

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Capitalism and Coal—Socialize the Mines—Congress Should Meet—Reparations—Crooked Bankers—Socialize Banking—A Transit Monopoly—A Book Worth Reading—Delegates to Vienna

DEALING WITH STARVING MEN

AUTHORITIES in the coal region have nothing but their old technique of injunctions and murder for dealing with starving, desperate men. What is happening is the inevitable. The amazing docility of American workers is not im- oblige the comfortable by starving quietly. What the coal miners are doing other workers will do next winter. All that the governmental agents of an owning class can think of is a little charity, much repression, and hope that things will turn for the better! It is a policy or lack of policy as stupid as it is cruel.



BREAKDOWN OF UNITED MINE WORKERS

THERE is an added and sorrowful difficulty in the coal fields in the virtual breakdown of the United Mine Workers. Even newspaper men tell us that there is no confidence in Lewis but some in Murray. Very many men are going now to the National Miners' Union instead of the U. M. W. A. because there is no other organization they can trust—not because they are Communist. Indeed the very success of the National is that the workers will cut the apron strings that have tied it to the Communist party.

The best organization is that in those parts of West Virginia where the West Virginia Federation, a part of the reorganized United Mine Workers which did not accept the sudden peace of the Illinois outfit with Lewis, is doing a fine job. It looks as if that reorganized U. M. W. A. missed a magnificent chance by the "practical" deal with Lewis. Anyway the moral of the situation is that, ill adapted as Communist controlled unions are to American conditions, there is no use denouncing them unless the A. F. of L. and the rest of us can offer something better. Let me repeat moreover that the best union cannot cure the sickness of the coal industry along trade lines. There must be socialization of mines. Don't forget that the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh is raising relief funds in Western Pennsylvania and that the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 112 E. 19th street, New York City, is aiding the West Virginia Federation.

HOPELESSNESS OF HELPLESS HOOVER

STATISTICS show how futile is Hoover's hope for time to save us. Bank failures continue—five hundred and sixteen from January 1st to the end of May, twenty-five in the Chicago area alone in May. "Employment in the East shows recession" "Wheat down, "Earnings off." What tragedies those formal words record. And Hoover acts more helpless than a man in an earthquake. What he could do he won't do. What he could do is to subsidize consumers. I still think the best way to do that is by a \$5,000,000,000 hunger loan for public works. But some must go for immediate relief. Congress should be called in special session at once.

A ONE YEAR MORATORIUM

HOOVER'S foreign policy is not as bad as his domestic. He acts for Germany rather better than he has ever acted for American workers. This is good as far as it goes. Not that a one year moratorium will solve the problem of debts and reparations or save Germany from a collapse that will drag most of Europe into it. But it gives time for wiser and more fundamental counsels. If France blocks this breathing spell, France may find herself caught in the European war or general hell to which her refusal may be the final link in the chain of causation.

A one year moratorium won't save Germany, much less restore prosperity to a world suffering from a capitalist sickness to which debts and reparations are aggravating circumstances. But in good will and probably in trade America will gain more than she gives up. What America gives up is about a quarter of a billion in debt repayments. But that loss should fall on the income tax paying class rather than the general mass of workers—since that class gained if anyone did by a war we should never have entered and by private foreign loans. We Socialists can tactfully let our neighbors know that we were about twelve years ahead of Hoover in knowing that the German reparations were impossible of payment just as we were right about the World War, right about capitalist depression, the remedies for unemployment, and a whole lot of other things!

USURERS AND DEPOSITORS

WITH bank failures going merrily on, not without much juggling of funds by bank directors it is some consolation to know that Marcus and the two Singers were found guilty by a New York jury in the outrageous collapse of the Bank of United States. The conviction was more noteworthy because under our poor banking laws it had to be found not on their general policy but on one specific piece of juggling between the bank and its subsidiaries. By no means does this conviction go to the bottom of the banking directors share responsibility in the Bank of U. S. cheating of its depositors and smaller stockholders. Only a few are brought to trial. (And Governor Roosevelt's Banking Department which let bank affairs drag to an unnecessary degree of ruin hasn't yet got matters reorganized so that the four hundred thousand depositors have got one cent except on loans from other banks!)

MAKE BANKS OUR SERVANTS

IT IS ridiculous to talk planning and leave out banks. Almost 7,000 of them have closed their doors since this slump began. A few big banks and bankers control the credit of the country but they cannot or do not even make banking in general safe for depositors. The whole business of money, banking and credit and its intelligent and effective socialization needs study. I hope this week-end's L. I. D. conference will shed real light on it. Money isn't real wealth and we cannot cure a sick society simply by tinkering with money and credit. But money has become a fetish and its manipulation has been surrounded with magic. As a yardstick it shifts up and down in bewildering fashion and when it shifts somebody always loses. It is time to make banks our servants and money changers no longer our masters.

WALKER'S TRANSIT JUGGLING

JIMMY WALKER has never had time to reach any public decision on transit—he's had too many social duties to perform. But subway developments make it clearer than ever that he and his crowd want the B. M. T. to get a transit monopoly. They handed the B. M. T. the bus franchises and now they are trying to hand it its own price for the subways plus a fat contract for operating the unified system which the city has paid for! Even the Undermyer plan meant that. But it was too reasonable for the "boys," so a secret understanding between B. M. T. bankers and the politicians let the B. M. T. reject the Undermyer plan and start negotiations for more! The only hope is that Mr. Undermyer's protest and the outrageous figures of the Transit Commission on alleged reproduction costs of old wooden cars and an outworn power station let the cat out of the bag. Once more it is true: a government not honest enough to arrange for public ownership and operation is not honest enough to set up honest regulations. And the most honest regulation can't do the job we want.

A POLICE REPORTER'S BOOK

THIS particular fundamental form of graft or special privilege that the B. M. T. affair illustrates isn't described at length in "GIMME" (Vanguard Press) by a Manual Levine, the police reporter who wrote the true and sensational book on the Third Degree. But, without philosophizing he makes a racy catalogue of the way New York is governed by and for robbers who manage to fool most of the people most of the time. And Mr. Levine knows New York is not unique in this. His book is worth reading.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

I AM glad so good a delegation of Americans is going to the Vienna Conference of the Second International. That conference ought to put new unity, intelligence and energy into International Socialism. Above all things I hope the convention will not be betrayed into anything that directly or indirectly will look like encouraging open revolt in Russia, or coalition against Russia, or non-recognition by the U. S. of Russia, or trade wars by embargoes on Russian goods. The effectiveness of Socialist criticism of Communist sins against liberty depend on Socialist fairness in praising what is good, in understanding an immense experiment, and in recognizing the fact that Soviet Russia must be dealt with as a going concern.

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Capitalism In Chaos; A Call To Socialists

L. I. D. in Four Day Conference At Tamiment

Banking, Reparations, Debts and Planning Leading Topics for Discussion

DISCUSSION of the international financial situation as affected by President Hoover's proposal for a year's postponement of debt and reparation payments will bulk large at the sessions of the seventeenth annual Summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy which opened Thursday at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa. The scope of the four-day conference, which will continue through to Sunday afternoon, will include discussions on banking, credit and social planning. Nineteen leading economists and students of social problems are scheduled for set addresses on various phases of these topics.

"America and the International Credit Situation" is down for discussion on Saturday morning. Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution, author of "World War Debt Settlements"; Nicholas Kelley, New York attorney and former assistant secretary of the United States Treasury Department; and Dr. Max Winkler, of the banking firm of Bertrons, Griscam and Company, and the author of "America's Stake Abroad," will lead the discussion.

The conference, under the permanent chairmanship of Norman Thomas, co-director of the League for Industrial Democracy, opened with addresses by Willard Thorp, professor of economics at Amherst College, and the author of "Business Annals," and E. E. Agger, professor of economics at Rutgers College, author of "Organized Banking." Prof. Thorp and Agger spoke on "Should the Gold Standard be Retained?"

Conference Program

The conference program lists the following subjects and speakers for Friday, Saturday and Sunday:

Friday morning, June 26, 9 p. m., "Should We Try to Stabilize Price Levels?" Speakers, Dr. Lionel D. Edie, author of "Economics—Principles and Problems; Capital, the Money Market and Gold"; Gyan Chand, professor of economics, Patna University, India.

Friday evening, June 26, 8 p. m., "What Is the Matter with Our Banking System?" Speakers, John T. Flynn, author of "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong"; Willard Thorp, professor of economics, Amherst College; Louis Waldman, of the Socialist party.

Saturday morning, June 27, 9 a. m., "America and the International Credit Situation." Speakers, Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president of Brookings Institution; Nicholas Kelley, New York attorney, former Assistant Secretary, United States Treasury; Dr. Max Winkler, author of "America's Stake Abroad."

Saturday afternoon, June 27, 2 p. m., meeting of intercollegiate student council for students only.

Saturday evening, June 27, 8 p. m., "The Need for a Planned Economy." Speakers, Guy Greer, formerly with the Reparation Commission in Paris; Paul Blanchard, executive director of the City Affairs Committee; McAllister Coleman, writer.

Sunday morning, June 28, 9 a. m., "Socialization of Banking Here and Abroad." Speakers, Dr. Vladimir D. Kasekevich, of the National Bureau of Economic Research; Colston Warne, professor of economics, Amherst College; Evans Clark, author of "Fiduciary the Customer"; Max Lowenthal, attorney associated with Amalgamated Bank.

Sunday afternoon, June 28, 2 p. m., continuation of morning session. Summary of conference by Norman Thomas, Paul Blanchard and others.

Judge Rules Against Public Utility's Cops

Distribution of circulars, unless they advertise goods for sale, is not a violation of any city ordinances, is the ruling of Judge Folwell, Magistrate Court, Brooklyn, in dismissing charges against Anna Kula, Jennie Carliph and Harry Howe who were summoned to appear in court for distributing circulars before the Brooklyn Edison Co. advertising a protest mass meeting.

Intellectuals and Workers Face Tragedy

PROFESSIONAL MEN JOIN JOBLESS WAGE WORKERS; ACTION IS URGENT TO AVOID DRIFT TO DESPAIR

SINCE the early days of the human race when men began to stand erect and were learning the art of speech we have been conquering nature. We learned to till the soil. We invented tools. More wealth was wrested from the earth. We invented more tools and improved the old ones and still more wealth was produced.

This has been the story of the human race from its earliest beginnings. Every railroad and steamship and airplane; every machine and factory and great industrial plant; every new application of chemistry and every new technical change and organization in industry, may be traced age by age back to their earliest beginnings by our shaggy ancestors thousands of years ago.

Each new improvement has embodied the genius, labor, experiment and sacrifices of human beings. One generation improved its production powers and passed them on to the next generation. That generation did the same for the next one. Each generation is the heir of the one before. So over the centuries human beings have invented, experimented, and sacrificed in conquering nature.

There is only one flaw in this story. Each generation should be the heir to the one before but it has permitted a handful to monopolize this progress. Roman aristocrats owned and ruled. Slave masters owned and ruled. Feudal aristocrats owned and ruled. Capitalist corporations now own and rule.

A CLASS REAPS FRUITS OF PROGRESS

We go on inventing and improving but the fruits of the improvements are reaped by a class. That class is today gorged with enormous wealth and power. That class is the heir to all the thinking, inventions, experiments and sacrifices of the laborers, serfs, slaves, and wage workers of all time. That class is richer in wealth and power than any other ruling class in all history.

Now the system that blesses this class with this power and wealth curses the real heirs with unemployment and misery. Wage workers and working farmers are jobless and hungry. Millions of workers cannot get access to the machines. They are barred by orders of the owners. The heritage of centuries is monopolized by an idle owning class.

And now the doors are being shut against many members of the professional classes. Technicians and experts walk the streets unemployed. Many lawyers find it difficult to earn a living and are closing their offices. The medical profession is overcrowded and teachers are a drug on the market. The field for industrial executives narrows with every banking and industrial merger.

The learned professions are learning a lesson. Capitalism is their teacher. They are learning that the same forces of concentration and invention that displace the wage worker are displacing them. They can no more appeal to a higher tribunal when they are discharged than the wage worker can.

Thousands of teachers are facing this grim tragedy. Graduates from various training schools and colleges wait from three to five years for a position and for many there is no job.

PROFESSIONS MENACED BY REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES

The Brooklyn Bar Association recently sent out an appeal to members for contributions to help members who are in distress. The concentration of ownership in industry, and the elimination of the middle class, leaves less room for the lawyers. Every business man who goes to the wall is one less client for the legal profession. Trust companies and banks employ a few legal experts and this eliminates many lawyers. They are hurried out of the profession into the chance-world of the working class.

The market is flooded with jobless journalists. The mergers of newspapers in recent years have thrown them into the streets. In other words, the barriers that once separated the intellectual from the wage worker are being broken down by the development

of capitalism. Capitalism reduces them to a lower level and they sink to the proletarian class.

The capitalist system of production is in need of contented members of the professions and yet by its own law of concentration it transforms them into enemies of the system. As they sink in the social scale they learn the need of transforming the social order that casts them into the abyss.

So this unworkable capitalist system heaves a handful of bloated masters of capital and finance into the upper range of the system. Sitting at the top of their shaky system they try to steady it on a basis of human misery. Below them are the small owners of capital and the professionals. The small owners are driven into bankruptcy while the field for the professionals narrows.

The gentlemen at the top are too stupid to know that their pyramid of dollars is being undermined. They talk of "stabilization" but there is none for their system. Every change in it makes enemies of the system and these enemies are being recruited as an army of discontent. Dissatisfaction leads to thinking and thinking must lead to organization and action.

