and in the face of an alarming increase of unemployment. In the course of the discussions an isolated Socialist delegate suggested the need of unemployment insurance. The suggestion was scornfully rejected by the heads of the Federation, who stigmatized unemployment insurance as a "dole" humiliating and degrading to the dependent and sovereign citizen of the United States. Later it was decided that the Executive Council would study the subject, and now when unemployment in America has reached the staggering estimate of seven or eight millions, and hundreds of thousands of our independent and sovereign workers are begging at the doors of private charity, filling municipal lodging houses, standing in degrading "bread lines" in the industrial cities, or quietly starving, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is still studying the subject of unemployment insurance.

With this intellectual and psychological background, it is obvious that the Socialist movement, which is always nourished by the

working class in each country and reflects its strength or weakness, has an exceptionally difficult task in America.

From 1900, when the present Socialist Party was organized, until 1917, when the United States entered the war, American Socialism made steady progress in spite of the heavy odds against it. While it was generally rejected by the official trade union movement, it had the support of an ever growing number of individual union members and other workers. It reached a dues-paying membership of about 120,000 cast about a million votes in the country, elected representatives in a number of state legislatures, controlled several important cities and had an influential press and effective organizations in each of the forty-eight states.

If the Socialist movement in the United States had continued its steady march of progress in an unbroken line, it would today be a potent political power in the land. But its progress was to be checked suddenly and violently. The determined anti-war attitude of the Socialist party in 1917 and 1918 provoked a campaign of terroristic reprisal on the part of the "liberal" Wilsonian administration. Its publications were suppressed, its meetings prohibited and its leaders jailed. In some parts of the country, the party was literally and physically destroyed by government persecution and mob violence. The wave of anti-Socialist terrorism continued several years after the war, and when it finally spent its force America found itself in the throes of a crass materialism and a depressing political apathy, the combined psychological effects of the war and prosperity, which permeated all sections of the population and reached down to the working classes.

It is under these disheartening conditions that the Socialist party has been carrying on a stubborn, though, for the time being, unsuccessful struggle during the past ten years and more.

The Obstacles in the Path

The paradoxical backwardness of the labor and Socialist movements in the United States can be explained on historical, economic

and psychological grounds too numerous and intricate for complete analysis in a short article.

The development of American capitalism, while it has been very thoroughgoing, is of comparatively recent origin. When the industrial revolution was practically accomplished in England, the United States was still an agricultural country. The very rapidity of capitalist growth with its kaleidoscopic social and economic changes has retarded the crystallization of classes and the development of class consciousness among the workers. Up to the end of the last century, there was still an abundance of cheap land which served as an escape from wage slavery. The natural wealth of the country was immense and unexploited. New industries constantly sprang up, new colossal fortunes were made, work was abundant, wages comparatively good, and with short interruptions during the cyclical periods of depression, the country was prosperous.

The economic stimulus for working class organization and struggle was thus weaker than in the industrial countries of Europe and the technical difficulties to the formation of effective labor organizations were infinitely greater. The tremendous expanse of the country, its division into forty-eight separate sovereign states with different laws and administrations, and, above all, the mixed racial composition of the working class, coming from all parts of the world, with different languages, habits, traditions and degrees of culture, may be noted as some difficulties.

But all of these obstacles are fast diminishing and gradually disappearing. The process of industrial development has been accomplished in the United States and its capitalist character definitely fixed. It is no longer a country of pioneers or the "land of opportunity." The capitalist classes as well as the working classes have acquired a permanent and hereditary status. Thrown together in their labor and lives the workers of the different racial origins are becoming more homogeneous and co-operative. In brief economic conditions and relations in America tend to lose their specific and distinctive features and to assimilate themselves to those of Europe.

In this respect the catastrophic industrial depression which has afflicted the country for almost ten years without any visible signs of relief, with its unexampled toll of unemployment and misery marks a historical turning point.

