

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Pastures for Sheep, Mutton for Wolves—Hoover Approves Chase—Coal and the Miners—Thanks to Pennsylvania Socialists—Firing Educators

SHEEP AND WOLVES TO FRATERNIZE

AND so I asked the sheep and the wolves to have a conference together to decide how to have better pastures for the sheep and better mutton for the wolves." (Extract from Matt Wolf's latest Bedtime Story for the National Civic Federation.)



NORMAN THOMAS

THE HOOVER REVELATION

AT Indianapolis Herbert Hoover committed himself to capitalist chaos, the latest protective tariff and all, and then had the nerve to call his vision of a future spurt of prosperity an American plan!

Meanwhile the railroads want 15% increases in rates. (The shippers do not!) Coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, Northern West Virginia and Southeastern Ohio are in what is virtually a spontaneous revolt against starvation. Millions of the unemployed are near despair, and Hoover has no plan.

How can anyone have a plan for the wellbeing of the nation who has to think piecemeal of what the railroads want, of the sickness of the coal industry and the plight of the farmers? And how can anyone plan for these things in terms of the wellbeing of the workers as producers and consumers as long as the interest of the profit takers is put first, as it must be under the capitalist system?

SOCIALIZATION OF COAL

WITH all my heart and soul I hope that effective, honest and intelligent organization of the miners will come out of their present revolt. Strong industrial unions are indispensable to the socialist cause. But it is wholly impossible for any union in the coal fields to be so strong that it can cure a sick industry by itself. There is no way out but nationalization of coal. Let's see what the situation requires. (1) Some expert authority must decide what coal should be mined now, what should be kept for the future, and what mines could be abandoned as too inefficient and costly. (2) This same expert authority must look forward to the relation of coal to efficient electrification of the country. (3) It must plan the rate of introduction of machinery with a view to shortening the working day and absorbing extra workers in other industries. (4) Some public agency must give out of work miners who cannot even now be re-absorbed in an overdeveloped industry unemployment indemnity and help to place them in other lines.

A job like this can only be done when the people collectively own their own coal and can plan for it as they do for a whole national economy. There are even today no insuperable legal or practical difficulties in the way of acquiring a preponderant ownership of the coal of America by the nation. The difficulties would be of our own making. They would arise from the psychology of defeat and from the greed of owners who would try to get from the government they now own fancy prices for a dead horse. A party and strong unions of workers could deal with these difficulties.

On the other hand there is no conceivable way of dealing with coal without nationalization. The Pittsburgh Press, commenting editorially on a vigorous resolution of Pittsburgh socialists for socialization of coal, says that we ought to have started that way but to propose it now is "reaching for the moon." It gives no reason at all to prove that it is "reaching for the moon." It merely asserts that the debate on the subject would last to the time of our great grandchildren. Long before that if we have not had intelligent socialism we will have had a general bust-up and a state of hell hotter than any coal can make.

The Press's idea of constructive leadership is conference between the miners and operators. That might do a little good. It would do a great deal of good if Lewis and his gang hadn't come so near to wrecking, with the aid of external circumstances, a once mighty organization. But even if the union were strong, no conference with a multitude of operators could plan production or deal drastically with the problems of an industry in which about twice too many coal mines have been opened. That sort of planning depends on socialization and there is nothing more utopian than the Press's talk of constructive leadership which dodges this issue.

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIALISTS

SOCIALISTS the nation over owe a debt of thanks to the socialist representatives, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson, from Reading, for making the Legislature face facts and socialist solutions. The socialists now are trying to force Governor Pinchot to call an extra session of the Legislature to deal with unemployment. More power to them!

Meanwhile from Philadelphia comes news of one of the most honest and hopeful rank and file labor party movements in recent years. There is fine cooperation between this movement and the Socialist Party. The best proof that the movement means something is this: Some of the hosiery strikers, with the approval of their officials, are refusing the little favors that old party politicians can and sometimes do perform for pickets when they are arrested. They are staying in jail an extra day rather than putting themselves in debt to old party politicians who always demand an excessive price for little favors. It is a pity that some of our C.P.A. friends, who at times are disposed to criticize Socialists as lacking in working class militancy, did not take this Philadelphia point of view into account. If so, they would not have made the shrewd Republican politician, Congressman LaGuardia, whatever his personal virtues, their principal spokesman in behalf of the Brooklyn Edison employees who were thrown out of their jobs. That is not the way to build up the working class organization, both political and economic, that they talk about.

EDUCATIONAL FACTORIES

VERY brief letter from a friend in North Carolina tells me that that fine man, citizen, and educator, who dares to think and speak for himself, Dean Carl Taylor, lost his job at the North Carolina State College in Raleigh in very much the same way and for about the same sort of absurd alleged reasons as cost Herbert A. Miller his place in Ohio State University. The bosses may talk "plan" but the plan they act on is to keep our universities docile. New York City has its own troubles in the matter of the professors who have lost their jobs at the Long Island University. That also will bear public inquiry.

COAL RELIEF; WAGES AT WEST POINT

TWO things I emphatically want to endorse: 1. The appeal for relief made by the Socialist Party in Pittsburgh for the benefit of the starving and striking miners, victims of injunctions, coal and iron police, and cosacks, as well as well as of the general depression. 2. The effort of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in Rockland County to compel the government to pay painters on building construction in West Point the prevailing rate of union wages. In what seems to be direct violation of law and is certainly violation of the letter and spirit of Hoover's advice to employers, the government is now paying at West Point the lowest wage scale that has ever prevailed in that section.

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VOL. XII.—No. 25

Published Weekly at
7 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1931

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

Price Five Cents

Fight Starvation! A Call To Action

An Appeal to the Laboring Men and Women of the United States to Fight for the Relief the Nation's Rulers Have Denied Them

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES: We are in the third year of an industrial breakdown without indications of a recovery this year. Over six million workers are unemployed. Including their families over 20,000,000 human beings face want and destitution in our cities.

Not less than 2,000,000 working farmers also face stark privation. Including their families, at least 6,000,000 tillers of the soil endure distressing poverty.

A reasonable estimate of the number of workers on the farms and in industry who suffer acute distress brings the total at not less than 26,000,000!

This does not include the wage workers employed at part time and those whose wages have been cut. It does not include those working farmers who still manage to draw upon their savings. These groups live on a scale just above destitution. Their standard of living is sinking. Many will eventually drift into the breadlines.

3,000,000 FARMERS LEAVE THE SOIL

A recent survey in New York City shows that the incomes of some working class families have been cut in half within two years. In some New England textile mills girls are working for as low as three dollars a week. Wages are being cut all over the nation.

During the past fifteen years more than 3,000,000 farmers have deserted the farms. Within twelve years the value of farms and their equipment has decreased from 78 billion dollars to 58 billion dollars. The farm mortgage debt has increased about eight billion dollars in the same period. In the period of 1921-1929 farm bankruptcies have averaged about 5,660 each year.

Three times since the seventies the farmers have either burned their grain for fuel or fed it to their hogs. During these periods, workers in the cities have been lacking bread.

THE RULING PARTIES DESERT THE WORKERS

The Government and the dominant political parties do little or nothing to meet this tragic situation.

A Republican Congress adjourns without adopting any adequate measures of relief.

The Democratic National Committee met last March, ignored

the jobless workers and hungry farmers, and decided to raise \$6,000,000 for the Democratic campaign next year.

The so-called "Progressives" in Congress met one week later, decided to "investigate" the extent of the suffering and adjourned!

In the cities and states relief funds are raised by charitable organizations but the degrading charitable relief is ludicrously inadequate to provide for the wants of millions who are destitute.

Never in our history has there been such stupidity, such indifference, and such neglect in facing a terrible calamity. The two leading political parties have no word of hope, no program, for starving men, women, and children.

A BITTER WINTER AHEAD

Within five months we will face another winter. A great crisis will be here. Within millions of bleak households women and children will lack food and clothing. Blind despair and food riots are likely to follow. To anticipate this crisis and attempt to meet it is the duty of every victim of our bankrupt economic and political system.

We cannot afford to let conditions drift to certain disaster. The time for thinking and action has arrived. The initiative must come from the labor army in agriculture and industry.

The powers of government are in the hands of parties and politicians owned by capitalist interests. Those powers were voted into their hands and we can vote them back into our hands. The working masses of the nation must desert the parties of capitalism and organize to take over the governing powers in city, state, and nation.

The Socialist Party warns of the approaching disaster unless we take our cause into our own hands. The welfare of our families depends upon us. Our very numbers make us a vast political power. Let us use it for our relief.

We cannot wait for the November elections, important as they are. The need for action is so urgent that it must be taken before winter arrives.

Local Socialist and Labor organizations in every city must take

measures against the impending disaster. They must organize into permanent councils for unemployment relief.

WORKERS MUST ORGANIZE THEIR FORCES

These councils should survey local conditions, draft measures for relief, and present them to the city administrations. The whole membership of the affiliated bodies should march to the city halls when these measures are presented. Public meetings should be held to enlist the support of the unemployed masses.

In every state these city councils of labor and Socialist bodies should arrange emergency state conferences to formulate measures for the state legislatures. A state executive of responsible men and women should be in charge of publicity and arrange for a huge rally at each state capital when the state program is presented to the legislature.

Organizations of working farmers in their respective localities should also formulate measures for relief. They should link up with the state councils and cooperate in determined action for a common program. A solidarity of urban and rural workers will force concessions from the reluctant politicians who are permitting us to drift to ruin and disaster.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon its local organizations to seek the cooperation of labor and farmer organizations for these ends. The committee will be ready to provide the councils with a program adapted to the grave emergency.

Every week that passes increases the calamity and despair. We urgently call upon the workers of the country to take speedy action.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Morris Hillquit, National Chairman; Meta Berger, Wisconsin; Daniel W. Hoan, Wisconsin; Alfred Baker Lewis, Massachusetts; James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania; Jasper McLevy, Connecticut; James O'Neal, New York; Joseph W. Sharts, Ohio; Lilith M. Wilson, Pennsylvania; Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 14th.

Socialists Move National Office To Washington

National Committee Makes Decision, Effective This Fall, at Pittsburgh Session

SENIOR REPORTS BIG PARTY SPURT

National Party Bulletin Authorized—Organizing Secretary to Be Hired

(By A Special New Leader Corr.)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Reporting an almost doubled circulation of Socialist literature, and an increased development of local leadership within the party, as the most heartening aspects of the present condition of American Socialism, Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary, recommended to the National Executive Committee, which met here June 13 and 14, that the party establish an official monthly bulletin, that a visiting organizer be appointed for six months next year for the purpose of arousing dormant locals to new life, and that a definite effort be made to increase the circulation of Socialist literature through party channels.

"Persons who have been active in the Socialist movement for years, or persons entirely new to the movement," Senior says, "are playing leading roles in the revival of party organizations in various parts of the country. This is one of the first indications of real possibilities for a mass Socialist movement that has occurred since the present depression began."

Seeks More Closely Knit Party An official National Headquarters organ, the report suggests, would be invaluable in centralizing the work of scattered party units around definite objectives, and in giving individual party members a feeling that they are "part of an organization that knows where it wants to go, knows what to do to get there, and is determined at all costs to arrive."

Such a bulletin, Senior estimates, could be printed at a cost that should not exceed 25 cents per year per member.

Speakers and Literature Pointing out the success that had been attained by Frank R.

Socialist Reading Is Asked to Aid Neighbor

(By A New Leader Correspondent) READING, Pa.—The borough of West Reading has asked the Socialist city government of Reading to furnish it with sanitary inspection service on the milk used in that borough, after an investigation of commercial chemists had convinced it that the Reading municipal service would be better and at smaller cost. Reading is already flushing the streets of West Reading and supplying its water.

Northwestern Slashes Wages By 10 Per Cent

Unorganized Clerks First, Laborers Next, Is Program of Rail

CHICAGO—(FP)—The Chicago & Northwestern Railroad has begun wholesale wage cutting, following up wholesale layoffs. Unorganized clerks have already been made to take 10 per cent cuts. At the same time the railroad announced to the maintenance employees that it will decree a similar cut for them June 21. So far, however, the brotherhood of maintenance of way employees has halted this by appealing to the U. S. board of mediation. The union will fight the wage cut.

The company would cut the pay of section laborers to a maximum of 38 cents an hour from 41 cents. Other laborers have been told that their pay will be cut to 35 cents an hour. So far members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have not been affected.

The Northwestern is believed the first major western road to put a wage cut into effect. Other roads are expected to attempt to follow suit.

Massachusetts Jobs Drop State Report Shows

BOSTON—(FP)—Employment and weekly payrolls both dropped abruptly from April to May in Massachusetts, the state labor department reports.

Socialist Party Demands Govt. Ownership End Anarchy and Misery in Coal Fields

(By A New Leader Correspondent) PITTSBURGH.—The anarchy and misery brought to the coal industry by private ownership calls for immediate action toward government ownership and operation. This was the declaration in a resolution adopted here last week-end by the national executive committee of the Socialist party. Said the resolution: "When coal miners in Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia or in the Pittsburgh district go on strike against conditions that equal starvation, our political and industrial rulers refer to the 'anarchy' in the coal mining areas."

"Marching armies of hungry and desperate miners are not anarchy, but the result of the anarchy of unregulated competition that has characterized this industry's administration, together with outrageous despotism in the relation of the mine owners to the men who are trying to make their living by productive labor in the industry. Against this vicious combination of anarchy and despotism the national executive committee of the Socialist Party registers its bitter and insistent protest."

"We do not merely protest, but we have a remedy. Private ownership in the mining industry has proven its inability to pay a living wage to the miners, or to organize the industry with any regard to the needs of the national life. We propose to have the people, through the instruments of government, take over the mining industry, beginning with coal, and operate and administer it, in the combined interest of the miner and the consumer instead of in the interest of the incompetent and autocratic private owners of coal property."

Join the Miners' Fight!

THIS is an urgent appeal to save courageous human beings from starvation! Twenty thousand or more coal miners are out on strike in western Pennsylvania, in the Counties of Allegheny, Westmoreland, Washington, Greene and Fayette. Every day the strike is spreading. At its inception, it seems to have been almost a spontaneous rebellion of the coal-diggers against their miserable existence. It is generally admitted that, before the strike, the miners were subsisting on starvation wages even while they went into the dark pits two or three days a week, always with their lives at stake. Over twenty thousand miners, and two or three times as many more women and children, innocent victims, are now destitute. They are people without present or future hope. Those living in company houses are being rapidly dispossessed, and have nowhere to lay their heads. The unions in the field have no strike relief funds. Daily hundreds of calls are coming from despairing towns and villages for aid. How blessed, and yet how futile are the few truckloads of bread and other foodstuffs that are being sent into the strike area by labor unions. These people are STARVING NOW, TODAY! They MUST be helped.

An Appeal to the Nation "THE MINERS RELIEF FUND," which is organized by the Socialist Party of Allegheny County is appealing not only to the people of Western Pennsylvania, but to the people of the whole nation for relief. There is no finer record than that of the Socialist Party and affiliated organizations during the miners strike of 1927, when over \$100,000 was raised in provisions and cash throughout the country for the Western Pennsylvania district.

A responsible committee has been appointed to handle the administration and distribution of funds and supplies. No money will be spent on an expensive office force, or on rent; services will be furnished GRATUITOUSLY, on a volunteer basis. The funds will be used to purchase the necessities of life, and distribution will be made by the Committee DIRECTLY to the miners, with no favoritism to anyone! A HEALTH CENTER has been established composed of two groups; one will be a staff of physicians and the other of dentists, who have agreed to contribute their services free to the ailing and under-nourished children and dependents of the miners. Materials will be paid for by "THE MINERS RELIEF FUND."

We appeal to you, as individual or organization, to send your contribution for as much as you can afford; if you can send no money send food and other supplies. Won't you help these courageous coal diggers and their families? Make your check payable to "MINERS RELIEF FUND, JANE TAIT, TREASURER," and send them, or your supplies, to Room 613 Lyceum Building, 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. The following are the Committee in charge: Julius Weisberg, Chairman; Jane Tait, Treasurer; Robert Lieberman, Maurice Schneirov, and Sarah Limbach, Executive Secretary.

SARAH LIMBACH, Exec. Sec'y, Socialist Party of Penn.

Courts Aim Blow At Mine Strike; Pinchot Watched

Mooney Pardon Appeal To Be Argued June 29

Frank P. Walsh, volunteer attorney for Tom Mooney, will argue in support of Mooney's new application for an unconditional pardon before Gov. James R. R. on June 29. Meanwhile petitions urging the release of both Mooney and Warren Billings continue to pour in on the governor from many parts of the country. Similar urging was voiced in recent editorials in leading California newspapers.

Bail Refused Imprisoned Harlan Miners

Judge Hurries Back to Town to Thwart Plea to Release Men

HARLAN, Ky.—(FP)—Another attempt to get bail fixed for the coal miner prisoners held in the Harlan County jail by Judge D. C. Jones has failed. Judge Jones went to a convention recently at Danville, Ky., out of the county, making it possible for the miners' lawyer to ask a writ of habeas corpus from City Judge Addison Ayers. The writ was issued, returnable at 9 a. m. the next day. Jones' stooge pigeons wired him. He cancelled his speech, drove all night to get back to Harlan, and blocked the writ the next morning.

This was the second attempt to release the men on bail. The first had been in the form of a writ before Circuit Judge R. S. Rose on behalf of William Rightower, W. C. Jones, Joe Cawood, Asa Cusick, Al Benson and two others. Jailor Leslie Ball produced the prisoners in a courtroom guarded by militia, gunmen and deputies, and the miners' lawyers filed affidavits supporting their motion that Judge Jones should vacate the bench. The affidavits set forth that the judge had taken the lead in the fight on the union, that he was a bitter enemy of Cawood and had denounced him in big advertisements when Cawood was running for sheriff and Jones for judge.

Two Anti-Injunction Bills Await Signature of Self-Styled "Progressive Governor"

P.A. COURT RUSHES TO AID OPERATORS

Revolt of Coal Diggers Spreads—Police Continue Repressive Measures Against Workers

By Arthur G. McDowell

PITTSBURGH.—With the issuance of one of the most sweeping injunctions in Pennsylvania's long history of strikebreaking by the state, the issue of free trade union organization is put squarely to Gov. Gifford Pinchot, most prominent candidate among progressive Republicans for candidate for the presidency in 1932. The writ forbids union men to persuade miners to strike, as well as denying peaceful picketing.

The reasons that the issues are put up to Pinchot are manifold. First, the governor had just written a letter to the sheriffs of the five strike-ridden counties in which he had said that while he would suppress all disorder he intended to guarantee miners the right peacefully to picket and parade. The sheriffs had given their pledge of cooperation on this basis. Now the miners are asking whether Pinchot will move to carry out that policy.

Second, and most important, there are two anti-injunction bills on the governor's desk at Harrisburg which, if signed by him, would weaken the court's attack on the workers. One bill provides for a hearing in open court before a preliminary injunction is granted, which may then stand but for five days, and trial with jury before another judge than the one issuing the writ on contempt charges. These bills were drawn by Pinchot's attorney general; they were passed as administration measures; but they have not been signed and Pinchot only has until June 26 to decide what to do with his own measures. His friends express confidence he will not.

B'klyn Parade Demands Aid For Jobless

Demonstration Also Denounces Michigan Anti-Alien Legislation—Big Rally Held

BROWNVILLE and East New York burst through the crust of inertia and last Saturday staged one of the most successful Socialist demonstrations of recent years. With banners flying, slogans held high, the band playing the stirring music of revolt, hundreds of Socialists, Yipsels, members of the Young Circle League, and just plain workers, stepped down Pitkin avenue.

While paraders assembled at Pitkin and Howard avenues, the music attracted hundreds of workers and their families, some of whom joined the line of march. Finally at seven o'clock the parade began. From the sidewalks people streamed in and crowded the already well-filled sidewalks. They cheered the slogans which read "Down with Jim Crowism," "Free the Scottsboro Boys," "Join the Socialist Party," "Read the New Leader," "Down with Michigan Anti-Alien Law," "We Want Jobs or Job Insurance."

As the parade proceeded down Pitkin avenue, a Communist meeting adjourned to the real business of the day by booing and acting in their practiced pathological manner to express disapproval. The strength of their chorus was unexpectedly increased by a half hundred crying babies. The parade went on in high spirits down to Stone avenue, and then on to Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues.

A large speakers stand was erected at this corner, a loudspeaker was installed and over a thousand workers massed around the stand holding the placards aloft and presenting a sight that old timers thought they would never again behold. Until 10:30 the speaking went on, with the crowd's size constantly increasing. The speakers were Dr. Louis Sadoff, Judah Altman, Lawrence Cohen, A. J. Shipiloff, Charles Solomon, Jacob Axelrod, and Frank Rosenfarb. Jack Altman presided. Comrade Altman was also the head of the very efficient arrangements committee.

The comrades in Brooklyn, encouraged by the display of widespread enthusiasm, are now preparing plans for what should be the most energetic campaign in years.