STARK MISERY OF JOBLESS MASSES

Never in all history has a social system changed so rapidly. The capitalist system is revolutionary in the marked changes that it makes and its ruling cliques fear revolution. They tear down and build up; they hurl whole groups of human beings into the street; they alter the lives of millions; they send some to the scrap heap and push others down to lower levels of living; they render skill and expert knowledge useless and send millions to the breadlines.

But beneath all these revolutionary changes is the stark misery of the millions of the unemployed. The situation grows more serious every day. The New Leader has been stressing the madness that may seize workers in many cities when winter comes and this prospect is now mentioned by some dailies. If it is an unorganized drift into chaos the only remedy the authorities in these cities will exert is the clubs of the police on the heads of desperate men and women of the working class.

It is because there is such a drift, because the empty-head politicians in office will do nothing adequate to meet the situation, that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has urged the action reported on this page last week. The workers of this nation must be summoned to organized action for legislative relief through city councils and the state legislatures. If this job is done as it should and as it can be done it might well lead to tremendous pressure upon Congress for something else than the empty words of President Hoover.

WORKERS MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE

Because of the importance of awakening the workers to action in every city we again urge our local organizations to take steps in these cities to carry out the program outlined on this page last week. If you are a member of a local union bring it up there. Then carry it into the central labor bodies. Then seek a state-wide or organized movement and link up with organizations of working farmers wherever it is possible to do so.

The initiative must come from the working class. It is this class that suffers. It is this class that must think and act. Socialists will cooperate everywhere to bring legislative relief and in formulating programs to bring this relief as soon as possible.

In every city where this work is undertaken the movement will be a powerful educational force to inspire workers and their families with determination, with reliance in their power, and with a solidarity that will win important concessions from reluctant politicians.

Do not delay. Every week that passes is time wasted and an opportunity lost. Take up this task and work with a will!

Socialists to Be Welcomed In Red Vienna

Arbeiter-Zeitung, Socialist Daily, Greets American Jimmy Higgins to Visit the International Congress

WHAT a warm welcome Gertrude Weill Klein, winner of a New Leader prize and other comrades, are going to receive in Vienna, the Red capital of the Austrian Republic, is indicated by the following item printed in the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung of June 10:

"The Social Democratic party of the United States of America has set up a prize for the best party worker. The contest is called, 'The Jimmy Higgins Contest,' after the hero of Upton Sinclair's finest novel, after the valiant and unshakable Jimmy Higgins. The winner will have his expenses paid to the Workers' Olympiad and the Congress of the Socialist International in Red Vienna."

"The New Leader, the great American Socialist paper, also has put up such a prize. The comrade obtaining the most subscriptions will come to Vienna at the paper's expense in order to participate in the Olympiad and the Congress and to see the achievements of the Red community. Mayor Seitz has written to The New Leader expressing his joy over this contest and heartily welcoming the American Socialists."

"The Jimmy Higgins are coming to Red Vienna, to the city which has become a mighty symbol for the Socialists of the whole world. In the minds of the American Socialists 'Red' is indissolubly linked with 'Vienna.' To come to the city of the 'Austro-Marxists,' that is the prize for Jimmy Higgins. We have a right to be proud of this. And Red Vienna will fraternally greet the winners of the Jimmy Higgins prizes, the best party workers in America."

Debt Concession Brings Jobless Relief Nearer

Mellon Frightened by What He Learned in Great Britain - Congress Must Face Problem of Unemployment

WASHINGTON—(F P)—Forced to choose between financial collapse and probable civil war in Europe and granting a delay on war debt payments, President Hoover has chosen to propose a general postponement of payments on war debts and reparations for one year. By this action, taken only after Secretary Mellon had been thoroughly frightened by the information given him in London by Chancellor Snowden, Foreign Minister Henderson, Premier MacDonald and Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, has apparently assured Europe of a year's breathing space, during

which the economic depression will be slowed down if not stopped. Regardless of the attitude to be taken by France, the plan will probably be applied by the other countries that owe war debts to the United States and Britain and that are taking reparation payments from bankrupt Germany. Acting on this assumption, business has begun to regain its lost nerve. World trade has been given a powerful stimulant.

This development is reflected in a more confident tone in American industry. If Europe is to be given a chance to expand its trade, it will be able to buy more goods from America. Prices of commodities on the world market will quickly advance, except in the few instances in which the main depressing factor is over-production—as in the case of wheat. Cotton was gaining in price within an hour after the first hint came from

(Continued on Page Three)

Breakdown of Young Plan Is Seen in Move

Economists Recognize Futility of Young Program for Stabilizing Sick Europe

THE 1-year moratorium proposed by Pres. Hoover on war-debt payments due the U. S. and on reparations payable by Germany constitutes an admission that the Young plan has broken down, in the opinion of leading economists in New York. Under the plan which was named after Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Co. and for some years past the most unpopular man in Germany, it was contemplated that 58 per cent of reparations payments might be postponed if economic conditions were bad, but the plan made no provision for postponing the other 42 per cent of the payments. Since Hoover's plan calls for postponing 100 per cent of the payments, it is evident that the Young plan has given way at the first severe shock, just as many economists predicted it would.

While some commentators talked of a revival of idealism in international relations, others pointed cynically to the huge sums which in the last five years have been poured into Germany by American bankers to bolster the financial structure. Foreign loans to Germany in 1929 totaled \$94,325,000, of which \$53,199,300, or 56.4 per cent, came from the United States. In 1928 the total of foreign loans to Germany was \$368,250,000, of which \$287,325,000 or 78 per cent came from the United States. Later figures are not available, but the total of outstanding loans, all of which would presumably be lost if Germany collapsed, certainly did not fall off in 1930 and 1931. Rather a new form of capital supply

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Foresight of Socialists Is Vindicated

Hoover's Belated Action Recalls the Unheeded Warnings of Socialists in Post-War Years

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—(F P)—American radicals and Socialists who look back to the days of war-time hysteria and persecution aimed at those who asked for a statement of war aims of both sides, and who dared raise the slogan "No annexation; no punitive indemnities!" will smile at the ready acceptance today of the Hoover proposal that war debt and reparation payments be postponed for one year. None can be more pleased than they, that something has at last been done—however slight and late and grudging the relief. But that the name of Hoover shall be glorified, exalted, politically canonized, for his reluctant facing of the choice between this act and the probable utter collapse of his political hopes for 1932 is a comedy as broad as Anatole France ever penned. That the suggestion could be seriously printed is a poor compliment to the memory of the American public.

Independent Socialists in the German parliament during the war shouted against the schemes of the Kaiser and his friends, for annexations and indemnities when the Allies should be crushed. Independent Socialists in England and the scattered leaders of that party in France, Italy and Russia, echoed the same warning. It was taken up by the Socialists in America and in the neutral countries. But all the governments at war suppressed these voices, failed the advocates of a peace of reconciliation, and drove to the revolutions in Russia, Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Then came Versailles and the struggle of Woodrow Wilson against Clemenceau and Lloyd George to prevent the extreme follies of their plan of destruction of the economic life of the peoples of Central Europe. Wilson lost. The war indemnities were loaded upon Germany's starving people. Wilson signed this death-warrant of European recovery plans, in order to set up the League of Nations discussion-forum. Louder than ever the Socialists, and the new force in Russia, protested. They could not out-voice the Allied artillery.

More than twelve years have passed since brute force swept aside the intelligence of Europe and America in this war-indemnity venture. Hunger has looked in at the door of the majority of Europeans during most of this time. At last, and only because no other course except ruin of capitalist society seems open, the government of the most powerful creditor country has recognized that the enslavement of these millions of German wage-workers has brought dangerous misery to millions of voters in distant lands. In these intervening years it has been the radicals who have carried on the campaign of education of the ruling politicians.

So, there is a long history of unheeded warnings, of needless suffering for half the population of the world, to be weighed against the "glory" of the June 20 statement from the White House.

Yet, in comparison with the remainder of the Hoover record since 1917, this yielding to the urgent appeal of bankers and alarmed politicians will stand out as Hoover's best moment. He had just returned from a speech-making trip which showed him determined to let American workers sink far lower in the misery of unemployment and hunger, rather than permit the rich to be taxed for their rescue. He had broken the silence of eight years on the guilt of his colleagues in the Harding Cabinet by suggesting that Harding knew that some of these high officials were betraying the government. He had prescribed for America a 20-year "plan" of drifting. And his agents had tried to suppress the publication of Harry Daugherty's presence at his dedication of the Harding tomb.

Against this recent background his proposal of a debt reprieve appeared abjectly civilized.

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

A Series of Articles Showing Certain Basic Industries in a State of Chaos; Some Final Chapters of the Capitalist System

The First of This Series
Coal and Capitalism
By LOUIS STANLEY
ON PAGE 4 OF THIS ISSUE

Read
The Pope's Encyclical
By JAMES ONEAL
The First Article in a Series
ON PAGE 4 OF THIS ISSUE

Program of Relief Urged At Waukegan

Thomas and Ameringer Stress the Need of Intelligent Collectivism at L. I. D. Conference

WAUKEGAN, Ill. (FP)—"We must plan or perish." Oscar Ameringer, famed labor editor, thus summarized thinking on the present panic in the opening address at the League for Industrial Democracy Midwest conference. More than 250 economists, labor leaders, workers and students attended.

"The age of economic individualism is done," followed by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. "Only intelligent cooperative collectivism in owning and managing for use the things we all need will bring us that liberty, equality and fraternity in which is life."

Need for a planned society is urgent, Thomas emphasized. "With the months," he said, "has increased a dangerous expectation of violence—not incidental small-scale violence, but the wholesale violence of war so deadly as to amount almost to annihilation. Against this we must make headway or it will be too late." Docility of the workers is passing, he added. As an immediate means of relief, Thomas again suggested a hunger loan of \$5,000,000 by the federal government, to be repaid out of income and inheritance taxes.

Ameringer suggested that 10 billions be given the workers of the nation as a solution of the present crisis. "That sounds like a lot," he said, "but we paid \$100,000 during the war for killing each German and we floated \$30,000,000,000 in liberty or victory bonds. Certainly, we can give \$300 to Americans—to live."

Summarizing conditions calling for a plan, Ameringer continued: "Millions are starving in the richest country on earth, a country with the best government, superior technical equipment and rich natural resources. We have everything—but sense."

Ameringer pointed out that it has become fashionable to urge planned production and distribution. Even Matthew Woll of the National Civil Federation is doing that. Ameringer added:

"What isn't fashionable is to insist that such planning would amount to much unless we settle the prior question: planning for what and for whom. Purpose comes before plan. Planning for private profit is inherently a contradiction to planning for use. Planning for the common good is what is needed, he emphasized."

Outside of a clean sweep of the capitalist system, there is no real hope, the speaker declared. He added:

"The most one can expect from planning in capitalist America is a certain amount of discovery of facts and avoidance of errors. This is by no means enough. It is impossible to plaster a plan on the cancer of capitalist nationalism and get any sort of cure."

A change of heart, of loyalty and sense of direction is needed before a plan can help, he said. Meanwhile, he urged agitation for common ownership and democratic management of production.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS
Give the opportunity of introducing THE NEW LEADER to new audiences. Add to the effectiveness of your meetings by selling your paper at meetings. Special rates to organizations.

Miners Face Trial In Kentucky and Gunmen In Penn.

Connors Is Deported by Strike-Breaking Sheriff While Twenty Miners Face Murder Charge—Gunmen Kill Picket, Wound 9 and Jail 26 in Pennsylvania

By Tom Connors

HARLAN, Ky.—High in the mountains of southeastern Kentucky now wages a bitter labor struggle; as a result 50 coal miners are within the walls of Harlan County jail awaiting trial on serious charges. Of this number twenty are charged with first degree murder, and unless adequate defense is immediately provided these innocent men will burn in the electric chair. There is not a shred of bona fide evidence against these men; only their activity in carrying on the present strike will account for this vicious frame-up. The other 30 miners are charged with "banding and confederating" (under state conspiracy statute), or with robbery (store looting).

Early in May 18,000 coal miners in Harlan County laid down their tools and went on strike in an endeavor to improve the degrading conditions under which they labored. Approximately 70 percent of them are still on strike. Never was a labor struggle fought by the employing class with more vicious means than this one. A coal operator controlled sheriff aided by hundreds of deputy sheriffs, company gunmen and the secret police working for the coal operators' association spread terrorism throughout the territory.

The May Raid
In the town of Everts where sentiment is 100 percent with the workers, the sheriff was unable to maintain a single deputy during the early days of the strike. On May 5 a raid on that town was planned jointly by the sheriff's forces and certain mine guards. No doubt exists whatsoever in the minds of the majority of the miners but that the object of such a raid was the murder of certain key-men among the strike personnel. The attempt failed and resulted in the deaths of five members of the raiding squad. Charged with the murder are twenty militant miners who actually know as little as you and I about just what happened the morning of May 5. Upon entering Everts the raiders fired a volley among the trees on the road side that fatal morning. This fire was returned from the nearby mountain slope but by whom no single person appears to know.

A theory as to what happened, commonly believed by the citizens of Everts, is that the mine owners themselves perpetrated the deed as a means of compelling a use of the state militia. This theory is supported by facts. Responsible witnesses who have no direct interest in the strike claim the men returning the raiders' fire were strangers in the vicinity; that a number of automobiles bearing license plates other than Kentucky's were in the neighborhood prior to the shooting but disappeared immediately thereafter.