With one cruel blow it shattered all complacent illusions about the superiority of the American capitalists of industry and the permanence of American prosperity. It forced upon thinking Americans the reluctant realization that the economic problems and troubles of our "youthful and vigorous" country are not essentially different from those of the old world. It laid bare all the shortcomings and failures of the capitalist order.

The Depression and Socialism
The unexpected industrial collapse finds the organized labor movement as dazed and helpless as our ruling classes. In the general bewilderment and mental panic the Socialists of America are the only ones to offer a plausible explanation of the calamity and a practical program for relief.

And the Socialist message appeals to the masses of the workers with a persuasiveness and conviction such as it has not had in many years. In spite of the comparative weakness of the Socialist party it is fast acquiring a vital influence on public opinion, which is bound to be translated in the near future into numbers with respect to party membership and electoral votes.

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The New Leader Mail-Bag

WEST VIRGINIA MINERS

Editor, The New Leader:
In West Virginia, ninety thousand miners and miners' families have decided that starvation at the pit heads is preferable to starvation underground. Their strike is being led by an old Socialist, Frank Kenney. It represents a vigorous attempt to smash that Lewis organization of conciliators and union "salesmen" which in ten years has obliterated every vestige of militant unionism. In fact of any unionism at all in the West Virginia fields. It is also one of the most valiant attempts to smash the feudal despotism of the coal barons of the last ten years.

In Pennsylvania, too, many thousands are in rebellion against conditions of semi-starvation. This resurgence of revolutionary unionism has been met with the characteristic weapons of the coal owners: in Pennsylvania, systematic murder by deputized gangsters; in West Virginia, confiscation of the miners' back pay by closing the company stores, and thus confronting them with starvation.

In this situation, the Socialist Party must take a vigorous stand. Not only should relief be sent to both coal fields, but the time is ripe for a nation-wide Socialist campaign for nationalization of the mines. The terrible conditions of labor in the coal fields demand this as the sole solution. The demoralizing destruction of the "miner's freedom" through the minute dictatorship of the company towns is a reversion to feudalism

which no Socialist movement can tolerate. The economic conditions of the industry likewise demand socialization. Without unification of operation and control, efficient and scientific utilization of by-product, and unified coal transportation, the miner's wage will either remain at an insufficient level, or unemployment at the pit heads will increase.

These three reasons, the emergence of militant unionism in the mining districts; the existence of that unique system of slavery, the company town; and the economic disaster of the industry, all require that the S. P. come forward with a concrete plan for nationalization acceptable to the miners, and demand the adoption of that plan throughout the nation.

My concrete suggestions are that the Public Affairs Committee take the matter in hand, either acting itself or through a sub-committee. That the plan be concrete enough to be put into immediate operation. That the plan be drafted with the cooperation of the miners, and that the agitation for its acceptance be carried on jointly with them. That the plan involve workers' representation on the several boards of control.

While I consider that the above proposal should be acted on immediately, in no sense do I wish this agitation to supplant the more urgent task of helping the miners win their strike.

BERTHA POOLE WEYL,
NATHANIEL WEYL,
New York City.

The National Executive Committee at its last session decided to issue a leaflet of the character mentioned above and the leaflet is probably in type now and ready for distribution. It can be obtained from the National Office of the Socialist Party in Chicago.

In the matter of relief there is possibility of lack of cooperation in spreading the relief over three fields. The Socialist Party is taking care of the Pennsylvania field through the initiative of the Pittsburgh Socialists. This committee is also being enlarged on a national scale.

West Virginia and Kentucky also need aid. It might be well for the relief committee headed by Norman Thomas and the C. P. L. A. to give attention to these two fields. The New Leader gave special attention to the urgent need of relief work for the destitute miners and their families on several occasions.

In every party branch in this and other cities the members should be urged without delay to give shoes, clothing and other supplies they can spare and organize the collection and shipment of these necessities without delay. Every member who can also spare a cash contribution should give it without delay. It is no exaggeration to say that men, women and children are starving in the mining areas. The conditions faced by the miners are a living hell. Do not delay. Take this matter up in your branch and act now!—Editor, The New Leader.