Brownsville Names Altman And Friedman

Socialists Pick Candidates to Lead Campaign This Fall

An enthusiastic and excellently attended meeting of the 23rd Assembly District Branch of the Socialist Party, Brooklyn, was held last Monday night. Jack Altman was nominated for Assembly, and Samuel H. Friedman for Alderman.

Friedman, Brownsvillites will remember, made a most effective campaign when he ran for Assembly in the same district. Although it was a relatively unexciting year for a campaign, the campaign of Friedman left an impression in Brownsville. For the first time in several years, the Socialists came in second. Altman, who is manager of the Rand School Book Store, is a popular figure on the street corners of the district as a party speaker. He has become known as an effective propagandist and party worker. Much is expected of him and Friedman in the coming campaign.

One innovation of Monday's nominations, is the fact that these candidates will be expected to begin their campaign immediately and to be ready to run every campaign following, until they bring the Party to victory in this district.

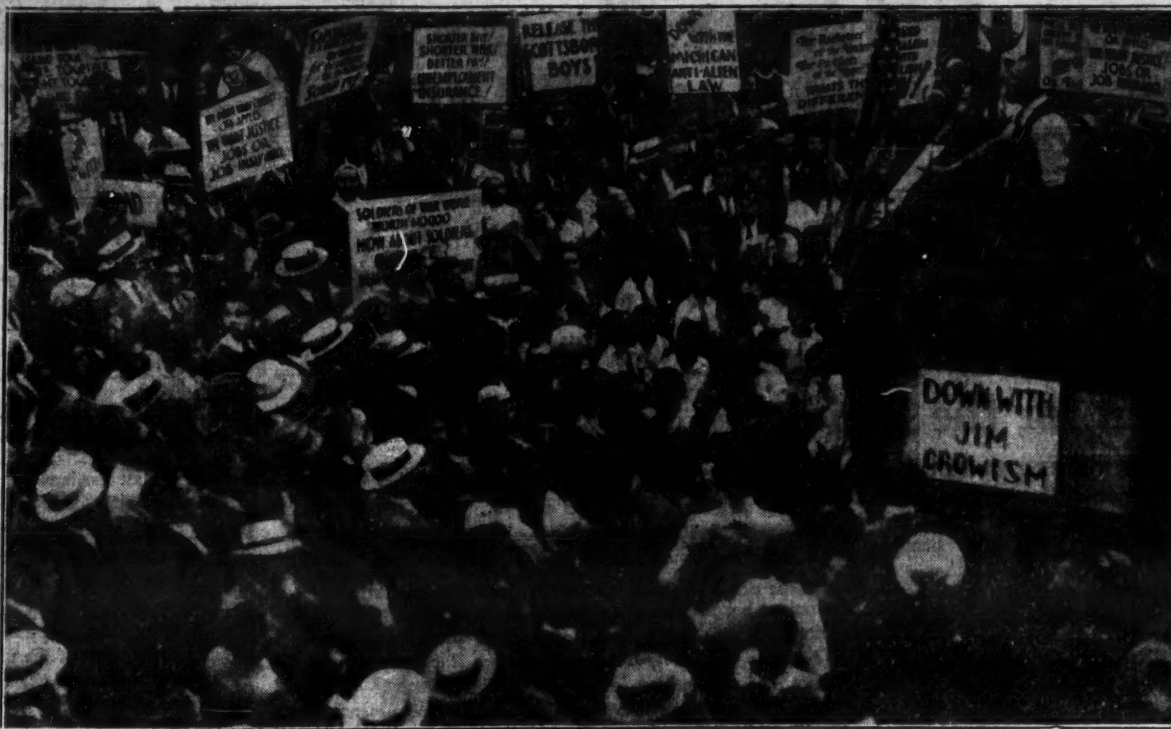
OPEN AIR MEETINGS afford an excellent opportunity for disposing of copies of THE NEW LEADER. Selling the paper regularly at the meetings opens the way for securing regular subscribers.

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Socialist Parade Voices Demands of Jobless Workers



Socialist Party Headquarters to Move to Washington

(Continued from Page One)

Crosswain, in a three-month organization tour, recommendation was made that another six-month campaign be launched for next year, more definitely aimed at strengthening party locals.

Plans for propaganda on behalf of a "Workers Rights" amendment to the United States Constitution, which would give Congress broad powers to pass social legislation without interference from the Supreme Court, were given. This amendment, it was reported, had been presented in resolution form in state legislatures, would be pushed in the Socialist press, and may be one of the subjects for nationwide debate in schools and colleges next year.

A suggestion that speakers utilize some of the free advertising pictures, both silent and "talkies," to point out Socialist principles, was another point brought out in Senior's report.

The committee met in the Mayfair Hotel on Penn Avenue Saturday morning and immediately took up the report of the National Secretary. Its members agreed that the National Office is so burdened with work that one man giving his entire time to organization is essential to take advantage of opportunities that now face the American Socialist movement. It was decided that the committee should appoint an organizing secretary to devote all his time to organization work, increasing the party membership, and assist in financing this work.

Marx Lewis and Powers Hapgood were mentioned as probably being available and later in the session the committee voted to move the headquarters to Washington in the fall. The value of Washington as a center of publicity is obvious and as Comrade Lewis is a resident of Washington, Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal were authorized to confer with him regarding his availability and to report the results of the conference to the next meeting of the committee.

Referendum on Dues
The dues system of the party was again considered but a general discussion of the matter resulted in a decision to postpone action for the present. Later this was reconsidered when the matter of a party bulletin was up for consideration. The committee adopted a motion that it was the sense of the committee that the party constitution should be amended so as to provide for annual dues of one dollar to the National Office of which 25 cents shall be set aside to send a monthly bulletin to all party members. The Executive Secretary was instructed to urge locals to make seconds to and vote this proposal.

Of organization work being done by the states the Executive Secretary reported California has two full time workers in the field but Pennsylvania has for the present been forced to discontinue its two organizers because of lack of funds. Connecticut will have a full time organizer this summer and one will work in Westchester County, N. Y., for three weeks. W. L. Garver, state secretary of Missouri, will make an organization trip in that state and possibly through Kansas and Virginia will have one in the field in July. A. Levin of

Los Angeles is working in the state of Washington. About a dozen applications for volunteer organization work have been received by the National Office as a result of the call authorized by the last meeting of the committee but only two states, New York and Kansas, had applied for their services. The Executive Secretary is planning to place these volunteers in weak or unorganized states.

Tours for Speakers
The tour of Frank Crosswain to the Pacific Coast and back has proven a success and the deficit for three months' work was only \$164.58. Over a hundred new members were gained, locals and branches were strengthened, and much publicity was obtained. Requests have come in for return dates at many points and the Executive Secretary was authorized to make another tour for Comrade Crosswain. He was also authorized to ascertain whether a tour cannot be arranged for August. As Mrs. Rena Mooney may come East an effort will also be made to obtain dates for her.

The possibility of signing up one or more British Socialists for speaking tours was also considered and Executive Secretary Senior was instructed to learn at the International Socialist Congress what speakers may be obtained and also the terms that can be made. He will also collect data on the youth movement abroad.

The unemployed situation came up in connection with a suggested program offered by the Three Rivers Branch in Michigan and supported by the 24th Ward Branch of Chicago. A substitute was offered by Hillquit and O'Neal which provides for linking up Socialist locals, working class and farmer organizations in each state. This was adopted and is being sent out as "A Call to the Laboring Millions of the United States." It is hoped that many trade union and farmer publications will display it and that Socialists in each state will take the initiative in putting this program over and getting the masses organized for education and action.

A program of caravan field agitation by the League for Industrial Democracy was referred to O'Neal of the organization committee. The appearance of some independent weekly papers brought up the matter of party policy in relation to these publications and the committee decided that privately owned papers and enterprises should not be given endorsement or party lists of names and addresses without the consent of the committee.

Delegates to Vienna Congress
Pittsburgh comrades reported the revolting conditions which faced the miners in the western section of the state. Some who are unorganized, some who had scabbed a year or two ago, and others who are organized are out on strike against the most frightful privations they have ever faced. Pittsburgh Socialists have established a relief committee and their statement of the situation was adopted by the committee.

Since the last meeting of the committee more applications had been received for credentials as delegates and guest delegates to the Congress of the Labor and Socialist International which meets in Vienna in July. The following is the list of delegates: Morris Hillquit, Clarence Senior, Algernon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Jesse Wallace Hughes, Evelyn West Huggan, Julius Gerber, Sol Rifkin, Louis Sadoff, Meyer Halushka, Elizabeth Glindan, Herman Kobb, Jacob Panken, Fabio Matteoni, Esther Friedman and G. August Gerber. The guest delegates are Mrs. Meyer Halushka, Devere Allen, Mrs. Carolyn G. Coffin, Mr. and Mrs. Jol Larks, Dr. B. Hoffman, Nina Hillquit, Ethel Watson Senior, Gertrude Weil Klein and Ephim Gersburin. The possibility of using moving

pictures is party educational work was reported and the Executive Secretary was instructed to submit a tentative list of films that may be available at the next meeting. The party organizations will also be called upon to arrange Debs memorial meetings in the fall in every locality possible.

Morris Hillquit reported 14 of the twenty manuscripts for the Blue Book Library of Socialism are on hand and that all of them will be on hand within the next few weeks.

Local Pittsburgh presented a plan of a lecture course to which party lecturers may be assigned and to include an area that includes Pennsylvania and the East as a beginning. Alfred Baker Lewis was authorized to work out a plan and also to try to arrange a lecture circuit with the hope of starting it after the general elections in November. Powers Hapgood was also requested to submit a leaflet on the nationalization of the coal industry.

The appearance of a few local labor parties brought up the matter of the relation of the party to these organizations and it was the opinion of the committee that Article 10, Section 7, of the constitution provides it is not the function of party members to join other labor parties or aid in organizing them although cooperation with them is permitted under certain conditions after they are formed.

Alfred Baker Lewis submitted an article on the Scottsboro case and it was voted to send it to the party press and to the Negro press for publication.

The next meeting of the committee will be held in Boston on November 7 and 8 and Boston comrades will arrange propaganda meetings with committee members as speakers while there. The date for the national convention of the party was also set for Saturday, April 16 next year but the city where it is to be held will be chosen later.

On Saturday night, Lilith M. Wilson and James O'Neal spoke to an audience of workmen in Greensburg about forty miles east of Pittsburgh. Twenty-three applications for membership were received at this meeting. James H. Maurer also spoke to a good audience in the Y. M. C. A. building at Wilkinsburg and Alfred Baker Lewis addressed an open air meeting in Pittsburgh.

Sunday afternoon had been looked forward to as a big mass meeting but people who arrived at the hall found the building surrounded by mounted police. The occasion was a meeting of the taxi strikers in the same building with the result that quite a number of people who came to the hall went away. Joseph Sharts presided and Lilith Wilson, Morris Hillquit and James H. Maurer were the speakers. A considerable quantity of literature and New Leaders were sold at this meeting.

Sunday evening the Labor Lyceum was packed with men and women comrades where a dinner had been arranged. The dinner started early which gave plenty of time for speeches. Morris Hillquit served as toastmaster and reviewed the prospects for the Socialist movement and the grave situation abroad. Other speakers were Clarence Senior, Jasper McLevy, Arthur McDowell, Jane Tait, James H. Maurer and James O'Neal. The contributions at the mass meeting and the dinner totaled about \$350.

BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

The Bronx Free Fellowship will hold an outing to Bear Mountain on Sunday, June 21, for its members and friends. The group will gather around the Fellowship banner at West 129th street, at 10:40 a. m., Daylight Time. A special committee is planning stunts, games, special hikes and other interesting social feasts to make the day one of great joy and interest. Cordial invitation is extended to all to join the Fellowship outing on this occasion.

L. I. D. Sessions At Camp Open On Thursday

Banking and Credit to Be Discussed by Leaders of Progressive Thought

CAMP TAMENTUM, the beautiful summer playground of the Rand School, will again be the Mecca of all the leaders of activity and thought in the radical movement next week-end. The occasion will be the annual summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. More than 500 are expected to attend the conference.

"Banking, Credit and Social Planning" is the subject on for the Conference which will be held from Thursday, June 25th, to Sunday, June 28th.

Thomas Will Preside
Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the L. I. D., will act as chairman of the various sessions. The conference will begin on Thursday evening, June 25th, and will deal with the question, "Should the Gold Standard Be Retained?" Willard Thorp, Professor of Economics, Amherst College, author of "Business Annals," and E. E. Agger, Professor of Economics at Rutgers College, author of "Organized Banking," will speak at this session.

Other sessions will be as follows: "Should We Try to Stabilize Prices?" "What Is the Matter With Our Banking System?" "America and the International Credit Situation." "The Need for a Planned Economy." "Socialization of Banking Here and Abroad." The speakers at these various meetings will include Dr. Lionel D. Edie, author of "Economics—Principles and Problems"; Gyan Chand, Professor of Economics, Patna University, India; John T. Flynn, author of "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong"; Willard Thorp, Professor of Economics, Amherst College; Louis Waldman, New York attorney, former candidate for Governor (N. Y.), Socialist Party; Dr. Harold G. Moulton, President, the Brookings Institution; Nicholas Kelly, New York attorney, former Assistant Secretary, U. S. Treasury; Dr. Max Winkler, of Bertron, Grison and Company, author of "America's Stake Abroad"; Guy Greer, contributor to "The Outlook," formerly with the Reparation Commission in Paris; Paul Blanshard, Executive Director of the City Affairs Committee; McAlister Coleman, writer; Dr. Vladimir D. Kasevich of the National Bureau of Economic Research; Colston Warne, Professor of Economics, Amherst College; Evans Clark, Director of the Twentieth Century Fund, author of "Financing the Consumer"; Max Lowenthal, attorney, associated with the Amalgamated Bank; Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard.

As in former years, the Saturday evening session will be divided between addresses and an L. I. D. skit, entertainment and dancing. Those interested in securing the program of the conference should apply immediately to the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th street, New York City, ALgonquin 4-5885.

Teachers' Union Urges Academic Freedom
CHICAGO—(EP)—The American Federation of Teachers is attacking the problem of academic freedom from the standpoint of its being necessary to good teaching. The report of the Academic Freedom Committee to the annual convention in Chicago, June 29 to July 3 will show.

Phila. Workers' Pennies Build Labor Party

Hosiery Union Takes Lead in Promising Quaker City Move

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA.—By "putting a 'political levy' into effect in all organized mills, Branch one of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is demonstrating that it is earnest about building up a real Labor Party in Philadelphia. The "political levy" is of course copied from the British plan, states John W. Edelman, secretary of the Party here. Little black boxes decorated with the somewhat simple ditty, "a nickel a week to make the politicians weep" are sent through all mills. The proceeds go to the treasury of the Independent Labor Party of Philadelphia county—as the new organization is now officially titled. Each worker is asked to give a nickel (or less) a week, but to give this amount regularly.

The Philadelphia Textile Workers' District Council, which includes all local unions in the American Federation of Labor affiliated the United Textile Workers of America, has officially endorsed the Independent Labor Party. The "political levy" plan is being carried out in scattered textile mills other than hosiery; the depression has defeated this move, very largely however. Those mills which employ unionized textile workers here are not working even as much as 25 per cent of capacity and have not worked a year now. The full fashioned mills have probably averaged from about 40 to 50 per cent employment in the past year as a result of the strikes in the non-union mills which have thrown some production to the fair shops. Although this terrible condition of depression renders the problem of financing the new party very difficult, it has the effect of creating a very fertile field for third party propaganda.

Apathy, is of course, the principal obstacle to stir up a lot of feeling which will probably persist long enough to be remembered at election day. The Independent Labor Party has achieved a real measure of cooperation with the Socialist Party in this city and with other independent groups who are reached through the League for Independent Political Action. The laborites will vote the city-wide Socialist ticket according to present plans. The Socialists will not run candidates in opposition to those in the Labor ticket. Professor A. J. Blemiller and Maynard Krueger and Organizer Franz Daniel of the Socialist Party have been devoting much of their time to the Labor Party effort. Krueger is mainly responsible for drafting the program of the party.

Strikers Take Lead
The active officers of the new movement are composed very largely of young strikers who were set to thinking as a result of their experiences with the Philadelphia cops in the earlier weeks of the strike. The Director of Public Safety, Major Schofield, flatly declared that "anyone who could call a strike at a time like the present, should get his head examined" and then announced all picketing would be prohibited and the strike broken up. More than 2,000 arrests have taken place almost entirely for picketing since the general strike call went out on February 16th.

International President Emil Rieve and the President of the Philadelphia Branch, Alex McKeown, are the most outstanding of the trade union officials pushing the Independent Labor Party and both men have given time which they could ill afford to spare to the building up of the new party. An influential group within the Union has taken the position that the movement cannot afford to antagonize the politicians during a strike situation; and it is admitted that the average gang politician in the City has felt it necessary to put himself out for the organized textile workers in a number of cases.

It is a fact also that immediately following on the announcement of the formal launching of the Independent Labor Party, the magistrates and ward leaders in the textile districts attempted in a number of ways to make their disapproval felt by insisting upon a great deal of red tape being unwound before strikers or union sympathizers were released on bail on a "copy of the charge". Magistrates made the strikers' commitments run all over the City some nights before prisoners would be released. The reaction to this kind of silly persecution was the reverse of what was intended and a stronger feeling than ever for the need of electing labor men to the magistrature court was created.

Weekly Meetings Held

Weekly meetings of the Independent Labor Party are held at the hosiery workers' headquarters, 2530 North Fourth Street. The movement has been largely confined so far to the textile unions but efforts are now being made to interest other organizations and individuals. Committees representing the Labor Party have been well received in some of the building trades locals in the past two weeks. Among the so-called independent unions, the Lace makers' organization which is composed al-

most entirely of elderly Scotch and North of Englanders, has been the most interested group. The Commonwealth Land Party (single tax) will probably throw in its lot with the Labor Party and several groups of young voters who were organized this year to back the City Manager plan drive in the Legislature are drifting toward the Labor group rapidly.

All observers agree that this is the most promising labor party effort that has been attempted in Philadelphia in some years.

Crosswain Continues Tour With Big Rallies

Allentown, Shamokin and Nanty-Glo Meetings Huge Successes

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
NANTY-GLO, Pa.—The attempt to prevent Frank Crosswain, Negro Socialist of New York, from speaking here resulted in a big victory for the Socialists. Last week Crosswain attempted to speak in front of the Miners Hall when Chief of Police Campbell arrested him for "disturbing the peace." After posting a forfeit of five dollars Crosswain addressed a larger audience in Slavius Hall.

Two days later the Burgess told Crosswain that he would drop the charge and return his forfeit if he would leave town. This Crosswain refused to do. A similar offer made to Nathan Abel, local Socialist, was also refused. The result was the acquittal of Crosswain and that night he held a still larger meeting and the Socialist movement was placed on the map in Nanty-Glo.

The "Journal," a local daily, ran a leading editorial denouncing the police official who made the arrest, declaring that "Borough officer pulls a boner." Free assembly has been established in this town, thanks to the determination of the Socialists not to be intimidated.

The following Saturday night Crosswain spoke in Allentown to the largest audience any Socialist has addressed since the end of the war. The Communists were as usual but failed to disturb the meeting. Quite a number of new members signed up and a large quantity of literature was sold.

The meeting in Shamokin Tuesday night was even larger than the one in Allentown. Crosswain expects to return to New York Saturday of this week.

N. Y. Waiters Win Pact With 75% of Bosses; Twenty Strikes Go On

Waiters' Union, Local 1, of New York City, has scored a striking victory despite the serious conditions in the labor market resulting from the industrial breakdown. At a mass meeting of the union Thursday night in Beethoven Hall, officials of the union reported that 75 per cent of the restaurants organized in the restaurant owners' association have renewed contracts with the union and withdrawn their demands for a 25 per cent wage reduction. All independents have been signed up.

The union called strikes against recalcitrant members of the employers' association last Saturday and Monday. As the New Leader goes to press, strikes are in effect against but four restaurants in the Bronx, five on the west side and about 10 on the east side of Manhattan. Louis Rubenstein, secretary-treasurer of the union, said these strikes will be fought through to a successful conclusion. Among the restaurants still effected is Geyfner's dairy restaurant on Second avenue.

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Chi. Socialists Ask End Private Bank

Insiders Knew Crash Was Coming, Party Statement Declares

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—A statement of the Socialist Party of Cook County on the recent bank failures declares: "The recent closing of more than thirty Chicago banks—and the passing out of existence through mergers of two large loop banks, under circumstances which smacked somewhat of an old fashioned 'shot-gun' wedding, brings home to the public the cruelty of the capitalist system."

The losses in the Chicago failures fall heavily on the shoulders of those least able to bear them—widows, orphans and the aged. With infinite patience and self-denial thousands of working class families saved a few dollars against the inevitable rainy day only to see these meagre resources swept away over night, leaving in their wake misery and unhappiness.

The Socialist party charges that a favored few on the inside knew long in advance that disaster threatened the banks.