Defense Funds
The Communist controlled International Labor Defense had obtained the approval of the accused men to its activities but when they learned that they were not dealing with their own defense committee they signed statements repudiating the I. L. D. The I. W. W. has its own financial de-

partment and a staff of able attorneys is engaged in defending these cases. Motions have been made, with decisions pending, in an endeavor to remove an obviously prejudiced judge from the bench. An effort to prevent the selection of an operator-picked jury is also anticipated.

Funds for helping the accused men may be sent to Herbert Mahler, Secretary of the General Defense Committee, 555 W. Lake street, Chicago, Ill.

Sheriff Deports Connors
APPALACHIA, Va. (FP)—Tom Connors, leader in the Industrial Workers of the World, was deported from Harlan, Ky., by Sheriff Henry Blair, chief coal gunman in Harlan County, he charged, after being beaten up by Blair's men and forced to go 18 hours without medical attention for a severe scalp wound.

Connors was taken out of Harlan during the night and deported across the state line into Virginia. He made his way to Appalachia, where he reported the attack.

Connors has reported the deportation to the American Civil Liberties Union. Their representative in Harlan has been wired to discuss with their attorney the possibility of bringing damage suits against Sheriff Blair and possibly asking an injunction against his illegal strike-breaking activities. Connors, who represents the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. as well as Industrial Solidarity and the Industrial Worker, says Blair deported him once before.

ST. CLAIRSVILLE, O. — (FP)
Belmont County strikers have persisted in spite of being gassed and clubbed. Their numbers grew from a few hundred to 5,000. An especially bitter clash at the Florence mine led Sheriff Duffy to issue the order permitting peaceful picketing.

Baker, Former 'Liberal,' Would Suppress Mooney Vindication in Report

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Newton D. Baker, once follower of Mayor Tom Johnson and now leading corporation defender in Cleveland, has planted himself across the path of the Mooney-Billings report which Judge W. S. Kenyon seeks to have the Wickersham Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement present to the country when it expires on June 30. Investigators for Kenyon's subcommittee on "The Lawlessness of the Law" have prepared this well-documented report. It makes of the Mooney-Billings case a historical example of the misuse of legal machinery by sinister and corrupt private forces. It brands the imprisonment of these labor leaders as a disgrace to American government—by a straightforward showing of the record. But Baker, supported by Chairman Wickersham and that other backslid "liberal," Dean Pound of Harvard Law School, insists that the report shall not see the light. He argues glibly that no individual case should be mentioned in the general report.

For many weeks the struggle between Kenyon and Baker over this issue of justice to victims of employer-class persecution has been waged behind closed doors, and in confidential correspondence that gradually has reached the eye of publicists in many sections of the United States. Baker, former secretary of war in the Wilson administration which intervened to save Mooney from death when the Russian revolution took up his cause, is now general counsel for the anti-union Lake Carriers' Association, which controls Great Lakes shipping for the steel trust. Wickersham endorses his instinct to suppress the story of this American Dreyfus case. Dean Pound maintains the black record set by President Lowell of Harvard when he helped send Sacco and Vanzetti to execution.

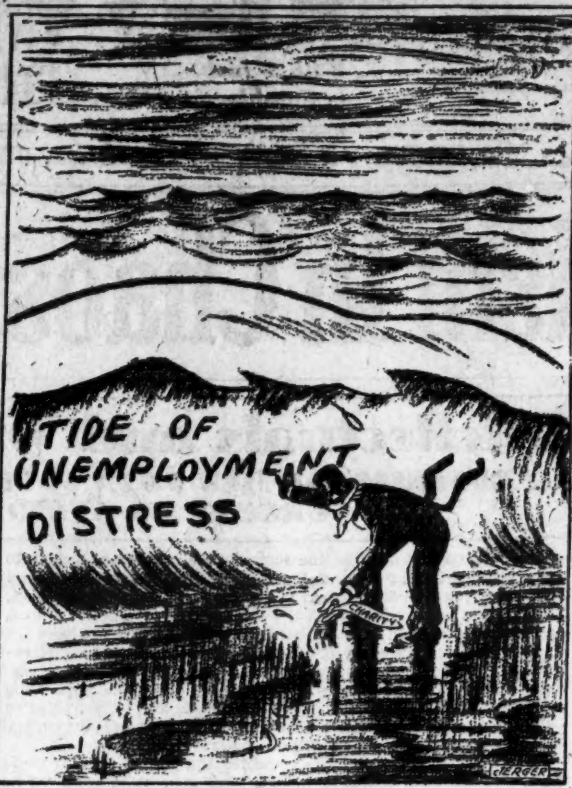
When an occasion is piled high with difficulty, we must rise to the occasion.—Lincoln.

It is better, far better, to stand up than to crawl, to be a man than to be a slave.—Eugene V. Debs.

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.

Truth may be smothered, but not extinguished.—German proverb.

Holding Back the Tide



Labor of Europe Will Demand Mooney Pardon

Premier Stauning of Denmark Sends Prisoner Message as Labor Plans Action

SAN FRANCISCO.—European labor bodies are about to broadcast a declaration that California will not be a fit setting for the 1932 Olympic games unless Tom Mooney is pardoned, according to advices received from Paris by the Mooney Defense Committee.

The influence of trade unionists holding membership in British and continental athletic organizations will be exerted in these bodies in behalf of Mooney.

Trade unionists are numerous in the athletic societies of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, France and Denmark.

The Mooney Defense Committee has also been advised that the case has been taken up for investigation by the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (Rights of Man) an influential French organization similar to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Stauning Sends Message
Socialist Premier Stauning of Denmark extended greetings and sympathy to Tom Mooney in a letter received by the Mooney Defense Headquarters. Premier Stauning's message will be delivered to Mooney at San Quentin by a representative of the Defense Committee.

The letter reveals that Premier Stauning had planned a visit to the United States this summer and a meeting with Tom Mooney at San Quentin, but pressure of official business has forced him to abandon the contemplated journey.

California Pardon Campaign
Plans to organize pardon campaign units in every California community and bring them all together in a state body have been approved by Mooney. Representatives of the Mooney Defense Committee are already at work in furtherance of the new plans in both northern and southern territory.

The Committee has given the following statement as to the make-up, tactics and purposes of the new organization:

A pioneer or initial group of five will be formed in each community. The aim of the original five will be to build up a committee of at least 100, the enlarged group to arrange public meetings, distribute literature and raise funds to carry on the movement for a pardon.

It will be the aim of the original group of five to win the sympathy and support of the leading men and women of the community by personal contact and revelation of the various items of evidence tending to establish Mooney's innocence.

Special efforts will be made to enlist the support of clergymen and clubwomen.

With town and county committees well organized and established, a state convention will be called wherein reports will be made as to the progress of the campaign throughout California.

Among the field organizers now at work in support of the new plan is Rev. Robert Whitaker who has been active in the Mooney pardon movement for the past fifteen years.

Truth may be smothered, but not extinguished.—German proverb.

Churches Urged To Battle For A New Social Order

Capitalism Is Indicted for Its Failure to Function and Its Infliction of Measureless Suffering Upon the Working Class

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Social Service Committee of the New York District, Evangelical Synod Church, at its annual conference in this city recently, adopted a statement which indicts the capitalist system and outlines the need of a new social order. Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Socialist, was the chairman of the committee that drafted the report.

The document considers the collapse of the industrial system, and points out the contrast between increasing productive power obtained by new machines and the poverty and insecurity of the workers. The concentration of wealth and power into the hands of a small class and the insufficient incomes of the workers are cited as evidence of the anti-social character of capitalism.

"Under capitalism none is secure, unless it be the very rich. The workers are desperate from unemployment," reads the report. "The farmers are frenzied with tons of food and grain unsalable on their hands. Independent merchants are driven to the wall by combines and chain-stores. Commerce stagnates because of money shortage. Last year there were 36,355 mercantile failures and 934 bank crashes. Numerous giant mergers of companies have resulted in the dismissal of countless salesmen, foremen and high-salaried executives. Disaster threatens all. Fear haunts every home. This constitutes all too clearly a negation of brotherhood, the spirit of Him who came that men might have more abundant life."

Diplomacy and War

"Part and parcel of the profit-system is the war-machine. To profitably dispose of surpluses, the owning class sends both capital and commodities abroad. Battleships and soldiers are needed to protect the adventurous dollars. Hence today, after a victorious war to end war, after a solemn pact outlawing war, we behold the most stupendous armies and navies the world has ever known: 30,000,000 trained soldiers, war materials now available amount in number and destructiveness to five times that available in 1914. Each disarmament conference calls for more, not less, battleships. An analysis of our billion dollar national deficit reveals the fact that two and one-half billions were spent on war, 72 cents out of every dollar. Confronted by starving farmers, unemployed workers and underfed children, our government pleads lack of funds, but confronted by industrialists and military men in gold braid, our government responds by spending \$5,200 per minute for war purposes. We have a potential army of four million men—an unheard of number of Americans. In our schools and colleges 145,902 students are being taught the butchery of war. We wheedle and lure some 40,000 young men into Citizens' Training Camps each summer with promises of free vacations at government expense. We bar from citizenship such high-type Christians as Professor Macintosh and Marie Bland for religious scruples against mass murders and spend millions on making people war-minded by thrilling them with military and naval maneuvers and spectacular aerial war-games.

"In short, it is the opinion of this Social Service Committee that the prevailing Mammonistic system that produces for profit rather than for use, curses humanity with poverty, want and insecurity at home and with hate and war abroad.

"We are confronted in this generation by the momentous task, not of putting a few patches of reform on an old disintegrating social system but of establishing a new social order incorporating the principles of Jesus. It must be co-operative, not competitive. It must plan for man-making, not money-making. Consistent Christianity demands repudiation of the old economic order, together with the institutions and political parties that serve to perpetuate it. To that end we should give support

and encouragement to the various movements to launch a third party, to organize politically for securing a new economic arrangement of life. And in the meantime we as a church should aggressively and zealously advocate and urge such social, remedial legislation as non-contributive old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, drastic reduction of armament, abolition of tariffs, cancellation of war debts, increased inheritance, income and excess-profit taxes and increasing social ownership of public utilities, natural resources and basic industries.

"Our committee in closing again warns against the danger of temporizing in the face of these grave ethical problems. The church must act promptly and decisively to forfeit the respect and confidence of the common people."

It is lack of moral justice which is Europe's undoing.—Smuts.

Shapiro on Station WPAP

Theodore Shapiro, member of the city executive committee of the Socialist party, will present the negative side in a radio debate on the subject: "Should We Approve the Hoover Ten-year Plan?" at Station WPAP on Sunday, June 28, at 1 p. m. Mr. Shapiro will be opposed by a prominent Republican party official, Joseph Gruber, director of the University Forum, will act as chairman.

Against Militarism

The resolution on international relations was the work of the conference group on building a warless world. The resolution was adopted by the direction of Miss Helen Crawley, Y. W. C. A. industrial secretary in Pittsburgh.

Lights Are Going Out
Later in the course of his address, he remarked "The lights are going out all over the world in almost every aspect of life. Our economic life is in chaos with six million men out of work, with breadlines still in many cities, and with complete lack of leadership on the part of economists and business leaders as to the way out. Internationally the darkness is growing with the forces of militarism in our country trying hard to plunge us into a fever of armaments, as the recent \$3,000,000 air demonstration indicates, and the hopes of the world are centered on the disarmament conference called for next February."

This kind of leadership must have carried considerable weight

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Boy Gets 7 Years for 1929 Strike Activity

MARION, N. C.—(FP)—Leon Moore, 20, has been sentenced to from five to seven years in the state penitentiary as a result of what Marion workers unhesitatingly call a framed-up dynamite charge growing out of the strike of 1929.

Moore was tried a year ago, in June, 1930, but at that time there was not sufficient evidence to convict him and the jury was deadlocked. But another year has found enough evidence manufactured to carry out the plan of the district attorney. The defendant could not afford an attorney to defend him and all his friends at Marion are suffering from the blacklist or short time plus low wages. The United Textile Workers of America say they have done enough in Marion and refused to help. The court appointed Atty. C. C. Lisensbee to defend Moore while the company's attorneys were on hand to aid the district attorney and to see that he carried out their orders to put another striker in jail.

Every striker that has been brought to trial has been convicted but the sheriff and his deputies have escaped any punishment for the shooting of six pickets in the back and wounding 22 others.

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Blood Is Spilled In North Sector Of Pa. Strike

Miners in Six Counties Now Out in Struggle Against Sheer Starvation

By Arthur G. McDowell

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—When tear gas bombs failed to halt a column of 250 strikers near the Wildwood mine, 10 deputies opened fire with shotguns and riot guns, killing Peter Ziglaric and severely injuring nine marchers at dawn, June 22, on a public road a quarter of a mile from the mine. The spilling of blood on the far north sector of the Pennsylvania mine war front followed mass defiance of the Rowland injunction which forbids the strikers to picket or parade.

Throwing tear gas, the deputies pursued the miners as the strikers' columns broke. They arrested 26 marchers, leaving the wounded on the ground where the victims remained until the strikers returned to load them into a truck and haul them to a Pittsburgh hospital. Ziglaric died in the hospital after the truck ride.

The deputies who killed the picket included three experienced cops and seven raw and nervous men who had been sworn in the same morning. The deputies claimed the strikers exchanged shots with them, although the only casualty to the cops was a slight scalp injury caused by a rock which had been thrown. The mine is owned by the Butler Consolidated Coal Co.

The Southern Sector
Demonstrations were general throughout the area, 1,500 appearing on the picket lines at Vesta, the storm center of the southern sector. The coal police reported a third bombing beneath the powder house but, as in the two previous reports, there was, miraculously no damage.

Union leaders have announced further plans for the hunger march of miners, steel workers and unemployed for June 20. They are expected to converge on Pittsburgh, 30,000 strong. Police Supt. Walsh, formerly head of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., declares that he will grant the marchers a permit for a meeting in a city park, but he refuses to permit a march on the court house because of "traffic congestion." The Hearst organ in Pittsburgh advises the city officials to permit the parade.

Miners have walked out in Armstrong county, bringing the sixth county of western Pennsylvania into the mine war area. Hunger marches on the county seats in Westmoreland, Greene and Fayette counties are being planned. At the Warden, largest mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., near West Newton, 600 miners picket daily; at the Montour, 2,000 of the same company, 2,000 come out on the picket line each morning; the Vesta No. 4 has 1,500 men on strike, and the Vesta No. 6, 500. The mine superintendents stand beside the picket lines telling individual strikers they are fired.

To attain freedom from worry people must rid themselves of two evils—self-centredness and insecurity.—G. S. Dimond.

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Pioneer Camp Helps Child to Use Faculties

Self-Expression, Stimulating Initiative Purpose of Progressive Camp

By Alexis C. Fern, Director
CHILDREN who are under a nervous strain during the school year need relaxation during the summer. The summer activities of Pioneer Youth Camp provide a program so flexible that it does not get in the way of the children's initiative or self-activity. There is as little regimentation as is consistent with orderliness, cleanliness, and good health.

The work that may require organizing and directing is part of the children's social obligation—such as care of their tents and cots, dining room and grounds, and repair of structures. Since work is a necessity of human life, counselors and children all take part in the camp's necessary work which takes up only a small part of their waking hours. We try to make such work, not a burden nor idleness a fetish, but to make the summer a time of joy in creative, physical and social activities.

As regards the activities that are distinctly personal, activities that call for initiative, creativeness and self-activity on the part of the child, we leave the child free to use his own faculties.

We think it rather late in life to wait until college age to call upon the boy and girl to use their initiative. Like all faculties of the mind and organs of the body, initiative must be developed during the process of growth.

We can only give the child the opportunity to develop his powers of growth and we are willing to wait for the awakening of those whose initiative has been dulled by too much direction and regimentation. There can be no self-activity where the time is taken up with directed activity. We give all the care necessary to the individual child, but do not weaken him by tying him to our apron strings.

Parents and guardians who want their children to grow, not into robots, but into thinking human beings with initiative, creativeness, and a strong social sense.—to such our camp should make a strong appeal.

The camp season is ten weeks, from July 1 to Sept. 9. Registrations may be made for the entire season or for shorter periods.

Rates are \$195 for the ten weeks' season. For children of trade unionists and unorganized wage earners, the all-season rate is \$120. From July 1 to 15 and August 26 to Sept. 9, the weekly rate is \$17.50 and \$10 to trade unionists. During the six weeks of July 15 to August 26, the weekly rate is \$21 and \$13.50. A camp scholarship fund makes possible these low rates.

Strikebreaking Bill Killed

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—(FP)—Organized labor has scored at least one victory in the legislature with the killing of the bill that would transform the state highway police force into a strikebreaking group comparable to Pennsylvania's infamous coal and iron police. The bill, supported by employers' groups and the bankers' association, would have given the highway police, now used mainly for traffic cases, the right to go into every city in the state with power equal to the local police. It also would have increased the size of the force.

Record Crowd At Socialist Picnic July 25

Arrangements Shaping Up for Greatest Event in Many Years—Fine Program Arranged

ALL indications point to a successful picnic this year at Ulmer Park. Over 100 organizations, among them many Trade Unions, Workmen's Circle Branches, Socialist party branches and county organizations, as well as a number of independent fraternal bodies, have already purchased large blocks of tickets.

This picnic of Socialist, Labor and allied movements will take place at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, all day and evening on Saturday, July 25.

The ticket sale indicates that a much larger crowd will be on hand than in previous years. The many cooperating organizations are now reaching their members and are working diligently to bring out a record crowd. During the past few years the picnic brought out some 25,000 workers and their families who spent an enjoyable day at Ulmer Park.

In spite of the bad times and the financial conditions of New York organizations, it is nevertheless surprising how well all organizations are responding to this year's affair.

Various committees are busily engaged planning all sorts of activities. An unusually attractive program will include sports, carnivals, high class entertainment and concert, and an outdoor moving picture show in the evening, as well as continuous dancing, which will begin at 1 p. m. and last until the early hours of the morning.

Two large orchestras have been engaged to provide the dance music. For the outdoor activities, which are numerous, there is also a plan for a short speaking program which will include Norman Thomas, Socialist, candidate for Borough President, possibly one of the Socialist Mayors from one of the several Socialist municipalities, and other speakers of national reputation. More details will be published in the next few weeks.

One additional feature this year will be the publication of a souvenir journal, which will contain the program of the picnic and some short articles. Various organizations, party branches, etc., have been solicited for complimentary ads. Letters have also been sent to a number of comrades asking for individual contributions. Branches have been informed that a percentage will be given to them for all ads that they will obtain. As the time is short it is necessary that all responses be sent in at once.

Finally, tickets are on sale now at every party branch as well as the city and county offices, also at many of the Trade Unions and Workmen's Circle Branches. Organizations that have not yet purchased tickets can still obtain blocks of tickets at a very profitable arrangement for themselves and should send in their orders without delay to the arrangements committee in the party office, room 601, 7 East 15th street.

Taxi Strikers Fight Scabs
PITTSBURGH.—(FP)—For a few days after the strike of 1,000 union taxi drivers against projected layoffs, Pittsburgh's streets were bare of Parmalee cabs. Then came the attempt to operate scabs, conveyed by mounted police.

Suit By Hillquit Against Oil Corporations Does Not Involve Soviet Govt.

Misunderstanding Due to Inaccurate Press Story Published Last Sunday; Socialist Leader Issues Statement

THE appearance in the daily press of last Sunday of a news story relating to a suit against two American oil corporations for an accounting of oil purchased from the Soviet oil trust and linking the name of Morris Hillquit as attorney representing the plaintiffs, aroused considerable inquiry not to say excitement among the friends of Comrade Hillquit. The press story was not accurate and was so written that it was vague.

The Bolshevik daily in New York, which makes a specialty of "exposing" every active Socialist as a "social fascist" and a "counter-revolutionist," further perverted the story for its own purposes. Comrade Hillquit in the meantime was busy arranging his affairs to permit him to sail at the moon hour on Wednesday for the International Socialist Congress which meets in Vienna. Asked by the editor of The New Leader about the actions he had instituted against the Standard Oil Company and the Vacuum Oil Company, Comrade Hillquit issued the following statement:

Hillquit's Statement

"The actions do not involve any question of Socialist principle. A number of Russian corporations who owned oil lands in the Bakou region are suing the Standard Oil Company and the Vacuum Oil Company for an accounting. The actions arise from purchases of oil by the American companies from the Soviet oil trust. Similar purchases were made by the Dutch Shell Company, which set aside a certain percentage of the purchase price to pay to the original owners of the oil wells. The Standard and Vacuum were invited to join in the arrangement but refused, and

these actions are brought with the view of forcing them to make similar provisions. "The Soviet oil trust received full payment and these actions do not affect it directly or indirectly. It is purely a money dispute between different capitalist concerns, as most court litigations are, and its character is not changed by the fact that the defendants happen to be rich American corporations or because the transaction originated on Russian soil.

"The right of a government to nationalize industries with or without compensation, is not questioned in the complaints. The Supreme Court of the United States and our State courts have invariably upheld the right of foreign governments to confiscate property of their nationals.

"The present cases rest on the technical ground that Russia is not recognized by the government of the United States and that our courts give no effect to its decrees.

"This is not a novel principle or an attempt to establish a precedent, but settled law. It was invoked in numerous cases against the National City Bank by its Russian depositors and against the New York Life Insurance Company and the Equitable Life Assurance Association by their Russian policyholders. The present actions are of a similar character.

"If and when our government will recognize Soviet Russia there will no longer be any basis for these actions.

"It might be argued that the present actions will serve as a stimulus to the powerful oil interests of America to urge early Soviet recognition, but that would smack of hypocrisy and I prefer to rest on the simple ground that the actions are of no political significance; that they are ordinary cases involving disputes over property rights, such as constitute about ninety per cent of the regular work of the general practitioner in the legal profession."

Debt Concession May Bring Some Relief to Jobless
(Continued from Page One)

Hoover, June 19, that he would do something to help save Germany from chaos.

Students of the unemployment situation believe that Hoover has lost his fight to prevent Congress from voting unemployment relief funds when it meets in December, by acknowledging that action by Congress is necessary to save European workers from the terrible consequences of the depression. He said, in his proposal to the debtors: "From a variety of causes arising out of the depression such as the fall in the price of foreign commodities and the lack of confidence in economic and political stability abroad, there is an abnormal movement of gold into the United States which is lowering the credit stability of many foreign countries. These and the other difficulties abroad diminish buying power for our exports and in a measure are the cause of our continued unemployment and continued lower prices to our farmers."

When Congress votes its approval of this plan of postponement of war debt and reparation payments—as it surely will—it is almost certain to vote immediate relief to American unemployed also. This relief is proposed in two forms. One is direct cash outlay for food and other necessities for the 6,000,000 who are jobless. The other is the floating of a bond issue for five or six billion dollars for a big program of public works that would furnish employment for a year or more to hundreds of thousands of workers. One of the chief obstacles in the way of this legislation was Hoover, who insisted that the jobless must show "rugged individualism" and trust to luck to escape starving to death.

But just as Mellon was presumably forced to warn Hoover that the collapse of Germany would pull down the banks and stock exchanges of the rest of the capitalist-industrial countries like a house of cards, so Hoover will find that the American unemployed will grow steadily more impatient between now and December. If he can be shaken out of his indifference to European starvation by a warning that Europe may "go red" and smash all international credit—as one financial expert in Washington sums it up—he can be blasted out of his refusal to permit 6,000,000 American jobless to be fed and clothed while waiting for the factory whistles to blow once more.

Employment chances will be somewhat improved by the acceptance of the American offer by the debtor governments. But the four or five million workers who remain unemployed will not be satisfied to wait another year for food. Approaching a presidential election year, few congressmen or senators will dare stand out against the peremptory demand coming out from these massed voters.

Even of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.—Thomas Jefferson.

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Breakdown of Young Plan Seen in Move

(Continued from Page One)

was developed, with foreigners participating in corporate shares of new firms floated in Germany.

Economists' comment on Hoover's move was generally favorable, though some pointed out that no permanent solution of the problem of war debts was afforded. The general disposition was to regard this move as the first of a series designed to reduce the debt burden and cut down on excessive expense on armaments.

Some pointed to the \$900,000,000 apparent deficit in the federal budget, which Mellon met temporarily by issuing bonds, and recalled that the suspension of payments amounting to about \$248,000,000 would intensify the struggle in the next Congress over finding new sources of revenue, with progressives advocating higher inheritance taxes and increases on income taxes in the high brackets, and Mellon and the conservative Republicans opposing all inheritance taxes and favoring higher income taxes only in the low brackets.

Radical Camp Offers Recreation for Children

A beautiful summer camp is operated by the Modern Sunday Schools Camp Association, located at Lincoln Park, Morris County, New Jersey, which opens for its seventh consecutive season on July 4th.

Splendid facilities for the care, maintenance, supervision, and personal hygiene of children, between the ages of 7 and 16 years, can be procured by adult and child guests at this camp. The camp is located on high ground in semi-primitive surroundings, and the outlook on the valley below, and the nearby Ramapo Hills, is one of wonderful natural beauty and splendor. The nights are always cool, and children enjoy undisturbed rest. The managing director, counselors, and culinary staff are carefully selected for their ability and fitness. Parents can feel assured that each child will receive personal care, attention and supervision. The sanitation is under State Medical Supervision and daily inspection is part of the routine of the management. The camp's water supply is a deep well that is always cool and refreshing. Child and adult guests have access to our finely equipped library, physical culture exercises, a large open air swimming pool, a playground and athletic field, outdoor sports, special arranged night hikes, dancing and swimming lessons, boxing, and camp fire discussions, which are a part of the recreation program. The Modern Sunday Schools Camp Association especially caters to children of radical parents, who are affiliated with some radical groups, or who hold some shade of radical opinion. However, no discrimination is permitted against children of non-radical parents.

The opponent is a wiser and a destroyer, and the righteous man is one who builds up.—Gyran proverb.

Amalgamated Strikers Clash With Gorillas

Bitter Contest in Clothing Industry as Union Faces Underworld Influences

By Gertrude Weil Klein
THE strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the firm of Silverman & Turner of 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, has developed into a fight against underworld influences in the men's clothing industry.

Events incidental to the strike—mass picket demonstrations, arrests, the slugging of pickets, even the eight hours that the writer sat in almost solitary confinement in the cooler—become of secondary importance in the tenseness with which each day's developments are awaited.