Referring to a chain of twelve banks, which closed Tuesday, June 9th, the financial ticker service used by La Salle Street brokerage houses, said: "These banks had long been known to be in a precarious condition." Known by whom? Not the depositors and public—but by the officials of the bank.

"To keep a bank open under such circumstances is criminal, but no official action will be taken against the officials responsible for loss, because they are prominently identified with the dominant political parties, and are thus immune from prosecution," the Socialist statement says.

"This financial anarchy will exist as long as the capitalist system will exist. There is only one way out—let the people take over the means of production and distribution, including banks and other financial institutions, to be operated for use and not profit, that is socialism."

"In this connection the Socialist Party takes occasion to point out that the postal saving system, operated even by a capitalist government, has so far proven to be the safest medium to guarantee the people's savings."

Let the people own the banks! Only the Socialist Party, the expression of the exploited, has a program to solve this problem."

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ACW Pickets Are Beaten By Gangsters

**Tammany Magistrate
Handles Thugs Kindly
—Hillman Promises
Fight**

By Greta Wilde
The tailors of New York have again been treated to a taste of the class struggle in its more violent form on the picket line, and in its most vicious form in court. The strikers of Silverman & Turner of 100 5th avenue, who have been picketing the premises for a week, were assaulted with iron bars, after having been threatened with trouble by a group of natty young gentlemen who had been seen hanging around the firm's premises.

Four of the gangsters were caught by the police and are being held in \$5,000 bail each for the grand jury. Perhaps the fact that there were dozens of Amalgamated members milling around the corner when the assault took place—the New York Joint Board being located on this street—had something to do with the capture. Some of the Amalgamated men saw the slugs thrown their iron bars over the fence of the New York Hospital. They called the policemen's attention to this fact whereat the police told them to go in and get the bars.

"Yes, if you go with me," said one of the workers, and he refused to go in until the officer went with him and picked up the bars. Which he did.
In the police station one of the young men described himself as an undertaker, but the police captain gave him a dirty look and declared that he didn't believe any of them ever did a day's honest work. "Bums," was what he called them, and "racketeers." The victims of the assault, Harry Spadaro, former business agent in the children's clothing branch, Jimmie Messina and others were taken to the hospital.

In Jefferson market court yesterday, a good Tammany judge, Magistrate Erwin, tried his best to have bail reduced for the slugs. Attorney Louis Waldman, Socialist leader, informed the court that over the week-end the principal witness for the pickets had been approached by the defendants and told that if he knew what was good for him he would not appear in court.
"Under these circumstances," attorney Waldman said, "we would ask for an increase in bail and certainly would consider a decrease most inadvisable."

The judge, incidentally a recent Walker appointment, and formerly secretary to Judge McCook, caught sight of Harry Spadaro, one of the victims.
"Why your man is able to come to court," said the judge indignantly. The nerve of Harry; he only had a deep slash in his throat and a busted jaw. Too bad he wasn't completely crippled. After considerable heated discussion, with the judge decidedly and vigorously unfriendly and Mr. Waldman patient but firmly insistent, bail was allowed to remain as it was. According to a rumor, the leader of the assaulters, one Mangano by name, the one who said he was an undertaker, is supposed to be president of a club of eight hundred men.

The case looks like a fight to the finish. In a statement which left no doubt about his opinion concerning the alleged assault, President Sidney Hillman said: "It appears these gangsters were hired by the firm, for certainly no other reason than for assaulting the pickets. The union will make every effort to trace who are behind the gangsters. Silverman & Turner were under contract with the Manufacturers' Exchange and had every opportunity to ask for remedies of any grievances that they thought they had under that agreement. It appears that they have chosen other methods to settle a labor dispute. But we will not permit the underworld to gain a secure footing in the clothing industry."

"We know of specific instances," Mr. Hillman said, "where employers have told our officers in the last eight weeks that unless they get wage reductions they can get protection from the underworld in a fight against the union."
Approximately 500 workers are striking against wage reductions and work being sent out-of-town in the Silverman & Turner case. Mass picketing will begin the latter part of this week and will continue until the strike is settled. Joseph Gold, Manager of the Children's Clothing Branch, Louis Hollander, Anthony Froise and the rest of the staff are in charge of the strike.

MANY BRANCHES of the Socialist Party have increased their weekly orders for THE NEW LEADER. They have found that it is easy to sell the papers at their open air meetings. If your branch has not placed a standing order for a bundle of papers, see to it that action is taken at your next meeting.

W. Va. Miners Union, Newly Organized, Asks for Conference

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—(FP)—Announcing that it has organized over 18,000 of the 23,000 coal diggers in the Kanawha field, the West Virginia Mine Workers Union has sent a formal invitation to the Kanawha Coal Operators Assn. asking for a joint conference to negotiate an agreement.
While waiting for an answer, the union is preparing for a strike, if one should prove necessary, and is further strengthening its position in the field. At a meeting at Stickney company number forcibly removed some of the miners who came to hear Pres. Keeney, so now, in answer, the union is planning a big parade up Coal River to that same camp. Yellow-dog contracts, forced upon the men by many of the companies, have been no more effective than company gunmen in stopping the march of the union.

More Donations Given Drive In New York

**Merrill Moves State Office to N. Y. City—
Rockland Meeting
June 21**

WITH the temporary removal of the state headquarters of the Socialist Party from Albany to New York City this week, State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill is undertaking to clean up the last of the Socialism Forward Drive in New York City. Merrill arrived on Monday and established headquarters in the Rand School building, 7 East 15th street.
On Sunday, June 21, Merrill will speak at a public meeting in New York City in Rockland County which has been arranged by the local at Nyack. The meeting will be held in the home of John B. Karrell on Haverstraw Road, the main street through New City, and will begin at 3 p. m.

Letters have been mailed to many voters in adjoining towns to attend the meeting and the problem of the jobless will be the main theme of the speaker.
Meantime an urgent appeal is made to the party members and sympathizers in Greater New York to cooperate in seeing that the last section of the drive for party funds is completed. There are many members and friends in the city who have not yet contributed and they are urged to respond immediately.

What is asked is a minimum of one dollar from each person who can contribute. Those who can afford to give ten, or twenty, or fifty dollars, or even more, should do so. In so doing they will have the satisfaction of knowing that their generosity will make up for those members and friends to whom misfortune has come and who prevent them from contributing even one dollar. In any event, one dollar as a minimum contribution is asked and it is hoped that this average for all will be maintained throughout the city.
Checks and money orders should be made payable to Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary, 7 East 15th street, New York City.
Further contributions to June 17 are as follows:

Amy Blanche Greene, \$1.00; Ladies' Club, Branch 83B, Workmen's Circle, 50 cents; Mary A. Hurd, \$10.00; Mary W. Hillier, \$5.00; Rev. and Mrs. Eliot White, \$2.00; David Blankenheim, \$5.00; Sarah Volovick, \$3.00; Arthur Jacobson (on pledge), \$5.00; Herbert M. Merrill (on pledge), \$3.00; Selma Hibborn, \$1.00; Dr. Joseph L. Watnick, \$25.00; J. Eisenstadt, \$6.00; Henry Gode, \$2.00; H. Wolter, \$5.00; Abraham Back, \$1.00; Cornelia Valenstein, \$1.00; Mary Sanford, \$25.00; Workmen's Circle, Branch 8, \$2.00; Margaret I. Lamont, \$25.00; Eugene W. Lyman, \$3.00; Emilio Levy, \$1.00; M. Freeman, \$2.00; Gertrude F. Tene, \$25.00; John Lasitosen, \$1.00.

See New Betrayal On 8-Hour Bill For Illinois Women

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—(FP)—A new betrayal of organized labor on the women's 8-hour labor bill is forecast as a result of withdrawal of the bill from consideration just before it was to come up for a final vote.

Rep. Michael Igoe, Dem., who has been guiding the bill in the house, withdrew the bill after he announced, several members of the assembly who were previously for the measure indicated they would vote against it. Igoe said a new attempt will be made to line up enough support, but the chances of success are now doubtful. The indications are that the vicious campaign against the bill by the Chicago Assn. of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers Assn. is having its effect.

The bill had already passed by the senate by a comfortable margin. The house committee recommended its passage by a good measure of favorable votes. Indications point to double-crossing of organized labor.

Freedom for Centralia IWW Urged by 1,000

**Meeting in New York
Sends Appeal for
Clemency to Governor**

ONE THOUSAND persons attending a mass meeting in Union Square last Saturday joined in a telegraphic appeal to Gov. Roand H. Hartley of Washington State, asking him to release s's I. W. W. members serving 25-to-40 year sentences for the killing of an American Legion member shot while they were defending their hall against a mob in Centralia on Armistice Day, 1919.
This appeal was authorized after twelve speakers had explained various phases of the case. It was pointed out that evidence attesting the innocence of the prisoners had been placed before Gov. Hartley by a Seattle Citizens' Committee, headed by Dr. James E. Crowther, past president of the Seattle Federation of Churches, and including Frederick Starr, the anthropologist.
The mass meeting appealed for "executive clemency" on the ground that continued imprisonment was unjust in view of the evidence before the executive. This phrasing was in line with a statement made by Gov. Hartley to 80 Seattle labor unionists who demanded that he free the Centralia prisoners. He told them that when they ceased "demanding" action on this case and asked for "executive clemency" they might hope to get somewhere.

The telegram to the governor follows:
"We, one thousand working people residing in New York, assembled in mass meeting in Union Square, urge you to grant executive clemency to the five men now imprisoned in the Centralia Armistice Day case, and to Eugene Barnett, who is on parole. In view of the evidence before you showing that the I. W. W. defended their hall that day against an unlawful raid we feel that their continued imprisonment is unjust."

Criticism by the speakers was directed chiefly against Judge John M. Wilson, who in the trial of the Centralia men in 1920 excluded evidence which it was declared would have proved conclusively that there was a conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. hall. It was contended that Judge Wilson was prejudiced; that he spoke at a patriotic gathering in Tenino, Wash., in June, 1919, voicing enmity for the I. W. W. and saying it was up to the returned soldiers and citizens to get rid of the radicals. This charge is in one of the affidavits before Gov. Hartley.

Speakers at the meeting included Professor Paul Brissenden, member of Columbia University faculty and author of "The History of the I. W. W."; John Nicholas Baffel, author and former newspaperman, who reported the Centralia trial for the New York Daily Call and other labor papers; Louis Budanz, editor of Labor Age; Ludwig Lore, editor of Volkszeitung; Walter Starrett, editor of "The Road to Freedom," and Max Delson, for the Socialist Party.

The Centralia Release Committee arranged the program. Joseph Jordan, head of that committee, was chairman.

1,000 Pittsburgh Cabmen Strike Against Scabs

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—With the swiftness of a hammer stroke, a new paralysis seized the Pittsburgh district as nearly 1,000 union taxi drivers went on strike at 2 a. m., June 13, on two hours' notice. Pittsburgh workers are already roused by the strike of coal miners in its area, and the bosses are stunned by the militancy of the hungry miners.
For six months unrest has grown among the cabmen as the Parmelee cab monopoly has substituted non-union for union men on each night excuse. The climax came when the company announced their intention of putting 150 cabs in storage as a result of the decline in business. The union asked postponement of the action and was refused.

The executive committee of the union, which has long had full authority from the rank and file to call a strike at any time, met late at night and adjourned suddenly at midnight, issuing the strike call at once. The strike call went around by word of mouth and by the hour set, 2 a. m., the last cab was parked in the company garage.
When interviewed by Federated Press at 2:05 a. m., John Stackhouse, secretary of the union, enthusiastically agreed that the action was sudden. "We didn't give them any more time than they gave our men when they took away their jobs," he said. The union won a strike in the spring of 1930 which was marked by police violence met by a militant workers' struggle.

Too often the convulsions of the oppressed and suffering are replied to only with bayonets. But bayonets can reduce only peace into terror and violence instead by domestication.

Begin It Next Week COAL AND CAPITALISM

By LOUIS STANLEY
ONE of the basic industries of the nation in collapse; misery stalks the coal fields; miners in half a dozen states in dogged revolt against starvation. WHY?

The story of how capitalism works, or fails to work in the coal industry, will be told in five articles written for The New Leader by its special investigator, Louis Stanley.

What the articles will contain:
I. Starvation and Coal Production: facts on the collapse of the coal market in recent years which result in closed mines, unemployment and starvation.
II. The Price of Crazy Production: overdevelopment, the anthracite monopoly, cut-throat competition and the growth of big business in bituminous, irregularity of work, unemployment, wage-cutting, profits.
III. Why the Mess: rival forms of power, fuel economy, mechanization, private initiative.
IV. Union versus Non-union worker: growth of the southern coal fields, collapse of union organization, the lake trade, the railroad freight question.
V. Can Private Ownership Succeed? proposals to modify anti-trust laws, government regulation, interdependence of coal with other industries, nationalization, industrial and political action by workers.

**Begin This Startling Series Next Week
And Read It Through**

These articles will be of especial interest to the workers in the mining states. Socialist locals should send in their orders for extra copies, taking advantage of the bundle rate The New Leader offers.

Thomas Urges Smith Graduates To Enlist For Fight On War

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

NORTHAMPTON, Mass.—The unwritten law that college commencement addresses must be a compound of platitudes and hokum was broken here Monday, when Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, addressed the graduating class of 404 of Smith College. Mr. Thomas delivered a forthright address, stressing the dangers of new wars unless the forces of labor and peace bestir themselves to determined action. The new address was received with thunderous applause from the graduates, their friends and relatives and the members of the faculty.

William A. Neilson, president of Smith College, introduced Thomas as a "creator of political thought." The Socialist leader, he said, has "the candor, the courage and the capacity to meet the problems of today."

"There can be no question but that there has been within the last year and a half an enormous growth of conviction in the United States that there can be, or at any rate will be, no fruitful social change save by violent revolution," declared Mr. Thomas. "The men and women who profess this belief very seldom belong to the small Communist party. Some of them are a rather undesirable type of parlor Reds. These men and women, usually intellectuals or at least college graduates, are simply compensating for the futility of their actions by the violence of their opinions."

While he was doubtful of a revolution here, Mr. Thomas said he would expect very serious riots and revolts within the next three years, "despite the amazing docility of the workers thus far," unless we substitute plan for chaos in relief and in the whole economic order. But "if things drift," he predicted that the first large-scale violence would be that of a new World War.

"Any violent revolt in America, however, on any large scale in any near future would be far more likely to be Fascist than Communist," he said.
"The native, untaught, more or less spontaneous radicalism of America hates with about equal fervor Wall Street, foreigners, recent immigrants and Negroes. Its ignorance and prejudice could be better exploited by an American Mussolini or Hitler than by an American Lenin."

He urged the graduates to fight against war "with such vigor of the informed imagination, such energy of the will as the world has scarcely seen." The problem of peace requires establishment of the basis of enduring peace in world-wide co-operation and the discovery of substitutes for violence in the struggle for justice, he added, and a pacifist who does not recognize this is possibly more dangerous than an avowed militarist.

company. The U.M.W.A., however, appears to exert little influence on the mass of strikers.
The strike has won withdrawal of a 20 per cent wage cut put into effect last February at a mine where no union has shown any strength and where there is no walkout. The Hillman Coal and Coke Co. has announced "voluntary" withdrawal of the 20 per cent cut in effect near Jeanette, Pa.

Four Strikers Wounded
Four more strikers have been wounded by gunfire of gunmen in and around the immediate Pittsburgh district, but contrary to usual custom, deputies concerned have been promptly arrested.
Comparative restraint marks action of Pennsylvania authorities toward striking miners as contrasted with Ohio where the sheriff and his deputies in Belmont County have been joined by extralegal forces in provocative tactics that resulted in the use of gas in streets of St. Clairsville.

The Hearst Sun-Telegraph has faked an interview with Sec. Kamenovitch of the Communist "National Miners' Union" that the miners are armed and might enact another Herrin if authorities continued their repressive tactics. All Pittsburgh papers continue demands for federal calling of a conference of operators and United Mine Workers of America officials. The Pittsburgh Press bitterly denounced a demand of the Socialist Party for nationalization.

Dramatic mass picketing and a spreading strike continue to be outstanding characteristics of the miners' war against starvation. Some 1,500 men out of 1,900 employed quit work in Vesta No. 4, of Jones & Laughlin Steel Co. near California, Pa., where 2,000 pickets paraded to the mine June 12. Although assemblies of more than three persons have been prohibited by the sheriff of Washington County, heart of the strike area, similar marches are being held.

Teachers Speedup Victims
TACOMA, Wash.—(FP)—The high school teachers of Tacoma "invite the earnest attention of the citizens" to the fact that their work has been increased 20 per cent by addition of an extra class to each teacher, that high school classes have increased 40 per cent in size since 1925, and that now they are forced to take a wage cut. They also point out that the secondary schools of Tacoma have been removed from the approved list because of the overload on teachers.

Woll "Plan" Not A. F. of L.'s, Nervous and irritable? Morrison Says It's a warning . . .

**Secretary Says Proposal
Was Made by Head of
National Civic Federation**

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Matthew Woll was speaking as president of the National Civic Federation, and not as one of the eight vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, when he made his proposal that an industrial congress be summoned to draw up an American Ten Year Plan.

That was the reply of Secretary Frank Morrison to an inquiry as to whether the A. F. of L. chiefs had discussed the Woll scheme and were favorably impressed by it. President Green was in New York, and was to talk with Woll about the latter's sudden conversion to the Plan idea. But other officials, who did not want their names used, pointed out that the A. F. of L. has continually demanded greater purchasing power and consuming power for the masses, rather than the reduced production of goods which is the core of the Woll scheme.

One of the high officials of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers remarked cynically that "We will all be under the daisies" before the 10-year period of restoration of prosperity for business is nearly through. He suggested that what is wanted is an army of trade unionists who are now finding it difficult to buy groceries for their families is steady work at good wages. He did not see how the workers can wait patiently and quietly for a number of years while an experiment is made in getting voluntary agreement among competing business men to reduce their production on a quota basis.
As a background for discussion of Woll's phrases about beginning "that march toward permanence of machinery without which we cannot infuse into industry that democratic urge and authority vital to its life as a field of human endeavor and vital to its salvation from an onslaught of state political control that cannot be avoided in the absence of self-control," the Federation had a fresh report on textile mill conditions in North Carolina.

Democracy Found Wanting
There is no state socialism in the textile industry in North Carolina. There is "rugged individualism" for the bosses. Four thousand under-paid and underfed workers in the mills at Leaksville and Draper are ready to strike, but the Federation is unwilling now to advise them to strike against the \$6.50 weekly wage for half-time at Leaksville, or the wage of \$12 in the Marshall Field blanket mills at Draper. These workers need more clothes, more blankets and shoes, as well as more food. They are 18 miles from the nearest place where they might hunt for other jobs. They are trapped. The United Textile Workers cannot now finance a big strike for them. At the first sign of revolt these 4,000 families will be evicted from the company houses. The Marshall Field mills charge an additional \$1 a week rental for a bathtub, and all water is metered and paid for by the tenants. If there is anything democratic in the ordering of their lives, they have not found it.

If optimism as to employers' generosity has led Woll to appeal to the employers who back the Civic Federation, to assemble an industrial congress to renovate competitive capitalism, labor leaders in Washington share none of it. They have been informed, on "high" authority, that the Hoover cabinet agreed, in its meeting June 9, that the administration had done all it reasonably could to oppose general wage-cutting, and that it should now let events take their course. In other words, the Hoover regime has abandoned labor to the mercy of wage-slashing bosses, after keeping labor quiet through nearly two years of slow depletion of its strength.

One leader has urged Green to arrange that every salaried labor official shall make a street-corner speech, demanding work and criticizing government inaction, every day from Labor Day until relief is secured. This challenge of action is now up to Green. It does not require ten years.

Milwaukee Socialists Hold Protest Meeting On Mooney Frame-up

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
MILWAUKEE—Milwaukee literally roared its protest last week against the judicial wrong being done by California to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

Stern faces in the crowd at court-house square were lit by red flares as they listened to Byrd Kelso, Mooney's friend for 30 years, describe the open shop conspiracy which culminated in the conviction of two innocent men. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Addresses were made by Kelso, William Coleman, county organizer for the Socialist Party, and Sheriff Al Benson.

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The Economics of Bolshevism—The Socialist Criticism

KARL KAUTSKY SEES THE REVOLUTION MENACED BY TREND OF FIVE YEAR PLAN; BUREAUCRACY, FEAR AND INEXPERIENCE SEEN STIFLING PROGRESS

By James O'Neal

The French revolution fostered a bewildering mass of hopes on the one hand and of fear on the other the same is true of the Russian revolution. We have our Wollis, Plébeas, and other super-patriots who are frightened, our Bolsheviks who are certain that the Five Year Plan ultimately means Socialism in Russia, our journalists and "liberals" who write books in praise of Stalin and who find it easy to support Smith or Hoover in the United States. American Socialists also differ but their main differences date from the year 1929 when new members were joining the party. Down to and including our national convention in 1928 American Socialists were practically a unit in their attitude, as the writer showed in *The New Leader* last January, by reviewing the party's actions since 1918.