Early last week, the four "gorillas" who slugged Amalgamated members on the picket line, were indicted, pleaded not guilty, and were held for the Grand Jury. The Amalgamated's answer was a mass demonstration in front of the firm's premises. About 400 workers, members of the Amalgamated, marched up and down until the police broke up the demonstration and arrested fourteen people. Your reported was on the way to The New Leader office with a story of the strike and was pinched with the rest. (That happens to be a story in itself—not all of it printable.)

At the same time, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, issued a statement in which he announced the determination of the union to press the issue until the people behind the sluggers were identified. In a public statement, Mr. Hillman appealed to retailers and manufacturers to cooperate with him in ridding the industry of its greatest evil—racketeering. Executives of Lord & Taylor, Gimble Bros., Arnold Constable & Co., James McCreery & Co., and others were approached with a request that they refuse to purchase from "protected" manufacturers, whose names, Mr. Hillman said, would be supplied to them by the union.

"We have tried to eliminate racketeering in a quiet way, but have found it impractical," Mr. Hillman said explaining why the campaign in the opened had been launched.

On the morning following Mr. Hillman's statement, one of the union officers leading the strike against the Silverman & Turner firm—Anthony Froise was shot. The presumption is that this was the answer of the underworld to the union's talk.

Fight to a Finish
It is apparent, however, to all concerned, that this is a fight to the finish and not another "talker" of which there have been plenty in the past. Not only is it a show-down, but everyone is wondering where the trails will lead.

Asked what would happen if the drive on racketeering should lead to union officials as rumors in the trade indicate they may, Mr. Hillman answered: "There is no room for racketeers in the union or out. If anyone in the union is proved to have conducted a racket, he will have to take his medicine."

It has been said in union circles that Mr. Hillman has had the support of the tailors in his efforts to rid the industry of racketeers but that despite this, the cutters' leaders have been so powerful that the National officers have been inclined to hesitate in forcing a showdown, fearing to impair union power among the manufacturers. The present action is assumed to be a challenge to determine whether the cutters' leaders or the Amalgamated leaders are to dictate the policies of the union.

At a tremendous meeting of shop chairmen the harassed tailors made plain their desperation at the way their work is being bootlegged to out-of-town and non-union shops. They unquestionably are ready for a finish fight, without regard for who may be involved or where the fight will lead. Their "bundles"—and scant enough the supply of "bundles" is anyway—must be brought back to the union shops where they belong. So intense is their plight, so bitter their feeling against the alleged racketeering that has been going on with their bread and butter, that they hooted down a former president of the Cutters' Local when he attempted to speak at their mass meeting.

Leaders Warned
Portentous days are ahead. Days which may seal the fate of the needle trades' unions. Each day warnings are spread that this union leader and that union leader had better "watch his step." Despite the grimness and the very real concern with which union officials go about their day's routine, there is somehow a feeling of vitality and hopefulness in the air that has been missing for a long time. "Tony" lying in St. Catherine's hospital with a bullet in his body, is aching—not merely with the pain of the bullet—but with the desire to be back in the harness again soon.

Wednesday morning President Hillman and Hyman Blumberg, Manhattan, were bound up together in this world, and can only achieve our well-being together.—Prof. G. D. Heron.

Tamiment Features Big June Program

Special Discussion Forum, Musical Revue, Concerts, Carnival and Water Events Are Offered

THE program at Camp Tamiment for June features three big organizations spending week ends at the camp. The week end of June 13 and 14 found three hundred members of the Young Men's Hebrew Club of Newark, N. J., besides the Rand School Students' Fellowship enjoying the splendid sport facilities and gorgeous weather of the camp. On the 20th and 21st of June the People's Institute of Newark, a flourishing forum established by Dr. Louis Reiss, George Goebel and others came out four hundred strong. The last week of June will be occupied by the regular summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The next big celebration will be that of Independence Day, when the new stage, hall and club room will be used to the fullest extent by a program featuring a Broadway success on Friday evening, a Musical Revue on Saturday evening and a concert on Sunday evening, with Stepan Kosekovich, Russian baritone recently arrived, who will give a number of songs from Soviet Russia workshops. He will be supported by a string quartet which will give concerts all of July. Special carnival and water events will mark the athletic activity. This celebration will usher in the regular season which has an imposing schedule of dramatic, social and sport events under the direction of Vincent Sherman, Social Director and Lou Fein, Athletic Director.

Beginning on the Monday after the Fourth, the Rand School series of lectures will begin with Dr. F. J. Schlink, Director of Consumers Research. He will be followed during the next three weeks by V. F. Calverton, Nathan Fine and Peter Jack Monroe on Literature, Labor's Struggles and Modern Drama.

One Miner Killed and Four Shot by Guards and Police in Strike

FAYETTE CITY, Pa.—In a second fatal clash in two days between Coal and Iron police and Fayette County deputies and striking miners, on the highway at Arnold City, a storekeeper was killed and four miners were shot Tuesday, two of whom may die.

Eight mine guards and Ernest Barnes, superintendent of the Pittsburgh Coal Company's mine at Arnold City, are being held in the Sheriff's office at Uniontown pending the filing of charges.

Nick Pilipovich was shot to death as he stood on the porch of his store pleading with the deputies not to endanger his wife.

The two most injured miners are Bennie Brown and James Davis. The former was shot near the heart and the latter through the body.

In the previous clash, at Wildwood, one man was killed and twelve wounded.

Tuesday morning about seventy-five strikers lined up in front of Pilipovich's store to stop trucks carrying men to work in the mine of the Pittsburgh Company at Pricedale.

When bombarded with stones, the deputies said, they hurled tear gas into the crowd and opened fire when some one threw eggs and stones from the direction of the store.

Some of the soldiers in the front lines at the writing are, Amato Labasci, Simonetti, Meyers, Reitzen, Kantor, Herschack, Staub, Spadaro and Messina, victims of the sluggers are recovering rapidly.

Another Strike
A strike has also been declared against the J. Hilton Co. of Newark, which manufactures and also operates retail stores throughout Newark and New York City.

The firm had made demands for certain concessions and while the matter was in negotiation, locked out the workers. The firm claims that it has simply shut down for the slack period, but the organization feels that this is not so. Pickets have been placed in front of the retail stores. In the Newark stores the bushelmen walked out in sympathy with the tailors.

A splendid shop meeting was held with all of the 300 workers—tailors, operators, and cutters—present. Paul Arnone, in charge of the strike, S. Pennochio, D. Bionna and Irving Alexander of the Cutters' Local addressed the strikers.

For good or ill, whether we will or no, we are bound up together in this world, and can only achieve our well-being together.—Prof. G. D. Heron.

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The Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius and Socialism

The following is the first of a series of articles which will consider the recent Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI. As the Pope in that document had certain criticisms to make of the Socialist movement and program and as the letter also made frequent references to the Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII on "The Condition of Labor," we shall also consider this earlier document in this discussion.

By James Oneal

The Encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI on "Reconstructing the Social Order" is of importance to Socialists because of its reference to Socialism. The official translation is now at hand. The Encyclical must be considered in relation to the Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII on "The Condition of Labor," issued forty years ago, as the present Pope makes frequent reference to it.

As Socialists we are not interested in religious dogmas or issues. The Socialist movement primarily represents the working class and also seeks a reconstruction of the social order. Within the ranks of the working class, as in other classes, will be found every variety of views regarding religion; Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Rationalists, Agnostics, and those who are merely indifferent. A labor and Socialist movement is impossible if founded on sectarian religious or anti-religious issues.

On the other hand, when a representative of the Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews, or Rationalists, or Agnostics ventures into the domain of politics and economics, when his criticism is directed against the Socialist movement, we consider the criticism from the point of view of politics and economics. What the critic deals with is the problems of modern capitalist society as they affect all men and women regardless of their religious creeds. It

SOCIALISTS ARE NOT INTERESTED IN RELIGIOUS ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE WORKERS; FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH IS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKERS

would be no answer to question the basic beliefs of Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews, or Rationalists, or Agnostics regarding religion. That would be to ignore the real issues that are raised.

It is from this point of view that we approach this subject. The welfare of the whole mass of workers is involved regardless of their varying views of religion. The present breakdown of capitalism, for example, affects all alike. The Catholic worker faces a hell of uncertainty and privation and so do all other workers. His Catholicism no more prevents unemployment and wage reductions than does the Protestantism of the Protestant or the Agnosticism of the Agnostic. On the other hand the political administration and economic organization of society profoundly affect the welfare and happiness of all workers of all beliefs.

Nor does it make any difference to the laborer whether he works for a Catholic owner of industry, or a Protestant, or a Jew, or a Rationalist, or an Agnostic owner of corporation enterprises. If the owner or owners are of his own faith or of another faith it makes little difference in the life and well-being of the worker. There is no such thing as Catholic wages and labor standards in industry; there are no Protestant, Jewish, Rationalist, or Agnostic standards. The conditions average the same in each occupation and trade according to the degree of organization of the workers and farmers and regardless of their religious views.

It is important to keep these fundamental considerations in mind. They are basic and essential for any growing and hopeful labor and Socialist movement. Too often the discussion ventures

into religious dogmas and issues and this can only confuse understanding. Once this is done the masses are involved in useless wrangles that do not serve them. It can only serve the classes who live by exploiting labor for if the workers divide on religious questions in the labor and Socialist movement they will do that which their enemies want them to do.

We will have more to say of this later on but we must now turn to consider the two Encyclicals. Throughout this discussion we shall refer to Pope Leo's Encyclical by paragraphs as each one is numbered and they include a total of 67. In referring to Pope Pius' Encyclical we shall use the translation published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and give the page number for reference. The latter document, unlike the former, is not divided into numbered paragraphs.

The recent Encyclical of Pope Pius credits Pope Leo with being the first to challenge the liberalism and individualism of capitalism which regarded "unions of workmen with disfavor, if not with open hostility," (p. 11). Leo had also encouraged "Christian workmen to form unions according to their several trades," and taught them "how to do it." However, there was one qualification. These workmen "must pay special and chief attention to the duties of religion and morality" within these unions. (p. 11). What was meant by Leo was that Catholic workers should organize into trade unions of their own and this is what was done. The trade union movement was divided to the extent that Catholic unions were organized. Leo also declared (par. 61), "Let religious instruction have therein a foremost place."

Here we may summarize the main features of Leo's Encyclical. The very first paragraph notes the marked changes being brought in the capitalist system of pro-

Obviously this meant sectarian organization of the workers of the Catholic faith. In a few countries unions of Protestant workers also appeared and by 1922 about three million members were gathered in these Christian trade unions in ten countries. They represent but a fraction compared with the members in their regular trade unions but their existence often prevents unity of action. In that same year the membership in unions affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions in 35 nations was about 75 million.

It is evident that if all workers were to follow this course, that is, organize on the basis of their respective views of religion, they would be split into hundreds of antagonistic sects and would be rendered helpless before the employing classes. Fortunately, the great majority of the wage workers in all countries have ignored all such sectarian trends.

Moreover, two decades before Leo issued his Encyclical the Socialist movement was challenging that Liberalism and individualism of politicians and rulers which sustained the capitalist system. When Pope Leo did speak it was not in defense of the general principle of trade unionism, which also challenged the individualistic ideas of the capitalist order, but in defense of a sectarian trade unionism which he urged workers of his faith to set up. This is evident in Leo (pars. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65) where full instructions are given for such unions and in Pius, the section devoted to "Workmen's Unions" (no. 11, 13).

Here we may summarize the main features of Leo's Encyclical. The very first paragraph notes the marked changes being brought in the capitalist system of pro-

duction. It was a period of concentration of capital and power in Europe and the United States. Of this revolutionary change Leo said:

It is not surprising that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has so long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics and made its influence felt in the cognate field of practical economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable: the growth of industry, and the surprising discoveries of science; the changed relations of masters and workmen; the enormous fortunes of individuals; and the poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population; and, finally, a general moral deterioration.

Leo deplored the fact that workmen "have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers, and the greed of unrestrained competition." (par. 3). He then went on to reject Socialism but he gave a definition of Socialism which differs from that of Pius and which does not accord with any scholarly definition to be obtained from any standard authority. He attempts to define it in three different paragraphs which follow:

To remedy these evils the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should be the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. (par. 4.)

The Socialists, therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages and thus of all his hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life. (par. 5.)

Thus it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected. (par. 18.)

This is so important that we will pause here to contrast the above with Pius' definition. He speaks of the

Socialists who hold that all means of production should be transferred to the State, or, as they term it, socialized. (pp. 20, 21.)

Now there is a vast difference between Leo's idea of the "transfer of the possessions of individuals to the community" and Pius' idea of the "means of production" being so transferred. The first means socializing "individual possessions," which no Socialist ever urged, and the second means socializing the "means of production" which all Socialists accept. The first leaves no private possessions for the individual at all and the second leaves a vast field for private possessions.

And yet Pius declares (p. 15) that Leo had "defended the right of property against the teachings of the Socialists!" We leave it to the reader to judge after reading the above conflicting definitions.

But to resume our summary of Leo's Encyclical. He declares that it is wrong to believe that "class is hostile to class" because "capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital." (par. 21). And yet society is in a bad way. "On the one side, there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for a disturbance." (par. 51). This would seem to show that class is hostile to class. Moreover, Leo declared that it is necessary to "save the

poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for making money." (par. 45). From these statements it would appear that he recognized an antagonism between the employing class and the working class.

Leo contended that Socialists were striving against nature because "people differ in capability, in diligence in health, and in strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality of conditions." (par. 20). Believing this to be true he came to certain conclusions which did not affect any fundamental changes in the capitalist system. He assured workmen that "poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labor." (par. 25). And, as we have seen, workmen should be encouraged to organize unions but these organizations should be under the direction of Catholic authorities and their main concern should be with religion and charity.

He then gives some attention to the employers. They should be kind, considerate, and humane, for "religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not slaves." It is "ahameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels" (par. 21). Wealthy men practice almsgiving. Those who have "received from the Divine bounty a large share of blessings" should "employ them, as the minister of God's Providence, for the benefit of others." (par. 24). The church fosters the spirit of charity while others would "substitute in its place a system of State-organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity." (par. 32). The duties of the State are also

considered. "To the State the interests of all are equal, whether high or low." (par. 36). Justice demands "that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration." (par. 37). If by a strike the public peace is disturbed; if families are relaxed; if workers have not time for religion; if factory work endangers morals; if employers place too heavy burdens on workers; "finally if health be endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age—in these cases, there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law." (par. 39). "Most of all it is essential in these times of covetous greed, to keep the multitude within the line of duty." There are some who "are imbued with bad principles and are anxious for revolutionary change, and whose great purpose it is to stir up tumult and bring about a policy of violence. The authority of the State should intervene to put restraint upon these disturbers, to save the workmen from their seditious arts, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation." (par. 41).

This is the gist of the Encyclical issued by Pope Leo forty years ago. There is little that is startling in it and one of its outstanding features is its repeated urging of charity to be extended by the ruling and wealthy classes to be workers. The State should interfere in industry but only within certain well defined limits and it should protect the property system against efforts on the part of the working class to change it. That charity has had any measurable influence in the last forty years in improving the lot of the working class or that it contributes anything to the solution of modern economic problems few intelligent people will believe. (To be continued next week)

Michigan Alien Law a Menace to the Working Class

By Charles Solomon

The State of Michigan this year enacted a law which has come to be known as the Michigan anti-alien law. This law is now in the Federal Courts for the purpose of determining its constitutionality.

The object of the law, as stated in House Bill No. 230, is to define "a legal resident of this state as distinguished from a citizen" with "the purpose of maintaining the economic, industrial and political welfare of this state."

The law requires that all aliens, other than "undesirable aliens" (whatever this may mean), shall conform to its provisions which are, briefly, as follows:

"No unnaturalized alien, otherwise acceptable, may become domiciled, obtain employment or do business of any kind in the state of Michigan unless he shall first obtain from the Commissioner of Public Safety, of those representing him for that purpose, what is described in the law as "a certificate of legal residence."

The law further provides that "no person, firm, corporation or association, legally resident or qualified to do business in this state, shall have in his or its employ any person of foreign birth who as in this act provided is disqualified from establishing or maintaining legal residence in this state" and that "no person, firm or corporation or association, legally resident or qualified to do business in this state, shall associate in business as a partner or otherwise in this state" with unqualified, unnaturalized aliens.

The law provides that "photographs, fingerprints or such other evidence of identification as the discretion of the commissioner shall demand, may be required of all applicants for certificates."

Employers to whom aliens are applied for employment are required by this law to give proof of their legal residence in the state and to promptly report to the Commissioner of Public Safety any case of failure to supply such proof. In passing, it should be noted that under the immediately foregoing circumstances, the employer is necessarily the judge as to whether the proof submitted by the alien seeking employment is or is not adequate and satisfactory. There is nothing to prevent the employer, suspicious or hostile for any reason, from turning the particular alien over to the authorities to be subjected to all the annoyances, embarrassment and expense of litigation.

The peace officers of the state and its various subdivisions are charged with the duty of taking "into custody any person of foreign birth; who is not a naturalized citizen, and who does not possess a certificate of foreign birth as in this act provided, holding as provided in misdemeanor cases."

Failure to comply with any provision of the law constitutes the crime of misdemeanor, and the punishment provided is a fine of not less than fifty nor more than one hundred dollars, and the costs of prosecution, or imprisonment for not more than sixty days in a county jail, or both.

The Michigan anti-alien law is socially and historically reactionary and legally un sound. Should the United States Supreme Court

declare it unconstitutional, it should be borne in mind that the menace represented by this law will not be over. I cannot believe that this anti-alien legislation is a phenomenon peculiar to the state of Michigan or that it is exclusively indigenous to that state. I am persuaded on the basis of study and experience, and what is reported to be happening in certain other states of the Union, that the Michigan law is just one thrust in a general offensive planned from some central source. And this means, that should the Michigan law be declared unconstitutional the attack will be renewed through

other legislation believed to be free from invalidating legal defects. The law, to use its own language, is inspired by economic and political considerations, although it would be difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the two, especially in weighing the motivating factors back of the legislation. It is notorious that Michigan has a large alien population and is especially hard hit by unemployment and other consequences of our unprecedented industrial depression. A perplexed, desperate and reactionary ruling class makes the hysterical gesture the law represents in the hope of relieving a situation which it lacks the intelligence, social mindedness and courage to meet otherwise. Since the economic conditions that prevail in Michigan, among its agricultural as well as its industrial population, both substantially foreign, are bound to produce their political reflex, the purpose of the law is also to strike at sources of potential radical political reactions.

In Michigan, as elsewhere where capitalism prevails, capitalist development, including especially technological progress, makes workers superfluous, and superfluous, unemployed and underemployed, starving workers make acute political and social problems. These problems have now reached a stage where our ruling class threatens to lose its poise, if it has not already done so, of all of which the Michigan anti-alien law is just one of the dramatic manifestations. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad and since ruling classes throughout history have not only never learned, or at least not adequately, nor have they forgotten, there is being repeated in our own country, in its acute stages, that historical process which spells the

ultimate elimination of the last of the ruling classes. What legislation like the Michigan anti-alien act means for the workers in their struggles should become obvious on consideration. In the first place, it introduces a vast spy system throughout the state, and generates that mutual distrust and suspicion, that fear, which is inseparable from all such systems. Just what such a card or certificate system can mean need not be left to speculation. Those who passed through the period of the World War must remember the stopping of persons on the streets, their being corralled in public meeting places, and elsewhere, and challenged to show their registration cards. Meetings I addressed during those trying days were frequently invaded by men representing themselves to be government agents, who demanded that registration cards be shown. Doors were closed and persons herded into corners, virtually imprisoned, until these invaders were satisfied. There is nothing to prevent all this being repeated under the operation of a law like the Michigan anti-alien statute.

Union meetings, strike meetings, could be invaded at the inspiration of employers, workers could be taken off picket lines, speakers could be yanked off platforms, all under the pretense of enforcing the law through determining whether the persons so accosted were legally qualified residents of the State of Michigan, or any other state where such legislation might be enacted. In the shops, this legislation would be a curb over the heads of workers belonging to or contemplating joining or organizing labor organizations. This fear would not stop with the unnaturalized alien worker. It could not be prevented from spreading to and among the citizen aliens. It means first paralysis, and then, destruction of the labor movement, political as well as economic.

No union or political meeting of workers, no picket-line, in fact no working class activity, would be immune from the many forms of invasion, molestation, annoyance, or interference, not only possible, but inevitable under this kind of legislation. It is a challenge to the workers, alien or otherwise, of the nation to which they cannot for a moment afford to be indifferent. In his recent Indianapolis speech, President Hoover boasted that the number of departures of aliens and deportations exceeded the number of arrivals. As far as I know, this is the first time a president of the United States indulged in such a boast.

The attitude of Hoover and the Republican party, in Michigan as well as nationally, represents a complete right about face in the last sixty years as far as the attitude of the Grand Old Party toward the immigrant is concerned. The Republican party, in its infancy, proclaimed itself the friend of the alien and the proponent of a liberal immigration policy. In its 1864 platform, it declared: "... foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, the development of resources, and the increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy. In the same year, under Republican auspices, the first Bureau of Immigration was established. To understand the reasons for this "liberalism" we must look to the economic and social conditions of the time. In the cities, industries were developing with great rapidity. The demand for labor was in turn further intensified by the Homestead Act of 1862 which threw open to the workers of the west the free lands of the west. Under these circumstances, wages tended upward. The eastern capitalists and railroad builders sought relief from this strategically favorable position of the wage workers in free immigration in which they were heartily supported by the steamship companies. So that it was not idealism but the compulsion of the material interests of these groups from which the new born Republican party principally drew its strength and whose interests it primarily served for the early position on immigration that was fundamentally responsible for the operation of the same material factors, explains the changed attitude. The condition of comparative scarcity of wage labor

LEGISLATION HARKS BACK TO OLD FEDERALIST REACTION BUT APPEARS TO CONFLICT WITH THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

resents in the hope of relieving a situation which it lacks the intelligence, social mindedness and courage to meet otherwise. Since the economic conditions that prevail in Michigan, among its agricultural as well as its industrial population, both substantially foreign, are bound to produce their political reflex, the purpose of the law is also to strike at sources of potential radical political reactions. In Michigan, as elsewhere where capitalism prevails, capitalist development, including especially technological progress, makes workers superfluous, and superfluous, unemployed and underemployed, starving workers make acute political and social problems. These problems have now reached a stage where our ruling class threatens to lose its poise, if it has not already done so, of all of which the Michigan anti-alien law is just one of the dramatic manifestations. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad and since ruling classes throughout history have not only never learned, or at least not adequately, nor have they forgotten, there is being repeated in our own country, in its acute stages, that historical process which spells the

Capitalism and the Coal Industry

Anarchy in Production and Misery of Millions the Fruits of Private Control

By Louis Stanley

1.—Starvation and Coal Production

DEATH by slow starvation is the sentence of some two million men, women and children in the United States who are supposed to live by coal mining. Because they are isolated in mining camps away from cleaner, healthier and better fed people their execution remains unnoticed. They grow more gaunt every day, their shanty-homes, washed grey by the rain and the storms, are crumbling, the touch of coin is becoming unknown to them. Occasionally the men and boys find a little work in the coal mines but the pay they receive is a pittance, frequently already owed to the company. There is a revolt now and then. The miners and their families break into stores or march to government offices demanding food. There are pitched battles between company gunmen and starving miners. Horror reigns.

This misery is the fruit of private enterprise. In the bituminous or soft coal branch of the business we have a remarkable example of the American idea of "rugged individualism." There we have cut-throat competition and overproduction. In the anthracite or hard coal division we have a splendid illustration of the equally American concept of rough-shod trustification. There we have monopoly and limited output. Today in both instances we have shut-down mines, joblessness and hunger. No other form of management or ownership of the coal mines could be worse.

Production Slows Down The statistics tell the dreadful tale of coal. With the growth of population and the expansion of industry coal production used to increase from year to year to meet the larger demands made upon it. The product of new mines and the labor of new coal diggers used to be absorbed by the industry in the natural course of its growth. In fact, the course of coal mined used to be considered a good indication of the direction of industrial development. Now this is different. Coal production has not kept up with population and industry. In fact, since the war it has stood still, if it has not, indeed, declined. The mines that were opened to meet anticipated demand, the workers that entered the industry expecting employment are now unemployed. Curtailed production in both anthracite and bituminous has devastated the homes and communities and blighted the lives of an already suffering folk. Bituminous coal was discovered in what is now the United States by Father Hennepin in 1679 near the present city of Ottawa, Ill. It was first mined in Virginia around 1760. Anthracite was found in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania by Connecticut pioneers in 1763 and first utilized in 1768. It was not until the early nineteenth century that coal became of commercial value and records of its production began to be kept. The coal industry grew rapidly, particularly after industrialism had set in after the Civil War. The rate of increase slowed down but the possibility of reaching a saturation point while industrialization continued was not contemplated. Experts pointed out a generation ago that the figures set by statisticians a half century earlier for the probable constant annual production of coal in England had then been exceeded by over 160 per cent. Within the last decade the situation in the United States has changed completely. The rate of increase of coal production for reasons to be enumerated has come to a halt. In Table 1 are presented figures to show the growth of the coal industry. So that the ups and downs of good years and bad years may annul each other the average annual production for five year periods has been calculated. The highest point was reached during the war period, 1916-1920. In the next five years anthracite dropped below the pre-war level and has not yet recovered. Bituminous has had a heavy fall, too.

TABLE 3 Coal Production, January-May, 1930 and 1931				
Thousands of Net Tons				
		Anthracite		Bituminous
Period	1931	1930	1931	1930
January	6,157	7,038	38,342	49,778
February	5,391	6,157	31,408	39,555
March	4,745	4,551	33,870	35,773
April	5,700	4,916	25,478	35,890
May	5,005	5,941	26,314	30,594
Total	26,998	28,573	160,012	196,920

Up to June there were produced 160,612,000 net tons of soft coal and 26,998,000 of hard coal. During the corresponding period of last year the figures were 196,920,000 for bituminous and 28,573,000 for anthracite. These bare statistics mean bare cup-boards for the miners and their families.

Until recent years the production of coal increased for every man, woman and child in the United States. Within the last decade there has been a decline, as Table 4 testifies. In 1930 the production per capita was less than in the depression years, 1921-1922. Something has happened to make it possible for industry and the home to get along without the former amount of coal per capita. What has occurred will be discussed in another article.