In view of all this a book on Russia by one of the world's leading Socialists is timely. Karl Kautsky's "Bolshevism as a Dilemma" (N. Y. C., Rand School Press, \$1.75) is a translation from the German by E. Pritchard and carries a special preface by the author which considers developments in Russia as late as last January. Kautsky is recognized by Socialists all over the world as second only to Marx and Engels in Socialist scholarship and this is his fourth book on Russia translated into English. The first was "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," 1918; the second, "Terrorism and Communism," 1920, both published by the British Independent Labor Party, and the third, "The Labor Revolution," 1924. The present work, as the book jacket declares, is "the only one which treats the subject in the light of basic principles rather than by the empirical method of trying to strike a balance between the alleged 'good' and 'bad' features of Bolshevism." We may add that the empirical approach is the Socialist approach and this distinguishes it from the various "liberal" and reactionary studies that have been made of the Soviets. The "liberal" studies, although many of them are worth reading, remind us of the pre-war era when journalists and politicians formed their judgments of the Socialist movement by each reverse or advance made by it. An advance made them "view with alarm" and a reverse brought predictions of the "death" of the

movement. The long range view based upon historical knowledge was beyond their ken.

Kautsky's study is divided into five sections. The Agrarian Revolution in Russia, The Social Revolution in Industry, The Political Revolution, Possible Forms of a New Revolution in Russia, and What Is to Be Done. Each chapter is divided into sub-sections and the study is confined to 193 pages. The writer of this review has taken the pains to compare Kautsky's study with certain recent articles by William Chamberlain and Louis Fischer, both authors living in Russia and sympathetic with Communism. He has also checked it with information appearing in recent issues of the "Moscow News" and finds that there is an astonishing agreement between much of Kautsky's analysis and the material to be found in these pro-Communist sources. Because of these striking similarities we shall refer to them later on.

Kautsky does not restate the historical philosophy of Socialism. He assumes that Socialists do not need this restatement. Neither does he discuss Russia and Soviet problems as a theoretician. He is concerned with the Russian revolution and its results as they have unfolded since the Communists seized power in 1917. It seems to us that he could have made his position much stronger had he devoted a page or two to the historical aspects of the problem. For example, what is being attempted in Russia is to industrialize a nation of over a hundred million people, the vast majority of whom are illiterate peasants who, together with the city workers, have little or no knowledge of machine technique, and do this within a decade or two. This has been accomplished in the United States, but it has taken 150 years and in its beginnings there were only fifteen million people to feed and clothe instead of over a hundred million. But even this fundamental economic consideration does not take account of the persistence of old habits, ideas, customs and traditions which are almost impossible to root out by an official decree however much it may be backed up by force. They have always been sloughed off in the general economic and cultural

changes that occur in decades of evolution.

A striking example of the persistence of folkways among peoples and their resistance to sudden changes is the American Indians. Their tribal and communal ways of living have survived the mercantile, agrarian and capitalist systems despite every effort of the government to assimilate them into the population. There are 356,000 of them left in the United States. They have not only resisted the current changes in society over three hundred years but even military force employed over and over again leaves them today living their tribal ways. In white man's tools and machines have transformed his environment but not him. Of course, this is an extreme case of the survival of folkways and it is singled out only because it is the most obvious one to Americans.

The above considerations are implied rather than stated in full by Kautsky. Ignoring them, the Communists, who at first as Marxists were well aware of these difficulties, ventured upon a program of complete Communism after seizing power and established their dictatorship. Kautsky as well as other Socialists watched this venture with some apprehension, but to quote him, "with friendly eyes." By the summer of 1918 he was convinced that Russia was drifting to disaster and he wrote his "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as a warning. The program, however, was continued. The following year he wrote the second book and in 1921 appeared his pamphlet "From Democracy to State Slavery." In the pamphlet Kautsky contended that while it was not the intention of the Communists yet the functions of the dictatorship were becoming counter-revolutionary. The last of the White Guards was defeated in 1920 and the civil war and economic ruin fostered by complete Communism had produced such vast misery that Communists themselves led the general strike in Petersburg and Moscow. Simultaneously the sailors at Kronstadt, to whom the Soviets owed a debt for their service against the White Guards, also revolted in February, 1921. They demanded freedom of "all imprudent Socialists and workers out-

side all parties; the raising of the state of siege; freedom of speech and of the press; freedom of the working classes to hold meetings," etc. This is quoted from the proclamation of the strikers.

It was in this year that Lenin abandoned the 100 per cent Communism and the New Economic Policy succeeded it. The ruin which Kautsky foresaw Lenin recognized. Economic development which had been placed in fetters was given a new lease of life, conditions improved, but the freedom demanded by the strikers was not conceded and Lenin announced that "The Socialists must, nevertheless, be kept in prison." In the succeeding years the trade unions and cooperatives, overwhelmingly Communist and co-operating with the ruling group, more and more lost their functions as organizations of workers and became subordinate organs of the dictatorship. The workers were more and more restricted in thought and action. "As soon as the Bolsheviks felt secure in their new position," writes Kautsky, "they looked askance at every free organization in the State which they could not manage bureaucratically. The organizations which they could not use, or which

set themselves up in opposition, were, therefore, wrecked; they attempted to accommodate themselves to those which had served as stepping-stones and which they needed."

While the N. E. P. policy released some of the tension seven years of it was accompanied by strife with the peasants whose form of production is a giant barrier which Socialism must conquer. In 1928 there emerged another economic policy, the Five Year Plan, which is the present phase of Russian life. This program more than ever centers power in the hands of a central bureaucracy. One important paragraph summarizes Kautsky's view of this. He writes: "The Soviet system, which transfers the methods of monarchical autocracy from politics to industry gradually increases the rights of the factory directors over the workers, but at the same time puts these directors under continuous control and restriction by political and economic judicatures, which does not leave them any initiative and prevents their doing anything on their own. The slightest alterations in the works require an endless exchange of correspondence with the supervising bodies. An enormous bu-

reaucratic apparatus is built up in order to control the people entrusted with the management of production, which only results in paralyzing them and the entire apparatus of production."

Our readers will be interested to know that this view is supported by the pro-Communist sources mentioned above. It is an important factor in Communist policy. Kautsky quotes data to show how the bureaucracy stifles the very economic forces that are essential to the development of Russia in industry. Rather than quote him we turn to William H. Chamberlain's article in "The New Republic" of February 25, 1931. He wrote:

"The most serious item on the negative side of the balance sheet is the severe deterioration of the standard of living during the last two years. . . . Rationing of food was unknown in Russia during the years of the New Economic Policy. Beginning with 1928, it was extended to a wider and wider circle of articles, until today it includes almost all the important articles of diet. . . . It would seem that the Five Year Plan, while concentrating on steel ingots, kilowatts of electric power and similar things, has rather overlooked the necessity for supplying the population with the humble things as loaves, milk, brooms and soap. The last named shortage is really quite serious from

the standpoint of health and hygiene."

Kautsky has written nothing as pessimistic as the above by Chamberlain who goes on to say that "Life has become harder, bleaker, more intense, more fanatical," in Russia.

Kautsky's reference to the stifling of imagination and initiative which we quote above is also mild compared to what Louis Fischer wrote in "The Nation," issue of November 26, 1930. It is a commonplace of Russian history that the old Czarist bureaucracy was largely responsible for arresting the development of Russia's productive forces. Fischer writes of the present situation in Russia:

"What undermines the usefulness of the Soviet bureaucracy is its fear of responsibility, fear of initiative, and the party's lack of confidence in it. When mistakes are often seriously punished and may bring down the suspicion of counter-revolution or sabotage on those who commit them, every official dreads putting his signature to a paper and stands in horror of making an independent decision. Each one 'passes the buck' to somebody higher up. Even Communists so fear the burden of unshared responsibility that they will frequently not attach their names singly to a given document. I have heard of extreme cases in which big engineers will not prospect for oil or minerals because failure to find

what was wanted might be charged against them as dilatoriness."

Fischer adds to this one important item not found in Kautsky. He points out that the more the bureaucracy is "proletarianized" the more demoralized does it become. It is naturally assumed that factory workers are more loyal than others so they are given positions of authority in the state apparatus but these positions require special training and knowledge that these workers do not have. Fischer adds that as a result of this policy "there are more Soviet officials than factory workers." This is scarcely credible and yet it is made by a Communist sympathizer. It is such trends and contradictions that give significance to the title chosen for Kautsky's book.

Those who have followed this theme as reported in various items appearing in the Moscow News will find the views of Kautsky also confirmed. He quotes from other Soviet publications, especially regarding the lowered quality of goods produced, and quality is just as important as quantity. For example, if a shoe plant increases its volume in a year by 10,000 pairs but the quality declines the shoe will not last as long and quantitative gain must be checked by a qualitative loss. How serious this

(Continued on Page Five)

New York Transit: Tammany True To Form

Walker Comes to Bat for the B.M.T. Interests; The Touching Case of Samuel Untermyer

By Henry J. Rosner

THIS week witnessed the latest development on the part of the Walker administration to sell out the city's transit interests to the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Co. Two weeks ago, in *THE NEW LEADER*, it was pointed out that the city had awarded an extremely profitable bus franchise to the B.M.T. without any adequate compensation to the city for the use of its streets.

On Tuesday it was announced that Chairman John H. Delaney of the N.Y.C. Board of Transportation had moved to take rapid transit unification negotiations out of the hands of Samuel Untermyer, who, as special counsel for the Transit commission, was preparing to open public hearings next Monday before the Commission on his unification plan. This action was taken after the B.M.T.

and I.R.T. had announced that they would not participate in the hearings on the ground that the plan was unofficial and had not received the endorsement of either the Transit Commission or the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the two public bodies, authorized under the law to bring about unification.

The objection of the transit companies indicates that their action was hypocritical. Both stated that they considered the price of \$489,678,000, which Untermyer proposed to pay for their properties was too low, and did not represent their true value. It was a strategic move on their part to force a deadlock in negotiations which would enable them to get more compensation. To accom-

plish this it was important to get Mr. Untermyer out of the picture. The latter had insisted from the very outset that the price fixed in his plan was already in excess of the value of the companies' property, and that he would not approve any further increase. Mr. Delaney, on the other hand, who is the Mayor's transit adviser, has held that the companies ought to receive more. Obviously, the traction interests preferred to deal with Mr. Delaney rather than with Mr. Untermyer.

A Reasonable Price

The entire procedure is outrageous. The price fixed in the Untermyer plan is already excessive. Our estimates show that the excess payment is at least \$70,000,000. The companies should not receive any more for their property than the price for the recapturable subways as fixed in the Dual Contracts and the actual investment, less depreciation, for the non-recapturable elevated lines. On this basis they should not receive more than \$420,269,241. The following table shows how the figure is reached.

B.M.T. Recapturable Lines	\$79,496,000 (1)
Original Elevated Lines of B.M.T.	27,048,000 (2)
Non-Recapturable Subways—Property	26,718,241 (3)
The Williamsburgh Power Plant	1,911,000 (4)
I.R.T. System—Recapturable Lines	161,233,000 (5)
Non-recapturable	104,986,000 (6)
	\$411,392,241
Depreciation funds	8,377,000 (6)
	\$420,269,241

(1) Recapture price as fixed on Contract 4 as of June 30, 1920, with right of recapture accruing in 1923.
(2) Valuation by Transit Commission as of June 30, 1929.
(3) Recapture price as fixed in Contract 3 as of June 30, 1929.
(4) Same as (2).
(5) Same as (2).
(6) Same as (2).
This should be utilized in reducing estimate for depreciation.

It is true that the report on the valuation of company owned rapid transit properties by the Transit Commission places the maximum statutory limitation on valuation at \$503,540,205. We take issue with the manner in which this figure is reached. In the first place, it assumes that the company should receive reproduction cost less depreciation for the elevated lines. No one today would think of reproducing these elevated lines. The whole trend is toward replacing them with subways. The Manhattan elevated lines are a liability to the Interborough and not an asset, and have been kept going by the earnings of the city owned subways. It is only a question of time before the Brooklyn elevated lines will be in exactly the same position. Within a few years Brooklyn elevated lines, like the Fulton Street and Lexington avenue, will have to face the competition of new city owned subways. When this happens, they will be in the same boat as the Manhattan Elevated Railway, which are in a precarious financial condition today because of the competition of existing subways.

In the second place, the Transit Commission valuation assumes that the companies should receive a consideration for the cancellation of existing leasehold contracts. When one considers the enormous profits which have been made by these companies from the operation of city owned subways, while at the same time the city has received almost nothing on its investment of over 300 million dollars, it is preposterous to grant the companies any financial compensation for the cancellation of the Dual Contracts.

The companies today have the upper hand because the city has failed in the last four years to give notice of its intention to re-

capture its own subways. Had the city recaptured the East Side line of the Interborough, which it can do, and operate it in conjunction with the new Eighth Avenue subway the Interborough would have been left with a less profitable West Side line because of the competition of the Eighth Avenue line and the unprofitable Manhattan Elevated. Faced by this prospect, the I.R.T. would beg the city to purchase its elevated properties at a reasonable price. The same holds true of the B.M.T.

It is argued that recapture of the B.M.T. subways means dismemberment of the rapid transit system in Brooklyn because the city lacks the power to recapture lines like the Brighton Beach and Sea Beach which feed into the city owned subways. Messrs. Dahl, Menden, and Wiggins who control the B.M.T. have shown themselves at all times to be extremely shrewd. They cannot be unaware that their elevated lines as soon as the Brooklyn crosstown subway and the Fulton Street subway are completed as well as other subways contemplated in Brooklyn and Queens will lose a great deal of their value. Notice of recapture will make them sing a different tune. Just like the I.R.T., they will be willing to sell their elevated properties at a reasonable price.

Negotiation is, of course, preferable to the litigation of recapture. But not negotiation at terms dictated by the transit companies. That, apparently, is their policy today. If they won't sell reasonably, the only alternative is recapture. The Walker administration, unusually friendly to transit interests, particularly the B.M.T., has consistently refused to adopt this policy. The administration is more solicitous of the welfare of private corporations than of the great mass of citizens in New York City who use the rapid transit lines daily. Unless there is a sharp reversal of policy, transit companies will emerge on top at the expense of the riding public. The Socialist Party in its 1925 and 1929 Municipal Campaign took the position that only recapture followed by Municipal Ownership and Operation would remove the city from the clutches of the transit companies.

The history of attempts to achieve transit unification demonstrates the truth of the above analysis. Mr. Untermyer in his first report on transit unification in September 1927 recommended recapture with operation of the unified system by a quasi-public corporation called the Board of Transit Control, the personnel of the Board to be selected by the city. This would have meant municipal ownership and operation. He pointed out that in that way the city would obtain all rapid transit facilities in New York City at a reasonable price, and would free itself from both the B.M.T. and the I.R.T. His recommendations were completely ignored by the city administration. The result was that three years later, in December 1930, he presented another plan to the commission which was a complete reversal of his previous position. He then recommended unification by negotiation at a price of \$489,678,000, which as we have seen, meant a bonus of \$70,000,000 to the company. In addition, he favored operation of the existing lines and the new city subway system by the B.M.T. In his first report he had denounced the B.M.T. in no uncertain terms. He showed that from the very beginning they had cheated their partner, the city, with the result that the city had never collected a cent on its large investment. He urged that neither the B.M.T. nor I.R.T. should have anything to do with the

rapid transit system in New York City after unification. How can we account for this complete change in viewpoint? The only explanation is that the city itself had made it clear that it proposed to pay a higher price, and to give the B.M.T. the management contract for the unified system.

Evidently, Mr. Untermyer had not conceded enough to please Mr. Gerhard Dahl, the chairman of the Board of Directors of both the B.M.T. and of the I.R.T. He complained to the city with the result that Samuel Untermyer has been supplanted by chairman Delaney. The turning over to the B.M.T. of a billion and a half dollars worth of transit property which will be the value of the unified system, when the new city subways have been added, is the last straw. The history of its relations with the city have been such that it has long since forfeited all public confidence. Only recently we had another excellent demonstration of how it has cheated and defrauded the city, its partner in subway operation.

On April 13, 1931, Charles C. Lockwood, Transit Commissioner, filed a report with the Commission, recommending the filing of a suit against the New York Rapid Transit Corporation, which is the subsidiary of the B.M.T., that operates the elevated and subway lines, for the sum of \$6,532,626, which had been withheld illegally from the city. It is impossible here to give the complete details of the various items which made up this total. Several will suffice to give a good picture of its treachery.

Under the Workmen's Compensation Law, the company is a self-insurer, i.e., it guarantees to pay injured workers out of its own funds, instead of insuring with an insurance company. To make certain that payments will be made with the State Industrial Commission high grade securities. The New York Rapid Transit Company has charged to pool revenues the amount of \$553,846, which represents the cost of these securities. This action meant that the city was called upon to bear part of the expense of Workmen's Compensation Insurance. These securities have earned \$127,723. The city ought to enjoy the profits from these securities. The company, however, transferred this sum to its own corporate revenue. It is unnecessary to comment upon the ethics of this transaction.

The New York Rapid Transit Company also made charges to pooled operations for accruals and payments on account of federal income taxes of \$1,407,672 for the period January 1, 1928, to June 30, 1930. This tax was paid on the consolidated returns of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation. The latter, operates through subsidiaries, not only rapid transit lines, but street-cars and buses as well. In other words, the B.M.T. charged all its federal income taxes against the New York Rapid Transit Company, which is in partnership with the city, and operates only a part of the B.M.T.'s properties. The Transit Commission accountants have estimated that at least \$493,484 of this sum should have been paid from the earnings of the trolley cars and the buses, instead of being charged against the New York Rapid Transit Company. The report also states "A more intense examination of the consolidated tax returns for the period may disclose further overcharges to pooled operations."

No wonder the city has never collected a cent on its investment in the subways now being operated by the B.M.T. The record discloses that revenues belonging to the city have been diverted in this fashion again and again. The city sends men to jail for stealing a few dollars; to feed their starving families; but when millions

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The Unreality of American Politics

Socialist Party Would Make Parties Represent Vital Issues Now Before the Nation

By Charles Solomon

ONE hundred and forty years ago, James Madison, "Father of the Constitution," wrote in the "Federalist": "The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. . . . Regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and factions in the necessary and ordinary operations of government."

What Madison said of the sources in which political parties are rooted has been as true since, as it was with respect to the period in which it was written. History teaches political parties have grown out of "the various and unequal distribution of property."

In the early days of the republic, there were two great political organizations—the federalists and the anti-federalists. The former were led by Alexander Hamilton, the latter by Thomas Jefferson. The Jeffersonians were also known as Republicans. The first President was chosen unanimously. But this did not mean there was not present that "various and unequal distribution of property" which is the key to the existence of diverse political entities. The republic was very young when distinct political alignments appeared.

The federalists led by Hamilton, a New York lawyer, represented the industrial, financial and trading interests, confined largely to the northeastern seaboard. The anti-federalists, led by Jefferson, a Virginia planter, represented the agrarian or landed interest. Thus, early in our national existence, in fact, antecedent to it, were present the basic conflicting material interests which, down to our very day, have so fundamentally affected our politics.

A careful reading of history discloses that every great conflict of material interests has had its reflection in political competition. The interests championed by Hamilton—early American capitalism—was interested, among other things, in a protective tariff. The landed interests, as a matter of principle, corresponding to basic material concerns, was opposed to the tariff.

essentially a contest between basically diverse economic interests. Between planters and industrialists, the landed interest and capitalism, for control of the government.

Today, another basic economic conflict, that between the owners of the physical foundations of society, and therefore the masters of our economic life, on the one hand, and the growing army of the propertyless dependents on the other, presages the next great political contest, the battle lines for which are already beginning to take form.

In the course of time, the Jeffersonians emerged as the Democratic party under the leadership of Andrew Jackson. The essential principles of both were the same. These early Democrats were opposed by the Whigs who, under the leadership of statesmen like Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, represented the same economic interests that were championed by the Hamiltonians.

More than once, the political contest over the tariff threatened to break up the Union. The battle between New England industrialism and Southern planters for governmental control was a life and death struggle. The Republican party came into existence in 1854 as a direct challenge to the expanding slave power which controlled the Democratic party. The Whigs refused to take a stand on the slavery question. Back of the struggle to extend slavery into the territories, or to keep it out, was the vivid appreciation that out of territory in which slavery prevailed might be carved slave states, and that more slave states meant additional political power. The interests which constituted the backbone of the young Republican party understood this full well. The nation's major economic interests were conspiring for political advantage, for control of the public powers.

cratic party was concerned, the age of Jefferson, Jackson and Bryan had come to a close. It was the landed interest and capitalism, for control of the government.