TABLE 4 Per Capita Production of Coal		
Tons per capita		
Year	1930	1929
1930	0.02	0.12
1929	0.12	0.13
1928	0.13	0.14
1927	0.14	0.15
1926	0.15	0.16
1925	0.16	0.17
1924	0.17	0.18
1923	0.18	0.19
1922	0.19	0.20
1921	0.20	0.21
1920	0.21	0.22
1919	0.22	0.23
1918	0.23	0.24
1917	0.24	0.25
1916	0.25	0.26
1915	0.26	0.27
1914	0.27	0.28
1913	0.28	0.29
1912	0.29	0.30
1911	0.30	0.31
1910	0.31	0.32
1909	0.32	0.33
1908	0.33	0.34
1907	0.34	0.35
1906	0.35	0.36
1905	0.36	0.37
1904	0.37	0.38
1903	0.38	0.39
1902	0.39	0.40
1901	0.40	0.41
1900	0.41	0.42

Coal Lags Behind Industry It used to seem that coal had a bright future, because as long as industry developed coal supplies would have to keep pace with it. Now this has changed. Industry still needs coal but not at the same rate as formerly. Table 5 makes a comparison of two index numbers, one for coal production, the

TABLE 5 Index Numbers of Industrial Production and Coal Production (1913=100)		
Year	Industrial Production	Coal Production
1913	100	100
1914	119	119
1915	132	132
1916	148	148
1917	157	157
1918	129	93

other for industry, placing emphasis upon the peak years of coal production. It will be noticed that since the war the production of coal has lagged behind that of industry. There is nothing to prevent all this being repeated under the operation of a law like the Michigan anti-alien statute. Union meetings, strike meetings, could be invaded at the inspiration of employers, workers could be taken off picket lines, speakers could be yanked off platforms, all under the pretense of enforcing the law through determining whether the persons so accosted were legally qualified residents of the State of Michigan, or any other state where such legislation might be enacted. In the shops, this legislation would be a curb over the heads of workers belonging to or contemplating joining or organizing labor organizations. This fear would not stop with the unnaturalized alien worker. It could not be prevented from spreading to and among the citizen aliens. It means first paralysis, and then, destruction of the labor movement, political as well as economic.

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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.

Tut, Tut, Stuart Chase

STUART CHASE is easily the most provocative of the writers on latter-day economics. He calls himself a public accountant rather than an economist, to be sure, but it is in the field of economics that he shines. When he sits down and writes out a piece on planned production or whatever, you are sure to be in for a stimulating experience.

An admirer of Chase's for his splendid style, his delightful humor and his sturdy grasp of the realities of his American environment, I cannot help but feel that, of late, he has done some distressing back-sliding and I hereby call him to the mourner's bench for repentance.

For surely Stuart, way, way in the back of that dive mind of yours you know that a mighty lot of your writing on planned production and the Five Year Plan for America is the bunk. You who did a swell job on de-bunking advertising and the system generally, must realize when you come to read over some of your recent magazine contributions that when you suggest that real planning can be done in America under the present economic set-up, you are moving perilously in the vicinity of Matt Woll and the National Civic Federation. They are no bed-fellows for you. Matt's recent proposal for an American plan to offset the naughty Soviet's Five Year Plan is so obviously backed with dynamite against the very things you cherish most in life, that it gives me a swift pain in the neck to see how closely your planned production parallels that of Woll's.

For, in the long run, your proposal for an economic council, a high command, a group of engineers and economists with charts and graphs and blue-prints up in a national coming tower, while it may make grand copy for "Harper's Magazine" and "The Atlantic Monthly", is just another "dandy" scheme, unless—

Unless you give into the hands of your planners potent and somewhat terrifying weapons. Terrifying that it is to those who imagine that production in America can be planned without a vast limitation upon the freedom of the individual, a new strain upon human nature, a complete change of attitude on the part of millions.

No Stuart, I have not joined up with the Wild Men. I am not running about Union Square with my fist held on high, proclaiming a Revolution next Thursday. So far as I know, I am still a member in good standing in the Socialist Party and there is in the offing the dire possibility that I may have to run for Alderman on the ticket next Fall.

But Socialists have never maintained that in the transition from competition, through combination to cooperation, compulsion will be absent. Some measure of it there must be, the less the better of course, but always some. And it seems to me that you planners, one and all, the most intelligent of you, are ducking this fact. And rather than take the sock on the chin that planned production carries, you go all around the wing in a brilliant but rather futile display of foot-work.

So why not come clean, Stuart, and say at the outset: "I am suggesting that we get to work and draw upon our engineering resources for the taking of a national inventory and the nice balancing of production and consumption, through shrewd forecasting. But I do not suggest that this will be done because of any overnight conversion to planning on the part of a profit-seeking business world. Before we can make the first tentative steps towards such planning, we have to sweep away all that waste which has made a tragedy out of American industry. Of course, this is not going to be done by advice or by wishing it so. It can only be done in one of two ways, either by violent revolution or by the organized efforts of consumers and producers working politically for a new social order in which the word 'profit' is outlawed."

Now you know well enough that this latter involves first of all, the formation of a strong, militantly Socialist party built up from a strong, militantly class-conscious labor movement. For labor has the greatest stake in planned production and there will be no planned production worth talking or writing about until labor begins to move. Why do you and the others then, who have so clear a vision of, what America might be, so constantly avoid coming to grips with this simple fact? Is it because you want to make the transition to Socialism seem easy to your middle-class readers? A vain notion. They may applaud the idea of planning, production on paper. Once they understand the reality of the thing, they will, as they have always done, make haste to use it for the strengthening of the capitalist position. Then planned production will be nothing more than "rationalization," the putting in of more substantial props under the cracking roof of capitalism and you will have the shadow rather than the substance of what I believe all of you younger-minded economists sincerely want.

I have been mildly censured by some of my friends of the Cooperative movement for a reference made some time since in this column to what I took to be the "active hostility" of certain cooperators towards Socialism. Cedric Long, among others, objects to such a characterization of the Cooperative criticism of the S. P. and wonders if we are getting thin-skinned. Maybe we are. It is damned discouraging to find so few generous gestures of cooperation among those who should be going along with us towards the real cooperative commonwealth. Perhaps it is our fault. Perhaps we have been so bound up with our particular activities that we haven't had time to find out what the cooperatives are up to, at least here in the East. If so, it's a pity. I, for one would welcome closer team-work among cooperators and Socialists and would go a long way to help bring this about. It is naive to suppose that there is any competition between the two movements. They complement each other, even if they do not complement each other.

Did you notice that they played two of Warren G. Harding's favorite songs right after Herb Hoover got through telling what a "deeply religious" character Harding was, out at the memorial meeting in Marion, O.? One of them was, "Every Little Movement Has a Meaning All Its Own," the other, "Honest, Little Girl, I Am Strong for You."

This is a good idea. Usually they play, "Lead Kindly Light" at the funeral of the town drunkard and say that it was the favorite hymn of the "dear deceased." But at Marion, they were franker. I hope this custom gains headway so at the next funeral of some prominent Wall Street crook, they will play, "When I Take My Sugar out to You," or at the exercises in honor of an eminent actress: "You've got that Thing."

So now we're off to the W. I. D. Conference at Temiment to tell the boys and girls all about credit and banking, particularly the former and how to stretch it, a subject to which we have devoted deep thought, these past few years.

McKisler Column

From Our Foreign Correspondents

The Vatican and Fascism

By G. E. Modigliani

PARIS, JUNE 5.

THE VATICAN is trying to tighten the grip of the papacy on Italy and to prepare that country for a change from the Fascist dictatorship to a reactionary clerical regime. No matter how much and Pope and the Observatore Romano, (the Vatican's newspaper) may quibble about it, that's just what they are after and that's what Fascism is fighting in true Fascist style. And those dreaming of a reconciliation may as well forget it. All the more because, even if diplomatically smoothed over temporarily, the conflict is bound to recur until the eventual defeat of Fascism.

When Mussolini tried to line up the church in support of Fascism more than two years ago by the Lateran treaty, according to all kinds of special privileges in the home and schools and authorizing the existence of the Catholic Action, the only non-Fascist organization tolerated in the country, it was one of those counting this no victory for Fascism. Probably Mussolini foolishly thought he would prove the stronger and perhaps now he thinks that after he has hurled his gangs against some churches, some convents and many

Italy Emerging From Stupefaction in the Struggle Between Pope and Dictator

Catholic clubs and after his prefects have dissolved several dozen sections of the Catholic Action, everything will be O. K.

But how can he become the stronger if he bows before the moral and divine (!) authority of his opponent? And how can he win out if he already is unable to dam the flood of Catholic mysticism, or paganism, that he has let loose all over the country because he had to do so in order to maintain the dictatorship and the terror?

Millions of text books, government printed, have been spreading the most orthodox Vatican kind of Catholic doctrine in the homes, as well as in the schools. Hundreds of processions and grandiose religious ceremonies, not seen in Italy for several decades, are stirring up and carrying away the masses and are attracting to the standard of the church hopes and plans, desires and interests, by no means exclusively religious.

The press has fallen into line. Many employers are pleased with it. Especially the big agrarians who see returning to Italy their golden age when the peasants were submissive, due mainly to a high degree of unemployment, a lowness of wages and the perfect

agreement between the preaching aims-givers and the aims that degrade. So, even if this is a matter involving the Pope, it is likely that Mussolini will have to admit that it is easier to conjure up the Evil One than to lay him again.

The one-time petty school teacher of Predappio already is the weaker one. Playing the role of "Il Duce" of a great country, he wasn't even able to foresee that fact that the Fascist gangs hurried against the churches and convents really were replacing upon the head of the Pope the crown of martyrdom which he had been foolish enough to exchange for that of temporal sovereignty on Feb. 11, 1929, when the Lateran Treaty was signed. They were winning back for the Papacy much of the international sympathy it had lost through its disgraceful alliance with Fascism.

We may be sure that the Vatican, loyal to its traditions, will not encourage an open fight, but it won't let the conflict begun by Fascism die out, because it has too much to gain from that conflict. And I don't believe that Italy and the Socialist movement have the slightest interest in a reconciliation which would be to

the advantage of the Fascist dictatorship and which would deprive the Italian situation of a valuable dynamic element.

In truth, Italy is about to emerge from its state of stupefaction and is beginning to come to life, even under the dictatorship. The other day a person just escaped from there summed up the situation to us as follows:

"A year or two ago we had to trudge a long way to distribute the clandestine papers and to find anybody capable of helping us to circulate them. Today we are flooded with requests for clandestine leaflets, papers and brochures. Two years ago nobody dared to talk except in secret; now everybody is shouting and pretty loudly, too."

It is the economic collapse and the financial incapacity of the regime to end it that is disintegrating the Italian social organism and warping the mechanism of the dictatorship itself. It is quite natural that the Catholics, after so many others, should have raised their heads and that the Pope should have become aware of the fact that he had gone too far in his "dangerous liaison" with Fascism. And on the first occasion—

the centenary of some personage or other, or on the anniversary of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum"—he wanted to see his faithful followers display their strength. He even had forgotten that the encyclical being commemorated was denied later by its very author, Leo XIII, in another encyclical "Pravus De Commune," much more to the Right.

And then Fascism had to choose between allowing itself to be swept away and fighting back and enjoying the illusion of remaining the stronger. True to the logic of Fascism, it didn't hesitate, but at once had recourse to its usual savagery. But now it is up against an Italy that is awakening. A country where at practically the same time, the Pope protests, Michele Schirru falls under Fascist shots, a real hero, and six intellectuals face the Special Tribunal so defiantly that they receive sentences less savage than had been feared.

I am by no means drawing the conclusion from this that all Italy is about to rise up against Fascism and that the Mussolini regime is about to fall, and to fall at once. But it may be pointed out that now Fascism is no longer the all-powerful regime it was only two years ago, that the Pope knows this and that he is cutting loose from it.

The Chatterbox

The Minutes of Imaginary Conference No. 1

AN emergency meeting of the executive and legislative branches of the United States was held last Wednesday night upon call and authority of President Herb Hoover and J. P. Morgan in the little room around the corner.

Since this was a surprise call, all that could be gathered in the hurry was a handful of Senators and Congressmen who had remained behind to sit around in the brokers offices in the hope that some miracle might pull the market up on the bull side so that they could pull out enough of their margin account to pay their fares back to home.

It can be noted here that almost the entire Senate and surely all of Congress have hooked their next year's salary and travelling franchises to keep tissue paper margins intact on their Wall Street "investments."

The meeting was called to order at ten P.M. with Herb Hoover in the chair.

In short, the President spoke as follows: "Gentlemen and pals, you are no doubt surprised at this sudden call. I shall not keep you in suspense long. The American people can wait until my twenty year plan works out, but my dear Senators and Congressmen have been hit pretty hard. There is nothing you could turn a hand to once you lose your jobs here. And if this depression lasts much longer, we'll all be in a pretty fix."

"So, I thought I'd give you a chance to make up at least some of the money you have so valiantly lost on buying America long, and steadily refusing to sell her short."

"You might as well know that John P. over at my right has helped me in this matter since he knows the ropes a little better than I."

"After I let you in on the ground floor of my little tip, you can use your own judgment on what to do to-morrow morning at your stock brokers' offices. You can use your own judgment I say, but Johnnie here advises buying big lots of the big board stuff, holding them for a short rise on the news and then taking your profits in a hurry. . . ."

"Now, gentlemen, what I propose to your consideration and for your immediate approval is the postponement of one year of German and general European debts and reparations to this country. Johnnie has been grouse hunting in England and has convinced his old competitors that they ought to play together on this, or the old German goose won't lay any more eggs. A dead goose couldn't give a cigarette tip let alone the edge of a bond. And our office managers in Berlin confirm President Hindenburg's letters to me in code, that if we don't hurry up and declare a halt for this coming year at least, there just won't be any Germany to look at."