The political philosophers of Jefferson and Hamilton, of Jackson and Lincoln, reflected the economic life and social relations of their times. Things have changed fundamentally. Giant modern machines have taken the place of the old individualistic handicraft industry. The small economic units of yesterday have been supplanted by our modern large-scale organizations in industry and finance. The stamp of social effort is on all our major economic activities. The old individualism, rugged or otherwise, has passed into the limbo of history.

The economic order of our forefathers is dead. But we still hang on to their political notions. In the days of Jefferson, Washington and Hamilton there were about four million population, and over 90 per cent were tillers of the soil. Today, the nation is overwhelmingly and increasingly industrial. Then, industry was largely handicraft and individualistic. Today it is almost altogether machine and social. There are almost three times as many people in our own state today as there were in the whole of the United States in 1789.

It is just as idle to speak of the Republicanism of Lincoln today as it is to speak of the Democracy of Jefferson and Jackson. Both are outmoded by our completely revolutionized economic life and social relations. The two dominant parties are really, at least, four. In each, there is, broadly speaking, a left and right wing. A political realignment corresponding to economic and social realities is imperative if our politics is to keep step with our general progress, if parties are to have any real meaning for the voters. We scrap machinery—entire plants. In medicine, we dispassionately throw overboard old notions to meet changing realities. We are scientific. We adjust our conduct to the facts. We anticipate the future. Not so in our politics. Here we are reactionary, dilatory, unscientific. We hang on to political notions and forms when their material bases have been swept away. In our politics, when we do not stand still, we crawl. Everywhere else we move forward with lightning like rapidity.

The dominant parties are badly worn survivals of a world that is past. They are adjusted and geared to problems and situations that long as a decreasing few own what

have gone. A new period has turned up new problems and we shall have to make social and political adjustments accordingly. It is an historic fact that institutions often persist after the social circumstances that produced them have disappeared. This applies to our present day major political alignments. They are out of joint with the times.

The issues of yesterday—tariffs, states rights, a strict or loose interpretation of the constitution—have yielded to our present day problems of involuntary unemployment and social insurance, strikes and injunctions, the control of public utilities.

The political realignment which produced the Republican party was preceded by dissolution in the Whig and Democratic parties; dissolution in the dominant parties of our day foreshadows the inescapable realignment of tomorrow.

Even the names of the dominant parties mean essentially the same thing. They are the parties of the status quo, the political protagonists of the principal beneficiaries of things as they are. There is no hope in them for the great masses of the workers of hand and brain. They need a party that shall be unequivocally theirs, dedicated to building our economic and social life to be the servant of all instead of the source of increasing profits for the decreasing few; a party committed to increasing subordination of private profits to social welfare; to making our industrial technique and physical resources, under expanding social control, agencies for service and emancipation; a party committed to the building of a cooperative economic life for the social good, instead of a competitively impeded economic life, primarily for the profits of the owning few. These, broadly speaking, must serve as the underlying and unifying principles. Inscribed upon its banners must be the slogan: "An economic life that will be the servant of all instead of the source of profits for the few."

This new party must be based on the needs and aspirations of the great masses of the people, workers of hand and brain, in mill, mine, shop, office, factory. It will have to stand for democracy, industrial as well as political. The new party will understand that the life, liberty and happiness referred to in the Declaration of Independence, is impossible without the means of life, and that the means of life are the property of a profit-seeking, owning class. It will fearlessly proclaim that so

the increasing many cannot live without, political democracy serves only to conceal the existence of industrial autocracy. It will know and declare that the essence of all slavery is economic dependence, and that slavery prevails, political forms notwithstanding, where the means of life are the property of a few, to be used by them for their material aggrandizement, be the consequence to the rest of us what they may. This new party will understand that throughout all history, economic masters have been political rulers, and that our own time and our own country are no exception. It will be frankly committed to the proposition of achieving real freedom, appreciating that such freedom cannot be achieved except the people own and control what they cannot live without.

Our eighteenth century social relations are outmoded by our twentieth century industrial technique; revolutionary changes in industrial technique require corresponding revolutionary changes in our social relations. Basic social reconstruction is the imperative need of our time. Involuntary idleness, breadlines and doles are absolutely unnecessary with our economic resources. All this new party will know. It will know also that modern war is the result of competing capitalist nationalisms for markets, raw materials, and investment opportunities; and that the workers of the world by hand and brain have no interest in these wars except to banish them by ending the system that breeds them; that social systems are not static, that they have come and gone in the course of social evolution; that they should serve to insure happiness and security for the great mass of the people.

I have made my choice, I am not only doing all that lies in my power to accomplish this political realignment but, in the meantime, I have identified myself with the only party that embodies these ideals and principles—the Socialist party.

I conclude: Whatever their antecedents, our dominant parties are essentially the same; they exist primarily to conserve the status quo and safeguard the material interests and social advantages of its prime beneficiaries. True, these parties occasionally and grudgingly make concessions. But their essential nature is not altered thereby. Political clarity and a healthier political atmosphere would be served by a realistic political alignment—one that would frankly correspond to and reflect the industrial and social relations of our time.

All Around Milwaukee, France and West Virginia

ANNOUNCEMENT! In spite of the contrary idea held by many of our comrades and friends, this column is not a bulletin board. We could easily fill it up with "request numbers." Every week someone comes in asking us to mention this or that book, this or that performance, this or that meeting. Naturally being of a peace-loving and altogether amiable disposition, we would like to oblige everybody and print all the material submitted. But naturally if we did, this would be one hell of a column. Only recently we received a red-hot letter consigning us to the depths of a Socialist Inferno because we had not said anything about a book written by one of the comrades. We would have said something in due time, and something flattering too, if we had been let alone. As it is, there will be no mention of the opus here. We have always detested dictatorship and duty-yellers and as long as this column is left to our tender mercies, we shall print in it just what we damned please.

We note with considerable glee the series of articles on Milwaukee now running in that fantastic Wall Street house-organ, "The New York Evening Post." This is the rag that has been carrying H. R. Knickerbocker's articles on Russia's Five-Year Plan, under the amazing heading, "Fighting the Red Trade Menace." As the whole point of the articles is that far from fighting the "Red Trade Menace" the European nations which the "Post" correspondent visited are welcoming Soviet low-priced imports with open arms, it might seem a good idea to have the headline writers and the correspondents get together once in a while and talk things over. But of course the use of the word "fighting" and "menace" send quivers down the weak spines of the "respectable" riff-raff who read the headlines in this sheet and go no further. And that makes for circulation which is desperately needed by "The Evening Post" these doldrum days.

Now "The Post," which is a white elephant on the hands of old Whiskers Cyrus H. K. Curtis of Philadelphia, has sent one of its bright young men to Milwaukee to find out why gangsters keep strictly away from that Socialist City. After the usual time-worn gags about what made Milwaukee famous, the correspondent says that New York, Chicago and other gang-infested cities might well study over the fact that there were but twelve homicides in Milwaukee last year as compared with New York's 421 and that in three years in the Wisconsin metropolis there has only been one unsolved murder. Way down at the end of the first article appears this delicious bit: "Milwaukee has a Socialist Mayor who has been in office for fifteen years, but this is not greatly significant in a survey of the crimeless city. It does, however, give some indication of the fact that Milwaukee prizes good government far above party. The Socialists are in a minority, but because Daniel Webster Hoan has satisfied the voters that he is honest and efficient he has been re-elected repeatedly."

Which is about the same as saying that although the city administration is honest and efficient, this has nothing to do with Socialism, but must be due to sun-spots over Milwaukee or some other natural phenomenon.

Now lest our reforming and prohibitory comrades gloat overmuch about this state of affairs in Milwaukee, let us hasten to assure them that while the citizen is 86 per cent safer than citizens of New York and New Orleans he has pretty easy access to 3,100 speakeasies within the city limits. Sam Friedman and George Goebel please note.

This information does a lot to remove a bad taste from our mouth caused by contemplating the picture of Mayor Hoan in the midst of a group of our touring mayors abroad. Just how a common-sense citizen like Dan Hoan got mixed up in this clown caravan is beyond our feeble powers of comprehension. We don't begrudge Dan his well-earned holiday but we do wish he would be a little more picky about the doings of some other mayors on their foreign junkets, even Jimmy Walker goes up a peg in our estimation.

Of course for us Manhattanites the word "Mayor" has a connotation and that highly odious. It means a flashy-dressed, shifty-eyed Broadway boulevard type whose chief activity is kicking off soccer balls at games between the city's Celts and Jews and denouncing all his critics as "reds." But after reading of the doings of some other mayors on their foreign junkets, even Jimmy Walker goes up a peg in our estimation.

From West Virginia we have the disturbing news that those two labor vultures, John L. Lewis and his hired gangman, Van Bittner, are busied with their customary union-busting work in the coal-fields of the northern section of the State. John L. is apparently alarmed at the splendid progress being made by the newly-organized West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. He has accordingly sent Van Bittner into the Fairmont-Morgantown field to the north of the Kanawha district where Frank Keeney and the others are making their gallant fight, with instructions to sell out the miners. Not that Van needs any instructions. His sole reason for being, since the days he stabbed Alex Howat in the back, has been to sell out one group of coal-diggers and then another. This time he has made an "agreement" with the operators calling for a rate of 30 cents a ton and \$3.60 for motormen, the top notch day rate. This rate is nine cents a ton and ninety cents a day lower than the scale paid non-union miners in the Rockefeller-owned Consolidation mines and other non-union operations. It means that Lewis is deliberately attempting to depress wages, union and non-union, in West Virginia to the starvation point. Even a Fairmont paper edited in the very shadow of the operators' office protests against this dirty business. The answer of every Socialist worth his salt to this hard-boiled challenge should be the most liberal sort of donation to The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 112 East Nineteenth street, New York City, of which Norman Thomas is chairman. Your money will go straight to the anti-Lewis, pro-union group in the Kanawha field.

Gosh darn it. We started off by saying that we were not going to use this column for boosting causes and so on. And here we are doing just that thing. But the thought of John L. and his kind representing themselves as "leaders" of labor and then deliberately turning on as fine a two-faced proletariat as this country knows drives all potential wise-cracks out of our so-called mind and arouses in us such a blind rage that we could bite right through a whole horsehead of tacks.

McAlister Coleman.

If there is a Socialist who has not contributed to the Socialism Forward Drive and can do so he should not look far to find the chap who is not driving forward.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

Austria, Germany in Sore Straits

By Benedikt Kautsky

Vienna, May 29th.

THE economic and political difficulties gripping Austria were made still worse a few days ago when the bourgeois coalition Government announced that the Austrian Credit Institute, by far the biggest bank in Austria, had suffered losses of about 140,000,000 schillings (worth 14 cents apiece) and, consequently, must be saved by the help of the State. The State and the National Bank had decided to put up 130,000,000 schillings, partly in the shape of cash to cover the losses and partly in the form of subscribing for new stock. The rest of the loss will be covered and fresh capital raised through advances by the Rothschilds, who control the concern, and through cutting 25 per cent from the face value of the old stock. The bank's reserves of 40,000,000 schillings are completely wiped out.

With the collapse of the Creditanstalt disappears one of the last traces of the old Austrian domination of Southeastern Europe. In less time than one could have foreseen following the political collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the economic connection among its members has been sundered and any attempt made by France today, in its counter-plan against the proposed customs union of Austria with Germany, aimed at the resurrection of the Danube monarchy in the shape of an economic federation through preferential tariffs, credit facilitation, etc., is doomed in advance to failure. Austria is trying at present to conclude commercial agreements with Italy and Hungary on this basis and it also is possible that similar pacts may be made with Yugoslavia and Rumania, but their actual results will amount to very little. Germany's economic attraction for Austria is bound to be enhanced by the crash of the Creditanstalt. It is true that at the same time Austria's dependence upon England and France is increasing. The Austrian State, in the midst of its financial troubles, hasn't the cash to turn over to the Creditanstalt voted by Parliament. It

Economic Difficulties Complicated by Political Uncertainty; The Wage-Cutting Movement in Germany

must raise the money by floating a treasury loan, mostly abroad and principally in France. Naturally this materially restricts the Austrian government's freedom of movement in the field of foreign affairs.

(On June 17 a Vienna cablegram reported an agreement in principle with the Bank of England to place half of the \$1,000,000 treasury loan to help the Creditanstalt.)

The domestic political situation is all mixed up. The rebuff suffered by Foreign Minister Schober's customs union policy at the League of Nations Council in Geneva; the fearful economic crisis, which will be still worse in the next few weeks because of the collapse of the Credit Institute; the deficit in the Federal budget, the covering of which is a cause of dissension among the three bourgeois Government parties, and the difficulties in customs and commercial policies created by the exorbitant demands of the Austrian agrarians have brought about a lingering government crisis that has been with us for weeks already and out of which there is no road in sight just at present. The government may quit any day, but the difficulty of finding a successor for it is so great that the crisis may drag along for weeks and months without any real decision.

There has been a shifting of strength in favor of the Christian Socialists (clericals) within the ranks of the three coalition government parties of late. Provincial and municipal elections during the last few weeks have revealed a material strengthening of the Christian Social Party. This gain has been mostly at the cost of the Heimwehr (reactionary home guards) who have been absorbed by the Christian Socialists and are in a state of complete dissolution. "Prince" Starheimberg, therefore, has abandoned the sinking ship and has told the public that he intends to devote himself to his private affairs, which means the



First knight: "Pardon me, sir, you have dropped your glove." Second knight: "Pardon me, I threw it."

settling of the debts incurred by the equipping of his private army. But the Pan-Germans and the Agrarians also lost votes to the Christian Socialists and to the rising National Socialists, whose importance, however, isn't to be compared with that of their German brethren (the extremely reactionary followers of Adolf Hitler.) The Social Democracy, upon the whole, has held its position in these elections and even has won some seats because of the increasing divisions among its opponents. The Communists have, indeed, made some gains, but numerically they are still insignificant.

In Germany, despite the desperate economic situation, the supporters of the republic by no means are eager for the overthrow of the bourgeois coalition government headed by Heinrich Brüning. Recent provincial and local elections have shown that the position of the National Socialists, at least numerically, is still stronger than at the time of the last Reichstag elections on Sept. 14, 1930. If the Reichstag

were dissolved today the bourgeois center, with the exception of the Clericals, would be just about wiped out. And on the left side of Parliament there would be a shifting of strength from the Socialists to the Communists which would make it impossible to set up any kind of a working government.

The economic crisis is raging with undiminished force and even though the decline in unemployment during the last few years has been slightly greater than that of the year before, still the total number of idle workers in Germany is much more than 4,000,000. The drive to cut prices and wages, started with so much effort last autumn, has been absolutely ineffective from a purely economic standpoint and has merely succeeded in filling the masses of the workers with the greatest distrust and hatred of the Brüning government because the latter has been using all the power of the State's arbitration machinery for the purpose of forcing wage reductions.

At the same time more favors are being shown to the big land

owners. In the form of the so-called help for the East, i. e., relief for the districts in Eastern Germany especially hard hit by the shifting of frontiers and the agrarian crisis, hundreds of millions of marks are being given to the big land owners, who, nevertheless, never can be satisfied. The German tariff policy moves along the same lines and during the last few weeks has brought about an increase in the price of bread in most of the big German cities doubly aggravating in the face of the fearful unemployment and the pressure upon wages. The earnest protests made to the government by the Social Democrats haven't been able to effect any real change, but merely have led to some rather ineffective modifications.

The splitting off of a part of the National Socialists from the bulk of the party hasn't made the situations in Germany any easier. On the contrary it may constitute the cause of still greater danger. The secessionists, under ex-Captain Stennes, composed the most energetic and the least disciplined elements of the National Socialist party. By getting rid of them Hitler has made it easier, rather than harder, for him to enter the government. During the last few weeks he has been busy trying to convince the world that the National Socialists are strong for legality. In other words, he wants to show that he is qualified to run for the government.

Hitler's efforts along this line have become especially strong since opposition to the National Socialists has become more intense in wide circles of the bourgeoisie. For instance, in Thuringia a coalition government including National Socialists has been ousted with the help of the Socialists and been replaced by a bourgeois cabinet embracing no National Socialists. And in Bremen the bourgeois parties have declined to work with the National Socialists in the government.

[The Austrian Cabinet resigned on Tuesday after one minister resigned as a protest against terms of a foreign loan. It is reported that the Christian Social Party may form a minority Cabinet.]

The Economics of Bolshevism

(Continued from Page Four)

is may be gathered from the items we mention in the Moscow News. The losses reported in this publication are in part traced to the all-pervading bureaucracy.

The most important item refers to the large Stalingrad plant which is reported as "alarming." American workers appear to face insuperable difficulties which are "especially alarming because of the fact that the break occurs at a time when millions of peasants are joining the collective and state farms. . . . There are cases when absolutely inexperienced workers are put on a job 'to learn,' which results in the breaking of machines and producing scrap." An American engineer states that "at least four tractors were actually made on the tool benches with files! They almost cost their weight in gold and then couldn't stand a decent field test." At Kharkov where another large plant is building, a huge poster reads: "In Stalingrad last month 3,000 breakages occurred on 6,000 machines costing the plant 725,000 rubles."

Any person who has learned a skilled trade, especially one that involves machines, can understand what is happening. The worker must slowly advance one step after another over a number of years. He gets the "feel" of things, the technique and skill coming gradually. The difficulty is multiplied when the workers live in a country where this technique is practically absent and where, in addition, the worker labors in fear of punishment should he rely on his own awakening judgment and make a mistake. Experts, specialists and technicians also have their imagination and initiative paralyzed. After nearly three years of the Five Year Plan accounting and credit are badly demoralized, according to the Moscow News. Some American specialists who ventured important suggestions for improving production find their ideas pigeon-holed for months. In the case of demoralized accounting it means millions of rubles of goods rotting in warehouses while plants ordering them are handicapped for need of them. Everywhere bureaucracy, fear, inexperience and stifled initiative punish the masses with the extreme privation mentioned by Chamberlain.

Meantime the policy of exterminating what is now called the "kulaks" is almost incomprehensible. These modern kulaks do not include great landlords who were typical of the old czarist regime and who no longer exist, but the peasant who may accumulate a few pigs, cows or chickens or accumulate a small surplus because of better cultivation of the soil. The possession of such things makes him an "exploiter" and he is mercilessly destroyed and his little possessions are confiscated. In other words, these peasants who reveal an intelligence

higher than the average and who are so essential to improved agriculture in any country are exterminated. The natural result is that peasants tend to produce for their own needs and production declines. The peasant regions are then raided. An example is that of the threatened famine one year ago. In sheer despair peasants began to kill their livestock; Russia lost half its pigs, almost a third of its sheep and almost a quarter of its cows, according to the estimate of Chamberlain. Disaster threatened for all Russia and Stalin had to call a halt.

This by no means exhausts the economics of the Russian problem. What is feared by Kautsky and Socialists abroad is that the terrible sacrifices exacted from the Russian masses, the demoralization caused by the bureaucracy, the deterioration of one of Russia's chief economic assets, her labor power, and the plight of the peasants may lead to an upheaval of the masses the outcome of which no one can predict. Should this occur it will certainly include a section of the Communists as in the case of the Kronstadt rising, how many being a matter of conjecture. It was this grave situation which prompted the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International at its Berlin session last year to appeal to the Russian masses to save the revolution from collapse. That document which appeared in The New Leader, January 10 of this year should be read again in connection with Kautsky's book.

The International urges democratization, release of working class opponents from prison, and cooperation of all working class elements for the reconstruction of Russia. At the same time the International affirmed that "We shall strike down the hand of international reaction with all our strength if it attempts to take advantage of your difficulties." Kautsky takes the same position in his book. Here it may be said that abroad there are some slight shades of difference among leading Socialists regarding Russia but being closer and having more ready access to information than American Socialists they recognize that Russia is not so much in danger from foreign cliques as it is from insoluble difficulties within.

One thing more. Last year the New York Times published a translation of some passages from this book which gave the impression that Kautsky raved like a stoker. This does not appear in this volume. It is written in the style and with that power of analysis and presentation which has characterized his work for more than forty years. Reading it will help to clarify opinions of American Socialists who, unfortunately, are sometimes inclined to form their views on Russia by writers who are not Socialists but "liberals."

New York Transit; Tammany Runs True

(Continued from Page Four)

are robbed from it by the B.M.T., the Walker administration proposes to give the B.M.T. even greater opportunities for fraud. The illegitimate profits to be made from the operation of a billion and a half dollar traction-system through the awarding of construction contracts and the purchase of supplies are tremendous.

The higher price to be paid to the B.M.T. and the I.R.T. will probably make impossible the preservation of the 5-cent fare or the improvement of working conditions for employees. Obviously, the more capital receives in payment, the greater will be the interest charges to be met out of revenues. The price fixed in the Undermyer plan is barely low enough to enable the revenue on a five-cent fare to meet operating expenses and interest payments. Any increase in fixed charges will mean a deficit, especially in view of the fact that the cost of the new subways is so expensive that they cannot be self-sustaining from a five-cent fare. Only special assessments to pay part of the cost of construction levied against property benefited by the new subways would make the five-cent fare possible on the new system. The city administration has consistently refused to adopt this policy because it would reduce the profits of real-estate speculators close to Tammany Hall.

Employees on our subways and elevated lines are horribly exploited. To earn \$35 a week, they have to work from 65 to 70 hours. One of the results of unification should be a reduction of the work week for rapid transit employees without a reduction in wages. That means greater operating costs. If private capital in existing transit lines is treated as liberally as is contemplated by the city, labor can not have its conditions improved without an increase in fare for the riding public. Our guess is that the companies will receive at least \$510,000,000. This is \$90,000,000 more than the city should be reasonably expected to pay. Assuming 5% carrying charges, this means an extra four and a half million dollars going to capital out of operating revenues. If this revenue went to labor instead of to capital, assuming a \$35 weekly wage, an additional 3,000 men could be employed. This would reduce unemployment and would result in a considerable reduction in the work-week of those now employed without any cut in their wages.

There is an ironical feature in the entire situation. Mr. Undermyer has labored for many years on transit unification without any compensation. The latter, a very wealthy lawyer, undoubtedly undertook the task because no longer in need of money, he is desirous of public prestige. He is over 70, and this would have been the crowning achievement of his career at the last minute, he is gently shoved out of the picture by Tammany Hall whom he has consistently defended. It was Mr. Undermyer who defended District Attorney Crain when under investigation by the Governor's Commissioner, Samuel Seabury. It was Mr. Undermyer who rushed into print in defense of those Tammany district leaders who refused to waive immunity before the Grand Jury, when called to testify in the state's investigation of the buying of judgeships in New York City. We wonder whether Mr. Undermyer will ever again go to bat for Tammany Hall.

Bail Is Refused Miners in Harlan

(Continued from Page One)

that he is heavily interested in mining properties, that he appeared personally before the grand jury to obtain indictments against the miners and that he travels with a bodyguard because he is afraid of the miners as a result of his actions on the bench. Judge Jones disregarded the motion that he vacate the bench, but passed on a motion which had not been made—a motion to set the bond, which he overruled. When the lawyers tried to appeal his decision on hearing the case to the Court of Appeals, they found the records only showed a motion for the fixing of bonds which he had credited to them. This was not true, but the record made appeal impossible. So the men stay in jail until the next term of court, August 17, at least.

Frank Perkins, 45-year-old union miner, was arrested when searching officers found a bundle of I. W. W. literature in his home. He was jailed on a charge of criminal syndicalism. Perkins and others had been on a trip to get relief for starving mine families. When he returned he found five of Sheriff Blair's men ransacking his home. Scanty belongings of the Perkins family were turned upside down in the search that uncovered a small stack of I. W. W. leaflets, according to Bill Gibbs, miner, who said that Perkins, himself and others

had just returned from a two-day journey collecting food and money for starving women and children of union miners in Sunshine, an addition to Harlan. Mrs. Perkins told the officers that the literature had come in by mail while her husband was away.

The sheriff's raiders were headed by Deputy Heywood, known locally among the miners as the "Chicago gangster," according to Gibbs. Heywood came here at the outbreak of industrial strife between miners and guards as representative of a firearms company, and joined the sheriff's forces.

War Department Issues A Political Speech

WASHINGTON—(FP)—"The Hoover Administration" is the formal title of a War Department mimeographed document of four pages, issued to the press under date of June 13 at public expense, being "Extracts from an Address by Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War, Before the Young Republicans Club, at the Willard Hotel." In the midst of the administration's economy drive, this use of public funds for national defense has been largely overlooked.

Hurley, in a fervid eulogy of Hoover, acquits him of all responsibility for the economic collapse "at the close of a period of inflation, gambling and speculation which had reached unprecedented dimensions" while Hoover was Secretary of Commerce.

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NEGRO EMPLOYMENT
W. M. DOAK A. L. HOLSEY WILL HERBERG
U. S. Sec. Labor Negro Business League Revolutionary Age
in The **CRISIS** \$1.50 Yearly
JULY 60-5th AVE., N. Y. C. 15c Newsstands

The Chatterbox

Mother Pyatiletka Nursery Rhymes

Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat,
Where have you been?
I've been to Moscow
To visit the Queen.

Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat,
What saw you there?
Just workers and moujiks,
Busy everywhere.

I asked for the King
And they showed me the sky,
Where they said he was eating
His blackbird pie.

I asked for the maid,
And they stared at me;
Comrade Sonia had charge
Of the Kremlin Launderer.

Ba, ba, black sheep,
Have you any wheat?
Yes, sir, yes, sir,
That's my meat.

Tons for Europe,
Tons for the East,
But not a kernel
For the lazy priest.

Bread for the scrubwomen,
Bread for the stokers,
But only chaff
For the grabby brokers.

Bread for the farmers,
Bread for the workers,
But not a crumb
For the useless shirkers.

Ride a fast horse
All the steppe across,
And you can't find a lady
Astride any horse.

The ladies drive tractors,
And combine and plows,
Without rings on their fingers
Or bells on their toes.

Little Boy Blue, don't blow your horn
Until we have cows and plenty of corn.
When we have butter and muffs and bread
Little Boy Blue will be Little Boy Red.

Dumb King Nick, was very thick,
For a very thick brain had he.
He called for his bowl, and called for his pipe
And yelled for his fiddlers three.

They brought him a bowl,
And fetched him a pipe,
But the fiddlers never came.
His brow grew black as caviar,
As he shouted for each by name.

Then three strange men
Came into court.
And so mighty dumb was Nick,
He couldn't tell a fiddler
From a nasty Bolshevik.

"My name is also Nick," said the first,
"And mine is Leon, smiled the second fellow.
"They call me Joe," said the steady third . . .
"I don't give a damn," King Nick made a bellow.

"And neither do we, sweet majesty,"
Quaintly replied the naughty three.

Old King Nick is now no more,
Because his brain was very thick.
So thick, it couldn't tell a fiddler
From a Bolshevik.

Hey Diddle Diddle,
The Cat and the Fiddle,
The Nephew is gone
And the pre-war yiddle
Toils on a farm
Or works in a shop.
We are through with the top
And the worthless middle . . .
Everything now
Is bottom side up.

Simple Sapman met a Nephew
Going to the fair.
Said Simple Sapman to the Nephew,
"Why are you going there?"

But the Nephew was no Sapman.
To tell would never do,
For even such a simple sap
Might be a Goy-pa-pook.

"Ah, you ought to send these poems to the 'Daily Worker,'" came the enthusiastic suggestion from my Communist neighborhood.

"I'm afraid dear lady, they would be rejected as counter-revolutionary piffle by the serious gentleman who thunder on the left," came my wisdom-laden rejoinder.

And so they appear here, because Social Democrats have a sense of humor, and will perhaps enjoy them for sweet nonsense sake.

It will be somewhat sacrilegious to ascribe the parentage of these doggerel tots to that tremendously important film out of Russia, now showing at the Central Theatre, as "The Five Year Plan." . . . And yet, after seeing the picture of the Sovietland rising out of ignorance and primeval helplessness into literacy and mechanized efficiency, I had to go away singing something gay and heart-lightening.

You would have to be a downright, crummy crab, cemented with your prejudices not to get a real thumping kick and thrill out of the wondrous thing that unfolds itself before your eyes. The only actors in the play are fields of grain dancing in the sunlight as vast in width as the heavens and fenced in only by horizons, tractors and combines doing their drudgery-saving magic, steel mills and dams, houses for workers, factories and mines, railroads and power plants, and everywhere busy farmers and workers.

Imagine, you Fox and Paramount-filmed Americans, not a silk gown, or a dress shirt, or a fancy night club scene in the whole play. You don't see a banker, broker, lawyer, merchant, or gull blunder specialist in two hours of show. And yet no greater drama for mankind has unfolded itself for the spirit and heart of all sane men and women since life on earth began.

There isn't one hint of theatricalism in the whole shebang. It is all as alive and real as our troubles. Nobody plays. Everything is life as it is. It is by far the best contribution the Soviets have made to Socialist education, because it is honest and unadorned as raw earth. And I don't care how soon you are at Stalin and his dictatorship, if you're a real Socialist, you'll get the same joy that I still mine by having sat in on that film showing. And I want to thank Bernie Feinman, our theatrical man for procuring the seats for me. The Mrs. thanks him too.

S. A. deWitt

"Sweepstakes"—Racing Romance—

The Stage The Movies

R. K. O. Pathe Picture Begins Extended Run At Mayfair Music

In Newest Soviet Film Now at the RKO Cameo



Produced in the U. S. S. R., and said to be based on historic facts and document, "The Black Sea Mutiny" is now on view at the Cameo Theatre. Above is one of the characters in the picture.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

HAVE "PATIENCE!"

"PATIENCE," Gilbert and Sullivan Series, At Erlanger's.

Another of the rapturous revivals of the Savoyard pair lets us have "Patience," that most timeless of the Gilbert satires, with the Sullivan music at its usual neat adjustment to the words. While perhaps not quite so fresh as the revival at the Greenwich Village Theatre a half-dozen years ago—where was an almost amateur spontaneity and delight—and while Danforth lets his helmet chin-strap cover his words too much, the performance is otherwise quite as one would wish, and a sign that the Civic Light Opera Company and Mr. Aborn are warming to their work. Joseph Macaulay, here as Archibald Grosvenor, continues to develop as a rich-voiced personality; and Vivian Hart, as the dairy-maid Patience, is coy as a soubrette. The twenty love-sick maidens are as charming as forlorn.

If you have never seen this satire on the ethereal pretensions of the art-arty, go see "Patience." If you have, you will go without any bidding.

BOLD SAILORS

"THE VIKING," A film record of the Varick Frissell Arctic Expedition, At the Central Park.

ONE of the "martyrs of the movies" is Varick Frissell, who filmed the excellent picture of the sea-hunt of "The Viking." Not satisfied with certain shots, he returned to Labrador to retake the scenes, and there, with members of his crew, was killed in an explosion on the Viking. The picture, shown as he had prepared it before his second and fatal journey, leaves us wondering what he wanted to refilm; for it is a beautiful, impressive capture of the far north, with enough plot to tie the journey together with a strong thread of suspense.

The picture carries us through the entire voyage of the Viking, leaving St. John's, Newfoundland, to make the annual "great kill" of seals. Dynamiting its way through icebergs and ice-floe, the ship moves on its hazardous way. Schools of seals are overtaken, and there are some excellent close-ups of baby seals; and the gathering of a storm over the snow drifts is awesome. Lost in

In Star Studded Picture at the Hipp



Fay Wray is to be seen this week at the Hipp in "The Lawyer's Secret." Which includes Clive Brook, Buddy Rogers, Richard Arlen and many others. Wilton and Weber and Lew Hearn head a big stage bill.

this blizzard are Jed and Luke, rival sealers, and rivals for the hand of the village belle. Under the snowfall, that shuts off all vision, and under the equally blinding glare of the arctic sun, on ice that, as they continue, threatens constantly to crack, these sealers work their way back to a ship that considers them lost forever. . . In its white and vivid beauty, "The Viking" is one of the year's outstanding films.

Broun on Broadway

There should be good going when "Shoot the Works" arrives. This is the cooperative musical comedy Heywood Broun is gathering—cooperative for all but the chorus, which has its initial salary guaranteed. The line-up Broun is assembling makes this writer hope the play opens before he leaves town on vacation—not to mention that Broun himself is worth a theatre-ticket or two. Go to it, Heywood!

With Milton Ralson as partner, Broun has already enlisted the aid of the Gershwins, Dorothy Parker, Harry Hershfield, and more and more and more.

In Colorful Romance of the Race Track



"Sweepstakes," with Eddie Quillan, Marian Nixon and other popular movie names, starts an engagement at the Mayfair Theatre Wednesday.

Janet Gaynor in "Daddy Long Legs" Held Over At Fox B'klyn; Big Stage Revue Also Stays On

So great has been the demand for Janet Gaynor in "Daddy Long Legs" at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre that the picture has been held over and is not in its second and final week. As "Judy Abbott" in her progress from gingham and pigtail to chiffon and pendants, the charm of Janet Gaynor is absolutely ideal for the part; while Warner Baxter, playing opposite her, is a perfect choice for the suave, cynical but lonely bachelor who is greatly surprised to find himself in love with his ward.

Fanchon & Marco's stage show, "African" Idea, has been held over with the picture. This idea of the "dark continent" with all its vivid characteristics has been transplanted to the stage by Sammy Lee with especially extravagant scenic equipment. Featured in a large principal cast of unusual merit are Ed and Morton Beck. Others in support are Prosper and Maret, Frank Foster and Mabelle, Three Brown Buddies, Cherie and Tomasita, and fourteen dancing Sunkist Beauties.

The Fox trio of Sam Jack Kaufman, Bob West and Eddie Magill repeat their successes of last week.

"Lawyer's Secret," Five Star Film, at the Hipp; Wilton and Weber, Lew Hearn Head Comedy Bill

At the Hippodrome this week Clive Brook, Charles "Buddy" Rogers and Richard Arlen are featured in "The Lawyer's Secret" with Fay Wray and Jean Arthur in the leading feminine roles. And this five star drama "Buddy" Rogers makes his dramatic bow in a great part and proves himself a great actor. The eight act vaudeville bill stars Joe Wilton and Rex Weber in their comedy riot "Mr. America." Lew Hearn, the popular character comedian in the "Jip Clothing" skit by Eddie Cantor, and Loma Worth, properly presented as Miss Versatility. Others on the program are Emory Manley with Mabel Golden and Walter LaMarr, Jay Seiler and Frances Willis and Three Peaches, the Gilbert Brothers, the Four Polos and another RKO act.

Joan Waters, the Song Seamstress, Sings Her Way to Popularity

Every Tuesday at 2:45, over station WHN, one can hear the popular Joan Waters, known widely as the song seamstress, improvise music to the lyrics sent to her by her increasing army of radio followers. The reason for the evident popularity of her act is the enjoyment it brings to her listeners as well as to herself, who find her not only enjoyable but stimulating and catchy. One listener, upon hearing Miss Waters' music applied to her lyric, became so enthusiastic over it that she immediately decided to make a bid for the music. It is this sort of entertainment that makes for success, because of the interest displayed by both the artist and her listeners. Joan Waters, they say, has it in her to be a huge success.

Lupe Velez at Palace

Next week's bill at the RKO Palace will have a distinct Hollywood flavor with no less a personage than Lupe Velez, the diminutive motion picture star as the headline attraction.

GILBERT MILLER Presents
The outstanding dramatic success of the season.—Bums Mantle, News
Tomorrow AND Tomorrow
with Zita JOHANN and Glenn ANDERS
HENRY MILLER'S W. 43 St.
Eves. 8:40; Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

BROOKLYN
FOX
2nd WEEK
JANET GAYNOR
in Daddy Long Legs
The Fox Movietone Romance with WARNER BAXTER
On the Stage—merry Jangle Melance FANCHON & MARCO'S
"AFRICAN" Idea with Ed & Marion Beck and the SUNKIST BEAUTIES
Eddie MAGILL Sam JACK KAUFMAN Bob WEST

In Max Gordon's New Hit at the New Amsterdam



Five stellar stars who shine brightly in "The Band Wagon" are Fred and Adele Astaire, Tilly Losch, Frank Morgan and Helen Broderick. This new revue is the work of George S. Kaufman, Howard Dretz and Arthur Schwartz, and is already considered one of the biggest smash hits of the year.

Concerning Glenn Anders, Hero in 'Tomorrow and Tomorrow'

Glenn Anders, who plays the leading male role in Philip Barry's "Tomorrow and Tomorrow," which is now in its sixth month at Henry Miller's Theatre, came, like young Lochinvar, out of the West. He hails from Los Angeles, where he attended a dramatic school for a time and then joined the company of Sothorn and Marlowe in Shakespearean repertoire. Despite the glamour that inevitably surrounds a young actor who has achieved rapid success, Glenn Anders is conspicuous for a retiring and unassuming personality. He is in that respect singularly unlike young Lochinvar.

He has played a series of roles that entitle him to a prominent place among the young male stars of the legitimate stage. He was Andy Lowry in "Hell Bent for Heaven," which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1923; Joe in "They Knew What They Wanted," which earned that honor in 1924, and Edmund Darrell in "Strange Interlude," which received the award in 1928. No less important were his characterizations in "The Constant Nymph," "A Farewell to Arms," "Dynamo," and Philip Barry's "Hotel Universe." In the last named play, Anders gave a performance which marked him as eminently fitted to portray the sensitive urbane people that Mr. Barry draws so well.

"Barry and playwrights like him are creating a new audience in the theatre, and a new kind of actor," says Anders. "He is responsible to a perceptible degree for the good taste that is coming into the theatre. Playing Barry, one must forget many things that are heritages of the days when an actor had to Act—with a capital A; his lines need only to be spoken with the utmost simplicity to be effective. The actor must play, not to the last row of the theatre, but to the first."

"I had to acquire a slightly different technique in playing 'Hotel Universe' last season. It was necessary to unlearn some things with which I had been imbued during my first years on the stage. My early training was in such plays as 'Around the Corner,' 'Scrambled Wives,' and 'The Demi-Virgin,' before I played in the more serious 'Hell Bent for Heaven.'"

Endowed with a rare flexibility in his art and a fine intelligence, Glenn Anders is accepted as one of the few leading men of star calibre on the legitimate stage today. He has shown himself equally fitted to play the robust dramas of Sidney Howard, the emotional ones of Eugene O'Neill, and the sensitive, witty moving plays of Philip Barry.

"Diversion seekers who prefer good vocalizing, good music, excellent dancing and the artistic Ethel Waters are sure to find it worth while."
—Walter Winchell, Mirror
Ethel Waters "FSLIE'S"
RHAPSODY in BLACK
with the World's greatest colored entertainers—leading VALAIDA
CECIL MACK'S CHOIR
BERRY BROS., AL MOORE & PIKE DAVIS' ORCHESTRA
SAM HARRIS
Thea. W. 43 St.
Eves. 8:30; Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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"PATIENCE"
ALL STAR CAST OF 60
Direction of MILTON ABORN
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"Capital entertainment for the end of a nirthless season."—Times

"The Viking" to Be Held Indefinitely at Central Park Theatre

"The Viking," Varick Frissell's drama of Newfoundland seal hunters which had its New York premiere before a distinguished audience Tuesday night at Leo Brecher's Central Park Theatre, is continuing over the week-end and will be held indefinitely. "The Viking" is a picture that cost the lives of Frissell and twenty-five of his companions when they sealing vessel, the Viking, mysteriously exploded near Newfoundland while they were engaged in retaking some of the scenes for the picture.

"The Skin Game," From Galsworthy's Famous Play, at the Little Carnegie

At the Little Carnegie Playhouse is a British International picture, "The Skin Game," adapted from John Galsworthy's play of the same name and directed by Alfred Hitchcock. The picture is a faithful transcription of one of the great English dramatists' best known works, and is enacted by a distinguished cast including Edmund Gwenn, Phyllis Konstam, C. V. France, Helen Hayes, Jill Esmond, John Longden, Frank Lawton, Herbert Ross, Dora Gregory, R. E. Jeffrey, George Bancroft, Edward Chapman and Ronald Frankau.

Applause so Great, Leslie Repeats Finale in 'Rhapsody'

What is perhaps the most unusual incident in the annals of Broadway showdom occurred on the stage of the Sam H. Harris Theatre on Saturday evening when the curtain descended on the finale of Lew Leslie's "Rhapsody in Black." The applause was tumultuous and the company took ten curtain calls to the most enthusiastic cheers. The audience, still not satisfied, continued the prolonged applause, refusing to leave their seats.

"Never before," asserts Lew Leslie, "have I witnessed such a demonstration in the theatre and I have been in show business for thirty years. As far as I know this is the first time in show business that the finale of a musical show had to be repeated in its entirety in response to the demands of an audience. It is a great tribute to the genius of Ethel Waters, my star, and to the other members of my company."

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7th AVENUE and 50th STREET
ANNABELLE'S AFFAIRS
Fox Movietone Comedy from CLARE KUMMER'S Story with VICTOR McLAGLEN, JEANETTE MACDONALD, ROLAND YOUNG, WM. COLLIER, Sr.
A JAPANESE IDYLL
PATRICIA BOWMAN, dancing diva, WEE WILLIE ROBYN, brilliant tenor... DOROTHY MILLER, soprano; BEATRICE BELKIN, Metropolitan Star; ROXY'S GANG, YICHA NIMURA, Oriental Dance Wizard, also Gena from "MADAME BUTTERFLY" ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA ROXYETTE, ROXY BALLET, ROXY CHORUS

"A Free Soul" becomes an outstanding screen melodrama. I feel certain you will enjoy a visit to the Astor."
—William Boehnel, WORLD-TELEGRAM
NORMA SHEARER
in "A FREE SOUL"
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Production
ASTOR B'way & 43rd St. Twice Daily, 2:30 and 8:30. 3 times Sat. Sun. & Holidays, 2-4-8-10. ALL SEATS RESERVED

"Sweepstakes," Racing Romance, Brings Eddie Quillan and Fine Cast To the RKO Mayfair

If the thunderous hoof-beats of Paul Revere's ride "rang around the world," as poets and historians claim, think of the echoes and re-echoes of the hoof-beats of the Kentucky Derby in this modern age of radio, telegraph and telephone. Or any other Sweepstakes of importance in the world—with millions of followers of the sport of kings listening-in on radios in all parts of the globe—thanks to international hook-ups. There is no sport which holds the interest as does horse-racing—and no field of sport that carries with it the romance and glamor of the race track, from owners down to stable hands. The heart throbs—the excitement—the villainy—and the honesty afford Al Rogell a wonderful opportunity in the making of RKO-Pathe Pictures epic of the track, "Sweepstakes," which opens an extended run at the RKO Mayfair Theatre, beginning eight o'clock Wednesday night.

The story is about a young jockey who falls in love with a night club singer and subsequently becomes disbarred from racing when he is framed by the girl's employer. Believing her to be implicated in his ruin, he disappears, only to be found next season by his old buddy waiting on a table at Tajana. It is just before the Agua Caliente Handicap—his suspension is up—but he refuses to ride. At the Caliente auction, they discover up for sale, the horse he had so often ridden to victory. They buy the horse, and, with some mysterious help, enter him in the Handicap. When the jockey learns that the financial assistance has come from his sweetheart—that she had nothing to do with his being framed—and she comes down for the races—he rides for more than victory.

Eddie Quillan plays the jockey; Marion Nixon is the pretty singer; Lew Cody, James Gleason, Frederic Burton, Paul Hurst and a number of other well known players complete the cast. Al Rogell receives credit for the direction. The story is original by Lew Lipton and the dialogue was written by Ralph Murphy.

"Chances," With Fairbanks, Jr., at the Hollywood Theatre

"Chances," starring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and showing at the Hollywood Theatre, has swung into the front line of box-office successes. An enthusiastic reception by the critics and full houses over the week-end have assured the picture of a four weeks' run, it is believed.

Fairbanks, Jr., the newest star in the Warner Bros. galaxy, demonstrates in "Chances" that his elevation to stardom was merited.

"Men Call It Love, With Adolphe Menjou, at Strand

"Men Call It Love," with Adolphe Menjou starred and Leila Hyams, Norman Foster, Mary Duncan and Hedda Hopper featured, is now at the Strand Theatre.

This picture was directed by Edgar Selwyn, Broadway producer and playwright. It is based upon the legitimate stage success, "Among the Married," which was written by Vincent Lawrence

DOUGLAS Fairbanks, Jr.

Rises to Stardom with the year's most brilliant performance in "CHANCES" A Hamilton Gibbs' stirring story of war and women! **HOLLYWOOD** B'way & 51st St.

The Sensational Stars of "Little Caesar" and "Public Enemy" TOGETHER! **EDWARD G. ROBINSON** in "Smart Money" with James CAGNEY **Winter Garden** BROADWAY & 90th STREET Continuous—Popular Prices

4th CAPACITY WEEK! Amkino presents Soviet Russia's **5 YEAR PLAN** Seen Through the Camera's Eyes (TALK IN ENGLISH) Here is the greatest industrialization of an entire people that the world has ever known. **CENTRAL** B'way, 47th St. & 5th Ave. Daily, 8:30-11:30. Eves. 8:15-10:15. Sat. & Sun. 2:30-10:15. ALL SEATS RESERVED

The New Hero in Philip Barry's Fine Play "Tomorrow and Tomorrow"



Glenn Anders now essays the leading male role in Philip Barry's production of "Tomorrow and Tomorrow" at the Henry Miller's Theatre. Mr. Anders also appeared in Barry's "Hotel Universe" and has a string of successful characterizations to his credit.

"The Black Sea Mutiny," Film Document of the Russian Revolution, Open at the Cameo

The newest Soviet film, "The Black Sea Mutiny," which is now having its first American showing at the RKO Cameo Theatre, is an important film document of the dramatic days of the Russian revolution. It was in Odessa on the Black Sea where the Red troops in those tense days of 1918 fought against the Czarists and eventually conquered the reactionary White forces.

Odessa was captured in 1918 after prolonged and determined fighting by Ukrainian workers, soldiers and sailors of the Revolutionary forces. The peasants of the district also had a part in the struggle, joining their fellow workers against the imperial troops. It was at this stage that the Czarists called upon the French fleet to assist them in their attack

VARICK FRISSELL'S
VIKING
An authentic drama depicting thrills and romance of the Frozen North. Mr. Frissell and 23 companions risked and gave their lives to achieve this vivid portrayal of the loves, hazards and adventures of the rugged folk of Newfoundland!
CENTRAL PARK THEATRE
50th STREET & 7th AVENUE
Continuous Noon to Midnite
Continues of LEO BRECHER
Midnite Show Every Saturday

A gripping story of the Red Revolution in Odessa . . . a dramatic period in the history of the New Russia . . .

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RKO ACTS
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Radio's song bird back again by popular demand, Chester Hale Fast Steps, Bunchuk, Orchestra.
Also the Globe Trotter Heart Melodrama News

A GREAT English Film
JOHN GALSWORTHY'S
The **SKIN GAME**
with a distinguished British cast
NOW PLAYING
LITTLE CARNEGIE
57th St. E. of 7th

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.

Chicago Picnic Great Success; Party Is Elated

Third Big Event Since May Day Cheers Socialists—Other Party Activities

(By A. New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—The old spirit of doing things has returned to Chicago. It first evidenced itself when the May First Celebrations were very successful. Then followed the Norman Thomas banquet two weeks later which was a marked success.

To top this off, the Annual Picnic at Riverside Park, Sunday, June 14th, was so well attended that party members were astonished. The more so since we were only given two weeks time to advertise and work for the picnic. This was due to the fact that we had been informed of a lock-out of waiters and cooks of the union, and following our principles of backing organized labor, held off further activities pending a settlement. Of course, this seriously hampered the work, but finally the Grievance Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor authorized the Party to go ahead with its plans, after thanking us for our efforts to help settle the trouble.

Thousands of Party members, sympathizers and their families attended. It was by far the best picnic in ten years in this respect and also financially, the Party coming out ahead several hundreds of dollars. The large crowd listened attentively to the messages conveyed by the speakers.

William Swoboda, Socialist Mayor of Racine, Wisconsin, was given a great ovation when he assured the crowd that in spite of the handicap in not having Socialist aldermen to back him up, he would fight strenuously to put across a Socialist program.

Ameringer Is Speaker

Hyman Schneid spoke in detail about unemployment, pointing out its effects on the working class. His talk was well received.

Adolph Dreifuss, county secretary, read the statement of the Socialist Party of Cook County on the bank failures. The extent of these failures is so great that it created unbelievable misery among small depositors.

R. E. Green explained the necessity for joining and strengthening the Socialist Party. He also made the collection appeal which brought in a large amount of money.

Oscar Ameringer was the closing speaker. He struck the humorous note in his stirring talk, holding the crowd for over an hour under the spell of his well known oratory.

Athletics, dancing, music and refreshments all combined to make the picnic one huge success. The Party branches and the Socialist Youth League helped tremendously in putting over this Annual Picnic.

Florida

A fifty per cent increase in membership in this state is reported by M. E. Edson, state secretary. Prominent in this growth has been the activity of the Tampa branch which is planning a vigorous campaign for next year's elections.

Michigan

THREE RIVERS.—Organization of an unemployed council demanding a Socialist relief program has been successfully completed by Arthur Gordon at Three Rivers. Several members of the council have already joined the party local, and others are studying Socialist literature.

Virginia

J. P. Rice will be employed as state organizer during July. Comrade Rice has given his value for this work in his activities in Local Hopewell.

Washington

SPOKANE.—Local Spokane has within the last week organized seven new locals in the city and three in outside districts, with more members joining daily and enthusiasm running high. A giant mass meeting to be held at Spokane, Saturday, June 30th, will be the headline in Spokane newspapers.

Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE.—An unemployed council has been set up for the city and county of Milwaukee by the County Central Committee of the Socialist Party, and is going ahead with plans that will probably make it necessary to assemble the unemployed in conference and to work out concrete proposals to be placed before the people of Milwaukee. Evidence that the unemployment situation was showing no improvement and that more men were being thrown out of work daily was given in speeches by Al Benson, William Coleman and others.

Pennsylvania

ERIE.—Robert A. Hoffman, Secretary of the Buffalo, N. Y., Socialist Local, will speak under the auspices of Local Erie, Saturday, June 30, at 8 p. m., at Perry Square.

New York State

NASSAU.—23 members in good standing. Results pouring in from county-wide letters sent to all enrolled Socialists. Outdoor meetings will be held during Summer months. Progress assured.

Connecticut

STATE NOTES.—Our next S. E. C. meeting will be held Sunday, June 28, at 2 p. m., D. L. S. time in South Meriden at the home of Comrade Rhodin. The meeting will be held in the rain or shine. Comrades from all over the state are making arrangements to attend, a good time is assured to all who come.

All locals, branches of the Workmen's Circle, of the German Sick and Death Benefit Society, Mothers Clubs and foreign speaking branches are being urged to bring delegations to the convention to be held Sunday, July 1st, at 11 a. m., D. L. S. time, in Manchester-Clark, West Haven, Mass.

Jersey City Socialists Need Funds to Save Headquarters Held for 20 Years

The monthly meeting of the Socialist Educational Club of Jersey City on Wednesday, June 10, was devoted to special consideration of its financial condition. The Socialists of Hudson County, N. J., to meet legal requirements, are incorporated as a club, in which is vested the ownership of Fraternity Hall, headquarters for over 20 years of the Socialist Party, labor unions, Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund and similar organizations. It was this headquarters that held the Socialist movement in Hudson County together through the dark days of the War and the left-wing split. The property is assessed by the city at nearly \$40,000.

For more than 20 years the Club has been self-sustaining, but the unemployment of the past 20 months has drastically reduced the Club's income, and for the first time in its history there is a deficit. By July 1st over \$700 in taxes and about \$500 in interest and amortization on mortgage

Help Needed in Florida

August Claessens, New York City Socialist organizer, has returned from a two weeks' vacation trip down South and had an opportunity of meeting a number of comrades in many states. The party with whom he traveled consisted of Comrades Louis and Rose Epstein, Mrs. Claessens and the youngsters, made a hurried trip covering some 3,600 miles. Because of the lack of time involved they were not able to do as much as they wanted to.

Nevertheless, meetings were addressed in Wilmington, Del.; Washington, D. C.; Savannah, Ga.; two excellent outdoor meetings in Tampa, Fla., and a Workmen's Circle and party meeting in Atlanta, Ga.

Comrade Claessens is concerned particularly relative to conditions in Florida.

"Everywhere throughout the South and particularly in that state, economic conditions are frightfully severe and our comrades are in many instances out of work and penniless. We are fortunate in having an excellent comrade who has been for many years a state secretary in Florida. This comrade, M. E. Edson, lives in Tampa, and since he has lost his position with the Seaboard Railroad, which he held for many years and was now one of the best paid of unemployed, has had sufficient time on his hands to do party work. Thanks to his efforts, the membership of the party has more than doubled throughout the state and an excellent local has been organized in Tampa.

"Thanks to him and the local comrades, two very fine outdoor meetings were arranged, which attracted considerable publicity and a very large attendance in Tampa.

"The comrades are so pitifully poor—they have no funds for literature and would be happy to contribute some while they are making contracts. In the case of Comrade Edson, our state secretary, just a little help

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN
Friday, June 19, 8:30 p. m.—21st street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, W. E. Bohn, Eliot White, May H. Mainland.

Friday, June 19, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh avenue and Avenue C. Speakers, Hyman Taubenschlag, Nathan Riesel, A. Grossman, Molly Weingart.

Saturday, June 20, 8:30 p. m.—28th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, L. C. Kaye, T. D. O'Brien.

Saturday, June 20, 8:30 p. m.—Columbus Circle. Speakers, David Fenwick, H. H. Layburn, Jessie W. Huggan.

Saturday, June 20, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, E. B. Brown, J. Gaspar, Frank Pore.

Tuesday, June 23, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh street and Second avenue. Speakers, Louis D. Lieberman, H. Salzman, Max Eisenberg.

Wednesday, June 24, 8:30 p. m.—180th street and St. Nicholas avenue. Speakers, Max Delmon, M. Muravchik, E. Koppel, R. Benzen, F. Hodgson, H. H. Layburn.

Wednesday, June 24, 8:30 p. m.—12th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, McAllister Coleman, May H. Mainland.

Friday, June 26, 8:30 p. m.—72nd street and Broadway. Speakers, W. Montrose, B. Blumenberg, E. Gottlieb.

Friday, June 26, 8:30 p. m.—21st street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, W. E. Bohn, L. C. Kaye, J. Huggan, T. D. O'Brien.

Friday, June 26, 8:30 p. m.—Sixth street and Avenue B. Speakers, Joseph Dean, H. Taubenschlag, A. Grossman, Molly Weingart.

Saturday, June 27, 8:30 p. m.—28th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, E. B. Brown, J. Gaspar, Frank Pore.

Saturday, June 27, 8:30 p. m.—Olympus Circle. Speakers, David Fenwick, J. A. Weiss, B. Bratow.

BRONX
Friday, June 19, 8:30 p. m.—163rd and Simpson streets. Speakers, Jack Beckowitz, I. Kleinman, H. Woskow, J. Davidson, B. Boyle, I. Ogus, F. Goodman.

Friday, June 26, 8:30 p. m.—163rd and Simpson streets. Speakers, Jack Beckowitz, I. Kleinman, H. Woskow, J. Davidson, B. Boyle, I. Ogus, F. Goodman.

Saturday, June 27, 8:30 p. m.—Albion and Kruger avenues. Speakers, August Claessens.

Tuesday, June 23, 8:30 p. m.—163rd and Simpson streets. Speakers, Jack Beckowitz, I. Kleinman, H. Woskow, J. Davidson, B. Boyle, I. Ogus, F. Goodman.

Tuesday, June 23, 8:30 p. m.—Kingsbridge road and Morris avenue. Speakers, P. J. Murphy, G. I. Steinhardt, Samuel Orr, Charles Bradford, Ida Schwartz.

Wednesday, June 24, 8:30 p. m.—Intervale and Wilkin avenues. Speakers, Henry Fruchter, Sol Ferrin, Nathan Riesel, Molly Weingart.

Thursday, June 25, 8:30 p. m.—176th street and Crescent avenue. Speakers, S. Goodman, H. Woskow, J. Davidson, B. Boyle, I. Ogus, F. Goodman.

Friday, June 26, 8:30 p. m.—163rd and Simpson streets. Speakers, Jack Beckowitz, I. Kleinman, H. Woskow, J. Davidson, B. Boyle, I. Ogus, F. Goodman.

Local Bridgeport is holding their picnic on Sunday, July 1st, in Heights Grove. Comrades are invited.

Meyer London Memorial on June 30th

Gathering to Be Held at Folks Theatre—Branches Are Active

A MEMORIAL meeting for Meyer London has been arranged by the Socialist party, East Side Branches, Jewish Hebrew Trades and Workmen's Circle, for Tuesday, June 30, at 8:30 p. m. This meeting will be held at the Folks Theatre, 12th street and Second avenue.

Prominent speakers will be present, representing the various organizations under whose auspices the meeting is being held. The famous Workmen's Circle chorus and other musicians will contribute an appropriate musical program. It is just five years since the death of Meyer London. Since then, the anniversary of his death has been commemorated by mass meetings in New York City and other parts of the country. A few weeks ago, the annual visit to Meyer London's grave was made by a number of New York Socialists.

NEW YORK CITY

Julius Gerber leaving for Europe.—Julius Gerber, executive secretary of Local New York City, leaves for Europe June 24. He will attend the International Socialist Congress in Vienna as one of the American delegates.

Comrade Edson is an excellent speaker, knows his Socialism thoroughly and is very well informed on conditions in the South, and particularly in Florida. He makes an infinitely better impression than any outside speaker who would be sent into that country.

"Our Florida organization has no funds whatever. I have taken it upon myself, as a committee of one, to interview a number of New York Socialists and branches in an attempt to raise a fund for propaganda and organization work in Florida. The state committee in Florida is quite penniless. The national office is not able to assist very much because of the many calls for help that come from all over the country. I believe that there are enough comrades in New York City who will see the importance of contributing a little, a little money goes a long way in Florida. I believe that without much effort we could raise 50 or more dollars in a short time.

"I am happy to announce that the first branch that I visited, namely, the Third A. D. Bronx, which is but a young, poor branch, contributed in a very short time a sum of \$10. Other and more prosperous branches will be appealed to.

"I also urge that those of you who read this article and wish to respond to it, send whatever contribution you are willing to make to me directly, Socialist City Office, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

"A little help from all of us will be more than appreciated by the splendid group of comrades in the State of Florida, who are so willing to work if they would have the tools and materials to work with."

MANHATTAN

6th A. D. A meeting will be held Monday, June 22, at 8 p. m., at 96 Avenue C. Matters of extreme importance will come before the business of the branch. Every member is urged to attend.

8th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

10th A. D.—An enrolled voters' meeting will be held Thursday, June 25, at 8:30 p. m., at 241 East 14th street. The enrolled voters of the 14th, 15th and 16th A. D.s will be invited. August Claessens will be the principal speaker. He will speak on "Present Economic Conditions and the Need for a Strong Socialist Party."

12th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

14th A. D.—An enrolled voters' meeting will be held Thursday, June 25, at 8:30 p. m., at 241 East 14th street. The enrolled voters of the 14th, 15th and 16th A. D.s will be invited. August Claessens will be the principal speaker. He will speak on "Present Economic Conditions and the Need for a Strong Socialist Party."

16th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

18th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

20th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

22nd A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

24th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

26th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

28th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

30th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

32nd A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

34th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

36th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

38th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

40th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

42nd A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

44th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

46th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

48th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

50th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

52nd A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

54th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

56th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

58th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday, June 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 37 East Ninth street.

roll last week made up of dead comrades. This is also the first branch of its kind in the United States.

Organizer Claessens is helping in the organization of the 12th A. D. Branch.

Downtown.—The branch meets Friday at the usual meeting place at 122 Pierpont street. Street meetings in the district are very successful and will continue throughout the summer months, with David Orr and other speakers.

Williamsburg.—Meetings are held Monday evenings at 167 Tompkins avenue. A well attended meeting was held last Monday evening jointly with the Y. P. S. L. Comrade Claessens addressed the meeting on "Methods for Effective Street Meetings."

12th A. D.—A meeting will be held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank B. B. at 727 Seventh street, on Friday, June 19, at 8:30 p. m., to which the enrolled Socialist voters of the 12th A. D. were invited. August Claessens will speak on "Present Economic Conditions."

16th A. D.—These officers were elected for the ensuing term: organizer, Jack Handler; recording secretary, Edith Schatz; corresponding secretary, William Taubenschlag. Open air meetings are very successful. Samuel Seidman is the principal speaker and is delivering a series of lectures every Monday evening at 68th street and Bay parkway. This branch has organized a women's group and is forming a young people's group. This group meets on Tuesday evening in the home of Mrs. M. Wechsler, 2132 72nd street. Comrade Handler is the temporary chairman, and the officers of the group are Natalie Wechsler, organizer, Edith Schatz, recording secretary, Dorothea B. Sanfilippo, financial secretary, and Nagler, social director.

17th A. D.—The enrolled voters' meeting will be held on Friday, June 19, at 8:30 p. m., in the office of Dr. Jaffe, 339 Macdon street, Brooklyn. Comrade Sunnyside, Kings County organizer, is working diligently in an effort to organize a functioning branch in the 17th A. D.

18th A. D.—The comrades helped make the outdoor mass demonstration parade a huge success. The parade ended at Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues, in the territory of the 22nd A. D.

19th A. D.—Branch 2.—A meeting will be held Monday, June 22, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 3820 Church avenue, at 8:30 p. m. Organizer Claessens will speak on "Methods for Effective Street Meetings."

20th A. D.—Branch 3.—Meetings will be held Friday evenings in the Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Stieken avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

21st A. D.—An enrolled voters' meeting will be held this Monday, June 22, at 8:30 p. m., with A. I. Shipiloff and Charles Solomon as speakers. Jack Altman, chairman, of the Brooklyn Labor League.

The following branch officers were elected: Emanuel Guiler, organizer; Ray Zolman, financial secretary; M. Kats, recording secretary; Mrs. Rosen, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Kats, treasurer. Minnie Weisberg and Jack Altman were elected as delegates to the city central committee.

Branch 25.—An enrolled voters' meeting will be held this Monday, June 22, at 8:30 p. m., with A. I. Shipiloff and Charles Solomon as speakers. Jack Altman, chairman, of the Brooklyn Labor League.

Branch 26.—An enrolled voters' meeting will be held this Monday, June 22, at 8:30 p. m., with A. I. Shipiloff and Charles Solomon as speakers. Jack Altman, chairman, of the Brooklyn Labor League.

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NEW LEADER

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

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Published Every Saturday by the
New Leader Publishing Association,
People's House, 7 East 18th
Street, New York City.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1931

A Danger Signal!

WE direct special attention of our readers to the statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party which appears on the first page of this issue. It is a call to action directed to Labor and Socialist organizations. It raises a danger signal. It calls attention to the dangerous drift of capitalism, the situation that will face the working class next winter, and the urgent need of intelligent action.

That statement is being sent to labor publications and labor organizations throughout the nation. Unless they organize and formulate programs to avert the yawning hell of next winter no one can predict what will happen. Hoover's speeches show that starving farmers and workers who may have hoped for relief from that quarter are doomed to disappointment. This smug politician offers sentimental drivel as a substitute for jobs and bread.

We earnestly appeal to our readers in every locality to take up this matter. It is action that cannot be neglected. This action has already been taken by Socialists in some cities, especially in Pennsylvania. Our survey of trade union papers in quite a number of cities in a dozen or more states also show that organized workers are receptive to such a program. They are tired of drivel; a program and action will appeal to them.

A grave responsibility rests upon our membership and sympathizers. We hope that they will rise to this responsibility with intelligence, zeal and enthusiasm.

Hoover and the Dole

WE pay our respects to Mr. Hoover in another place on this page but there was another statement in his Indianapolis address which is worthy of attention. He declared his opposition to unemployment insurance legislation, adding that "The moment the government enters into this field it invariably degenerates into a dole." He favors unemployment insurance by labor itself or in cooperation with the employing class.

In the first place a protective tariff is a dole to fat capitalists. The moment that tariff rates are raised higher than revenue considerations it is government nursing of capitalist enterprise. It shelters a class behind walls raised by the government and compels the population to pay prices for commodities in excess of what competition would regulate. In other words, the manufacturing class receives doles from the masses because of legislation. Thus a ton of pig iron is of more concern to the Great Engineer than the jobless and homeless.

As for insurance through trade unions, it may be said that it may be helpful in normal periods but even then it is confined only to members. In abnormal periods like the present most of these union insurance funds are likely to be wrecked. In either case trade union insurance does not and cannot provide for more than a fraction of the working population.

On the other hand insurance by labor in "cooperation" with the employing class generally means the company union and the fostering of serfdom in the great industries. It is this sort of "insurance," often coupled with "welfare plans," that has made many of our industries little feudal despotisms. We are not surprised that Hoover recommends this. It is in keeping with a mind that thinks in terms of capitalist interests more than anything else.

Workers who know their interests will not be patient with the smug Hoover. They will organize to deprive our fat usurers of their dole and proceed to do something for themselves.

Mr. Woll's Plan

WE may get a national industrial congress to plan for a "readjustment" of the capitalist system so that it will work satisfactorily to all. With it will go a program of democracy

in industry. The National Civic Federation sponsors the idea said to be suggested by its distinguished president, Mr. Matthew Woll. Brother Labor and Brother Capital are the two leading relatives that are summoned to this task.

Mr. Woll's statement of the proposal includes the following mysterious words: "to seek coordination for the promotion of industrial balance, and to begin that march toward permanence of machinery without which we cannot infuse into industry that democratic urge and authority vital to its life as a field of human endeavor and vital to its salvation from an onslaught of State political control that cannot be avoided in the absence of self-control."

We do not have the secret cipher which is necessary to interpret these words but we will let that pass. What impresses us is that the Civic Federation, the Black Guards of reaction in this country, takes this initiative. Among its achievements was serving as a spy for the United States Steel Corporation in the steel strike of 1919 and helping to break that strike. We may be sure that an industrial conference under its auspices will safely guard the interests of the ruling corporate groups whose system is half wrecked and who want to preserve it. To that conference would come the anti-union and company union chiefs of the nation, those upper class oligarchs who have about as much use for democracy in industry as Mussolini has.

The fact is that this is another attempt to divert attention from the real job that faces the workers of this country. Mysterious as the Woll lingo is it plainly points to opposition to anything that suggests social control of industry for the common good. It is service to our ruling bankers and capitalists that is contemplated. They fear a Socialist trend.

Gagging Starving Miners

IT is agreed by all observers that the conditions facing tens of thousands of miners in Western Pennsylvania are the most horrible ever known to that region. Men, women and children are in rags. Without aid they would starve. They were starving while working for the slave pay of the companies and they are now on strike.

A Pittsburgh judge has issued what is reported to be the "most drastic injunction" ever issued in this region. It is as though he had tied them all with a rope and placed a gag on their lips, for the injunction leaves them nothing that they can do or say without offending his Robed Majesty.

Recently Governor Pinchot issued a letter instructing local authorities that peaceable assembly and marches should be permitted without interference. Here is a direct conflict between the Governor and the judge. It remains to be seen whether the Pittsburgh popinjay can also strike down the state executive. If Pinchot does not defy that judge he will write himself down as an accomplice in a revolting act against starving men, women, and children.

IN A NUTSHELL

Calvin Coolidge will take a vacation from July to September. That's nothing. His party has given millions of workers and farmers a vacation which has continued into the third year.

Latest reports from Washington bring the happy news that President Hoover is heroically following his advice given at Valley Forge. He is preserving his character in the hope that the starving will follow his example.

From North Bergen, N. J., comes the news that leaders of the old Democratic administration received an average of \$1,500 for each appointment of a policeman and a fireman to a job. A "high state of efficiency" as the Tammany officials of our Central Trades and Labor Council would say.

Millions of newspapers definitely hostile to Labor circulate every day because they are bought by working men who have not yet acquired the habit of spending their money on a friend instead of an enemy.—J. R. Clynes.

Calvin Coolidge says that "The brains of the country" need a rest. The brains of millions have been at rest and many have been buried since he began serving his daily mush.

It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous to existing governments but the revolts of intelligence.—Lowell.

Hoover went on his mid-west tour this week and struck a note of optimism in Indianapolis but it is reported that the note cannot be cashed for enough to feed one of his "rugged individuals" in the breadline.

Matthew Woll is out with a ten-year plan to stabilize capitalism and after the ten years are up probably he may take a modest interest in organizing the workers of the nation. Perhaps.

Judge Seabury has decided to peer into all municipal, borough and county bureaus in a big clean-up drive. His assistants should be supplied with gas masks to protect them from the Tammany odors.

The Socialist movement that does not recruit the working class may be a movement but it cannot be Socialist without the class that has made that movement all over the world.

The attempt to balance production and consumption under the capitalist system is certain to prove abortive so long as workers are compelled to sell labor power to an exploiting class.

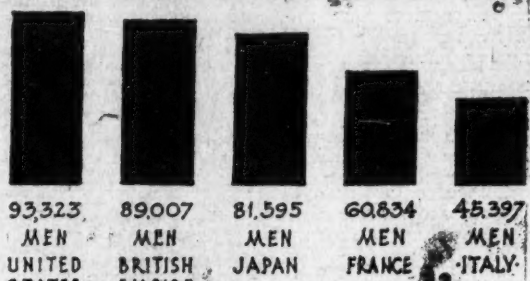
If Hoover's car in every garage had as much gas in it as he is releasing on his tour it would have sufficient power to make a long trip.

Flag day was generally celebrated except in the breadlines where, for some reason, it was difficult to arouse any enthusiasm.

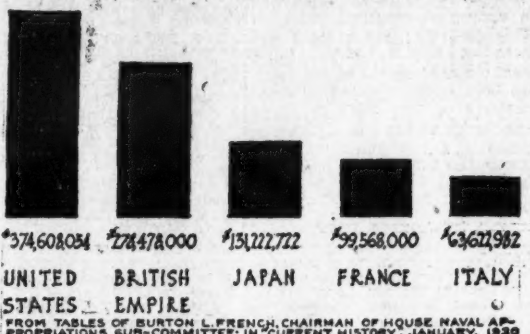
Perhaps Hoover, as a former stock speculator, thinks that he can inflate his political stock of 1928 which is now a drug on the market at one cent a share.

America Leads Toward Destruction

MAN POWER
OF THE FIVE NAVIES



MONEY COST
OF THE FIVE NAVIES



Religious Differences of Irish Retard Socialist Growth, Minister Says

Rev. Arthur L. Agnew, Vice-President of the Belfast Branch of the Labor Party, gave an interesting address on the "Labor Party in Ireland" before a group of Socialist Party leaders and sympathizers in the home of Jessie Wallace Hughan, on Friday evening, June 12th. Agnew came to America a few weeks ago at the invitation of the American Unitarian Association and has been speaking in Unitarian churches throughout America. Besides his position in the Labor Party, he is the Minister of the largest liberal congregation in Great Britain, composed mainly of Socialists.

Agnew was pessimistic about the growth of the Labor Party in Ireland in the future in view of the religious prejudice and animosity between Catholics and Protestants which keep the workers divided in that country, and due also to the general conservatism of Ireland. In regard to the Labor Party

in England, while he expected that they would soon be voted out of office, he had great hopes for the ultimate triumph of labor and Socialism in England.

Agnew also visited the June meeting of the City Central Committee, of the Socialist Party, last Wednesday, and made a short, but interesting talk before the comrades. Agnew was impressed with the enthusiasm of the American people, and believed that the Socialist movement had great opportunity of utilizing this enthusiasm for the cause of Socialism in the future.

Socialists Jailed in Mooney Protest; Fined \$100 in Pueblo

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
PUEBLO, Colo.—Seized while making a vigorous street address in behalf of Tom Mooney, imprisoned labor leader, William C. Stone, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Harry Meyers, of the Mooney Defense Committee, were arrested here and fined \$100 each.

The Urgent Need for a Defense Against War.

A Peace Program for Socialists

By Abraham Kaufman

SOCIALISTS have a program which calls for more than a just social order. It includes a warless world community. We therefore particularly welcome a chance to examine a new study that comes to the fore dealing with this part of our general program. "National Defense," by Kirby Page, (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, \$3.00) offers us a well-documented impressive and rather thorough account of the last great war, its causes, both basic and immediate, and its results. The author then examines the present world situation in the light of these same causes in an attempt to see how far we have moved in eliminating them, stood still, or retraced our steps by more numerous and newer, though no better forms of nationalism, militarism and imperialism.

This examination of causes, results and the present-day situation leads one, without attempting to judge too hastily, to the acknowledgment of two trends in the fight for peace that have here been well stressed and to a third one rather inadequately brought forward. The first of these is a new line of attack for peace workers. No longer do they face the problem of the desirability of ending war. Militarists at this point give quite enough lip-service to make that unanimous. The pacifist must answer the demand for national security. The author leaves no task undone in showing how the paths that led to the World War do not offer security. He then leads to the second trend or keynote. Many causes were at play before the last war. The evidence seems to be overwhelmingly stacked against pursuers of this or that one cause as the reason for the war. In the same light would be placed a solution based on any one approach to the problem of national defense. The program outlined by the author, "A Twenty-two Point Program for Patriots," is about as broad and comprehensive as one could expect to have presented to a public accepting the present that may be thorough enough to prevent a specific war in the near future. To this extent it deserves our support. That support should not be given, however, without the realization of its inadequacy due to the lack of provision for the end of a system that the author acknowledges fur-

nishes ever present causes for future wars. The author may be right when he says: "It is not economic competition as such that produces war, but rather economic competition plus—the emotions and dogmas of nationalism. If the latter can be changed drastically it may be possible to prevent war even though many decades are required for the pacific transformation of capitalism into a more ideal economic order." However, is it not rather dangerous to put too much faith in drastically changing "the emotions and dogmas of nationalism"? Does not a long-range program have to demand consecration in working on every cause? Following the methods of attack laid down by the author himself, it seems to your reviewer, that an adequate program would have to contain provision not only for machinery for settlement of international disputes of an economic nature, but for the end of the profit system itself and for a new social order. Let us, in conclusion, then look at the program as summarized by Mr. Page:

"Seek clearer understanding and keener appreciation of the people of other lands; urge the adoption of text books which promote peace rather than war; advocate the establishment of a national peace department in the Federal government; roll up a tidal wave for the public support of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty; support an agreement that in the event of a violation of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, the signatories of the pact will enter into conference as to the kind of non-warlike action demanded by the crisis; uphold the effort to negotiate conciliation and arbitration treaties with all other nations; support the movement to induce our government to sign the optional clause of the World Court of the League of Nations; recognize the value of membership in the International Labor Organization by the United States; work for the early independence of the Philippine Islands; advocate the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States; urge the participation of the United States in a new conference on reparations and war debts; reveal the menace of chauvinism; emphasize the fallacies and perils of the military philosophy; struggle to obtain drastic reductions in armaments;

endeavor to secure the abandonment of armed intervention in other lands; seek to abolish the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in high schools and colleges; point out the perils inherent in the Citizens' Military Training Camps; stand like flint against high tariffs; strive to avoid racial discrimination in our immigration and naturalization laws; attempt to remedy such acts of international injustice as that perpetrated by saddling Germany with sole guilt in causing the World War; go on record now as stating your present purpose not to sanction any future war nor participate in warfare as armed combatant."

A Hoover Folktale

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S own State of California many years ago presented the nation a classic example of what he is pleased to call the "Empire of Fairness." Our readers will remember his idea. Our government has always been such an umpire. We all start in the race of life and government watches over us while we run. No runner is permitted to slug another. The rules are fair to all and the umpire sees to it that only those with godly virtues win the prizes. Thus he gave his blessing to the capitalist dinosaurs who rule American life.

California provides an interesting study of this Hoover mythology. In the modern period it came the nearest to creating the Prussian Junker type of any other state. Its land and cattle barons and its glorified railroad thieves owned the state as a pocket borough; judges, Governors, Legislators, Congressmen and Senators becoming their feudal retainers. One of the outstanding figures in this Junker Kingdom was Henry Miller whose biography ("The Cattle King," by Edward F. Trevelyan, New York: the Macmillan Company, \$3.) is available for those who are interested in Hooverian folklore.

Miller was a German immigrant of little education who arrived when the pickings were good. Had he arrived twenty years later somebody else would have ended his kingdom and he would have ended life where he began it—a butcher carving meat and peddling sausages. En route from New York to California Miller became interested in a discussion between a Spanish priest and a Massachusetts Yankee, the first

lauding the achievements of the old Spanish regime in California and the second deriding them. The author observes that Miller, being a Protestant, "was not particularly attracted by the religious view of the matter, and the Yankee point of view that farms, houses, cattle and cities were more important than missions strongly appealed to him." So our hero is properly introduced. Treasures in California were more interesting to him than treasures in heaven—providing that Henry Miller became God's heir. Fortunately, Hoover's Empire was on hand and the German butcher prospered mightily.

With this romantic setting the epic of the "poor boy who made good" begins to unfold and its end reveals a cattle king who could ride from the Mexican border to the northern boundary of Oregon without leaving his estates. By what magic did this meat carver acquire his vast principality? For some reason the facts do not correlate with the Hoover fiction. The Empire, to be sure, often appears on the scene but the decisions were so often in favor of the German butcher that we are sure other players in the game felt like throwing their bats at him.

Into this romance has been woven the story of swamp acts, of court decisions, control of valuable water sites, crooked land offices, settlers whose labor paved the way for the cattle kings, a judicial interest in politics, and contributions to political parties to insure that the Empire would make the right decisions. For example, judges are agencies through which Hoover's righteous arbitrator makes his decisions. If our hero did not like a particular judge to sit in a particular case Henry would occasionally reach up to the bench and add him to his personal possessions. Sometimes decisions went against him but there was the supreme Umpire in Washington, the United States Supreme Court, and it rarely failed him.

Henry was a right-thinker in politics for we are informed that he voted for every Republican candidate for President from John C. Fremont in 1856 to William Howard Taft in 1912. Had he lived into 1928 we are sure that Hoover's story of the righteous Umpire who watches over us would have moved him to tears and that a substantial check would have been sent to the Republican National Committee by way of appreciation.

Among the interesting stories told of our hero by the author is

the following: On one occasion Miller was traveling with a considerable sum of money in his saddle bags when he was confronted by a bandit with gun in hand. The bandit relieved him of his cash. Miller smiled and asked for enough money to buy food and the robber handed back twenty dollars. Later the cattle king was sitting in a saloon when a group of roughnecks entered and he recognized one of them as the bandit. Miller rose, runs the narrative, "walked across the room and touched the man on the elbow, and as the man turned, ready for a fight if necessary, Henry Miller greeted him, handed him twenty dollars and said, 'There is the twenty dollars you so kindly loaned me,' and bowed and went out."

The author remarks that Miller "never forgot a face, a name, or a voice." Is it not possible that this feudal ruler of vast acres recognized in the bandit a fellow soulmate in the game of laying up treasures while the getting is good? There certainly was a certain measure of admiration by Miller for a pal who would not turn one of the profession into the wilderness to starve.

We cannot resist a feeling of admiration for Miller whose audacity brought him to the heights of his cattle kingdom however much we may be opposed to the system that makes his kind possible. Which reminds me that a Bohemian who contributes to that drool monthly, "The Masses," into which a radical amalgam of chop suey is poured by serious literary chaplains each month, takes me to task for what I said in a recent book regarding the decline of the old aristocratic culture in this country. This chaplain interprets my contribution as a profound regret that this ancient tie-dye culture had passed and as a hope that it will return. Of course this is a perversion of the contribution. Bohemian dandies cannot understand our interest in certain aspects of the past when compared with the swinish phases that replaced them. They cannot understand the world in which they live, much less the past.

Here is a charming study of one of Hoover's folk heroes. It helps moderns to understand the Tory malice and fear inherited by the ruling cliques of California. Their psychology is that of Junkers whose ideal is submissive peasants and mudsills that do not question but always obey.

JAMES O'NEAL

Hoover Answers Hoover

President's Address to Well-Fed Indiana Audience Reveals the Hokum in His '28 Boasts

PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER'S first address this week was a unique performance. With two thousand people eating chicken, that fowl in the pot promised to all in 1928 was enjoyed chiefly by Republican editors and politicians. Well groomed and well fed ladies and gentlemen enjoyed a feast while out in the states some twenty millions of human beings face stark want.

The scene recalled another one. A little over 140 years ago powdered gentlemen in silk, satin, ruffles and silver buckles, with their fine ladies, sauntered through the magnificent rooms of the Palace of Versailles. Outside was a sea of misery. A round a pudgy king with smug countenance fawned these parasites.

Louis XVI stood pat at Versailles and Herbert Hoover did likewise at Indianapolis. The old Bourbon was sure that the ancient order which had brought misery to millions of starving wretches must go on in its ancient ways. At Indianapolis another Bourbon echoed the sentiments of the French ruler who today is regarded as the world's greatest example of folly and stupidity.

Moreover, the Hoover of 1931 forgot the Hoover of 1928. The former Hoover sold this wretched capitalist system to a large majority of the voters on the ground that it was a Utopia of security and increasing leisure for all. Therefore, we shall have the former Hoover face the present Hoover as an accuser. Here are the two men facing each other.

HOOVER IN 1928

The Republican Party came into authority nearly eight years ago. Agriculture was prostrated; land was unsalable; commerce and industry were stagnated; our foreign trade ebbed away; five millions of unemployed walked the streets. Discontent and agitation against our democracy were rampant. Fear for the future haunted every heart. Commerce and industry revived. The purchasing power of wages has steadily increased. The hours of labor have decreased. I would use my office and influence to give the farmer the full benefit of our historic tariff policy.

When we assumed direction of the government in 1921 there were five to six millions unemployed upon our streets. Wages and salaries were falling. Within a year we restored these five million workers to employment. But we did more, we produced a fundamental program which made this restored employment secure on foundations of prosperity.

It is no accident which has brought about this unique situation in the United States. It is not chance that has brought this added employment for American workmen, and added markets for American farmers. Things like that don't happen.

So Hoover in 1928 credited the Republican Party with fine deeds since its accession to power in 1921. It had the vision and statesmanship to provide work for the jobless, giving the farmer "the full benefit of our historic tariff policy," and produced a "fundamental program" which had "restored employment on secure foundations of prosperity." Post-war Europe was in a bad way but her misery did not prevent the Republican Party from doing these blessed things.

Three years later the same Hoover with five thousand of the faithful enjoy a chicken dinner and all these alleged achievements have collapsed in ruin about their heads. Who is responsible? The Great Engineer ascribes it to "the malign inheritance in Europe of the Great War."

But those "malign inheritances" were as active and even more rife in the ten years after the end of the war than in the past few years. Despite those inheritances Hoover claims that within a year his party had wrought a miracle in this country. We are in the third year of the present storm and no "fundamental program" has emerged from this great mind!

What does he advise? "If we shall be called upon to endure more of this period, we must gird ourselves to steadfast effort," said Hoover.

That is all. Just "endure" it. "Gird ourselves" to want and destitution and perhaps the tempest will pass some time.

It is the same advice given by another Bourbon of another day. Hoover is bankrupt. By his party. The working class must rely on itself. All that it will ever get from this cheap round-head is smug words.

His speech was a kick in the face of the jobless and the starving. Socialism alone has a fundamental program. It alone points to the road that leads to power and emancipation.