Here one old Senator, Blahlah, who believes, grumbled some objection. Apparently he had been sold out in the old crash and had nothing to gain by the bull news that was leaking out right now. Herb Hoover threw out his lower chest and spoke as if the Army Band was timing him with Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever." "Gentlemen, let there be unanimity in this terrible crisis of peace, as here was once before, under similar circumstances, in 1917, when the wolves of war howled at our door and threatened the twenty billion dollars we had invested with the beaten allies. 'Can you imagine what would have happened to the foundations of this republic if Germany had won and wiped out our hard earned capital and profits like so much ash from a Corona Corona. . . ."

A great shudder ran through the room. Herb's oratory was putting in a great lick.

"To-day, we are faced with a similar emergency. Two billion dollars of post-war investments, made on the sworn word of Johnnie over here lie in dire danger of being lost if we do not help poor old Germany to help herself. And so even as we responded to a man in the days of danger before, let not one of you fail me and John today. And besides, fellows, think of what this tip means to your depressed fortunes."

The enthusiasm that followed upon this remark will remain unprecedented in the annals of our national enthusiasms.

"As a postscript, may we whisper that because France is so uncertain even at this moment, and it might take her a longer time to agree than we have reason to hope for, I would advise buying on the rise and selling for a moderate profit. Playing in and out that way during the days of indecision should prove profitable to the wise investor. Should France accept officially, I'll spring the tip to you in time for a further plunge on the bull side. Should she refuse, there'll be a chance for you to switch to the bear line and make a killing. Baboon is a paluka when it comes to real tips. Follow your pal Herb and call your own number. Eh boys."

In the agreement that thundered itself out from the surrounding chairs much was drowned and forgotten. The man who had been wrong one hundred percent until that hour, was hailed as a savior and a prophet, and not even Senator Blahlah had the courage to tell him nay.

The meeting adjourned in time for the boys to meet their broker friends at the night clubs and speak easies and so place their buying orders for the morning spurge. A few remained behind to question Herb a little more. These had been of the old school of investors in gilt-edged securities, that now had most of the bright color rubbed off. Timidly, apologetically almost, they halted to reassure themselves with another word or so about the tip.

Senator Bunkum, asking for that group, spoke up. "And supposing France doesn't agree, and the boom bust-up catches us with our B. V. D's in vulgar exposure . . . what then, Herb, old pal . . . ?"

"Didn't I tell you that I'd tell you on the know so that you can sell out in time. . . ?" the President-in-name-only expostulated with fretful intonation. The group left with cleared faces, and each man rubbing his palms together with new born energy. Herb and John called it a night and shook hands happily.

While these remarks that follow are not officially of the record it would be in place to make them since so much of world import has happened since that famous conference.

It appears that Congressman Fiorella LaGuardia, famous off and on Liberal, Socialist, and Republican has registered his disagreement with the extra legal procedure employed by Herb Hoover in putting this moratorium business through. His objection is that Congress alone in legal session has the right to make and rescind debts or declare postponements of payment by debtors.

It would be cruel to infer that he is just one of Herb for not letting him in on the ground floor of a bull movement in Wall Street. But if that is not the case, then it must be a matter of disillusionment. So, at last, he realizes how utterly all a Congressman or an entire Congress amounts to when the bankers speak their word of dictatorship in a land of the free. . . .

S. A. deWitt

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

A Philosopher Looks At Our Civilization

He Finds It Wanting

By Joseph T. Shipley

BY the simple device of transporting a living young man of today, "Philaethes, seeker of truth," to the Elysian Fields, and there having him summon Plato by thinking of the Greek, G. Lowes Dickinson arranges a conversation "After Two Thousand Years" (W. W. Norton, \$2) that criticizes Plato's ideas in the light of our civilization and—more searingly—examines our times in the light of Plato's ideals. To us, the author believes, Plato pictures a country where too many are subjected for the good of the few—and where even the few are diverted from true good, because they have to busy themselves governing the many. Of our time there is much more to say.

While he feels that a revolution by thought, not by arms, is alone likely to be permanently effective, Mr. Dickinson recognizes that, to salvage our civilization, a revolution must come. Its direction—with a glance at Socialism and at Russia—he dares not prophesy, save that it must be some democratic form: "aristocracy" is a mere disguise for oligarchy. Prophecy is futile for "the whole human race, as we observe it, rushes like a comet through the sky, and no one can predict where it will be a few years hence, nor whether it will be at all. Within it lie the knots and clumps we call states; but these, though distinguishable, are forever disrupting and fusing. They push and pull one another, they interchange their substances. All is motion and energy, though there is little light."

Mr. Dickinson casts the light of a clear intelligence upon many problems, showing, if not the solutions, the pertinent questions to pose. He reminds us that our religion and our moral codes are the result, not of intelligent determination, but of tribal inheritance—the Egyptians, for example, found no moral (nor eugenic) harm in the marriage of brother and sister. In connection with birth control, the quality of human stock is discussed, of rich and of poor, and we are led inevitably to the need of equality of opportunity. The attraction of war is recognized, and the weakness of leagues against propaganda and the spirit that urges the individual to fight, the many lures that lead the soldier out of his dull existence to the dazzle and danger of war. Here, too, the public schools have their effect, our schools where "individual tastes, and above all individual consciences, are discouraged, and if possible suppressed, to feel and to act all together is thought more important than to feel and act rightly, and to follow a leader to destruction nobler than to take a lonely road to salvation. . . . Some of the more studious, no doubt, and the more intelligent, recover from that training in later life. But the majority, whose education ends with school, retain throughout the school-boy mind." A more pious education is Mr. Dickinson's plea; a dual education, one phase attempting "to determine the temporal order of events," "capable of sufficient demonstration"—science; the other, "concerned with values and purposes," taught not dogmatically but through free and open discussion, with opportunity for all opinions to assert themselves, in the hope that ultimately truth and good will prevail.

The author's comments on human goods—truth, art, and love—are equally pertinent. . . .

A Professor Plays Safe

The growth of social legislation during the last generation has been one of the distinguishing marks of European capitalism. This development has been especially remarked upon during the past depression when observers in the United States were either being thankful that we do not have the "dole" system that exists abroad or else pointing out the comparatively better position of European labor during times of depression because of this same "dole" system. Charles W. Pipkin, professor of Comparative Government at Louisiana State University has attempted to tell the story of the rise of this legislation in England and France in his new book, Social Politics and Modern Democracies, (Macmillan, 2 vol. \$7.50). He also tries to analyze the position of the trades unions and the political organizations of labor in regard to social legislation.

The first task has been accomplished excellently. Professor Pipkin has gone through the parliamentary debates and other official records of both countries. He has gleaned from them all that was possible in building up his story of the growth of the labor legislation. He is not content to tell only when

the legislation was passed and what its terms were but goes into the situation which led up to the passing of the law and the position of its proponents and opponents as brought out by the debate on the bill. Efforts have not yet become law also claim his attention and he deals with them in a similar manner.

The story he tells is an illuminating one. It is one of how the working classes of England and France forced from the legislatures of those countries remedial and protective legislation. This took place first in England because of the earlier industrialization, the greater strength of the unions there, and because the French unions were not interested in governmental action for quite a while. France has not nearly caught up with England in social legislation. All this is brought out very well and although the author deals with each country separately he loses no opportunity to compare

them and point out how their experiences have been similar or how they have differed.

When it comes to dealing with the trade unions and the political parties, Professor Pipkin does not do nearly so well, in fact he falls down rather badly. One feels that he has never grasped the fact that the Labor Party of Great Britain is supposed to be a Socialist party, interested in bringing about a complete change in the economic organization. The picture that is painted of it leaves the impression that it is only interested in some further reforms in the present one. I do not see how any one can consider the attitude of organized labor in Great Britain toward social reform unless he also considers the fact that the reforms are but looked at as steps toward a goal, a goal which no one exists in Professor Pipkin's story. Telling of the work of the Labor Parliamentary Committee during a session or of resolutions

Michigan Alien Law A Menace To Workers

(Continued from Page Four)

has given way to one in which the problem is finding jobs for the rapidly growing labor surplus and stemming the rising tide of discontent generated by contemporary capitalist development. There are no homesteads to serve as outlets and safety valves.

Back in 1793, the Federalists under President Adams, sought to strike at the political effects in the United States of the French Revolution by passing through a Federalist dominated Congress a bill requiring fourteen years residence, instead of five, for naturalization. This was followed by the enactment, in the same year, of the Alien Act. Both were repealed during the early part of Jefferson's administration—that is by the very persons at whose political activities they were aimed.

It is interesting and significant that another European revolutionary situation correlates with the enactment of such legislation as

the Michigan anti-alien law by the lineal descendants of the early Federalists—the party of "wealth and talents, of the rich and well born."

On its legal side, the Michigan anti-alien law seems to violate the Federal Constitution under which the power to regulate interstate or foreign commerce, which includes immigration, is vested in the federal government. A state cannot exclude from its limits, or admit within its limits upon terms, persons in the full possession of their faculties, sound in body, neither paupers nor criminals, and in all respects competent to earn a livelihood.

Legislation such as the Michigan anti-alien law is an attempted usurpation of the functions of the federal government.

Furthermore, it is the well settled law of the land that no state may legislate impairing the obligation of a contract, which the law in question would clearly do since contracts of employment, among others, cannot escape being affected by the anti-alien law.

The foregoing are just a few of the constitutional objections to the law.

The law is historically reactionary since it in effect reverts to the political conditions that prevailed in the thirteen colonies in the days before the establishment of the federal government under the Constitution—the days when each colony was a separate sovereignty, complete within itself, even to the extent of maintaining customs barriers and levying customs duties against other colonies. If the logical implications of this species of legislation be pursued we will wipe out the advantages accruing from centuries of political evolution since the days of emergence from feudalism.

Under all circumstances, the Michigan anti-alien law is an unmitigated menace to the workers of the nation, for what confronts challenge the workers of other the workers of Michigan today will states in the Union tomorrow.

This law is a direct threat at the very life of the economic, political and cooperative organizations of the workers. As far as the danger to the economic and political organizations is concerned, I have already discussed the situation, necessarily briefly. However, a large proportion of the foreign population of Michigan is made up of Finns who are the backbone of the cooperative movement. The anti-alien bill is a club in the hands of the enemies of the cooperative movement in the United States.

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The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, and production and exchange

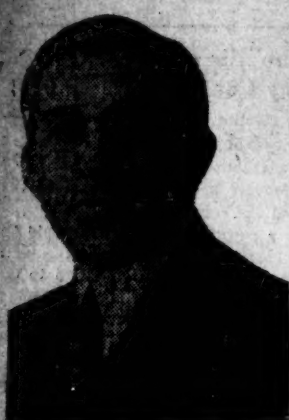
As a matter of fact, since 1929, when the first general crisis broke

STAGE

"Hell Below Zero" Opens at RKO Cameo

SCREEN

Successful Producer



John Golden, the producer of the Rachel Crothers play, "As You Hear Their Voices" now in its 8th month at the Golden Theatre.

At the Hipp



John Barrymore in his newest picture "Svengali" opens at the Hipp today. Adelaide Hall leads the big stage bill.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

VASSAR VENTURES
"CAN YOU HEAR THEIR VOICES?" By Hallie Flanagan and Margaret Ellen Clifford (from a story by Whittaker Chambers in the "New Masses") The Experimental Theatre of Vassar College.

In the series of plays issued by the alert group of the Vassar Experimental Theatre, the latest, "Can You Hear Their Voices?" is a radical play done somewhat in the Russian manner, although its locale and its application are wholly American. The seven scenes are to be played without a curtain and with no intermission; "by this simplification," the authors state, "realism is discarded and reality gained." But reality is not quite so simple; melodrama is much nearer the mood of most of these plays, and "Can You Hear Their Voices?" is no exception. The scenes alternate holiday between the drought area and the occasion of a \$250,000 coming-out party of a Washington politician's daughter—an intelligent girl who drowns in drink her disgust at the swinish greed her father and his colleagues represent.

Before and after the various scenes, slides put on a screen facts concerning "destitution in this country." For instance,

SLIDE 8
The Senate insisted that since the money was a loan to farmers it should be used when necessary to keep them alive. The President, backed by a majority in the House, maintained that the money should not be used for food because this would constitute a dole. The farmers said, "Millions for mules but not a cent for humans." The play ends with the leader of the starving farmers awaiting arrest, sending his two small boys out into the cold world, rather than have them also go to jail. As the boys' voices fade into the dark distance, the final screen appears:

These boys are symbols of thousands of our people who are turning somewhere for leaders. Will it be to the educated minority?

CAN YOU HEAR THEIR VOICES?
It is encouraging to find the college women of the country presenting, and printing, plays of this character. The educated minority must grow in power and in numbers, until it becomes the whole people.

MOVIE OPERETTA
"DIE DREI VON DER TANKSTELLE" Ufa Operetta at the Ufa Cosmopolitan.
There seems something about the form of the operetta that lends itself to the movies; more than our straight talkies, these German

Makes Brooklyn Bow at the Fox Theatre



Warren Hymer and Lina Banquette as they appear in their latest picture "Goldie," which begins a week's run at the Fox Theatre. On the stage, is a new and interesting Fanchon and Marco revue.

Now at the Ufa Theatre



Lillian Harvey and Willy Fritsch head a fine cast in the newest Ufa picture "Die Drei Von Der Tankstelle" now holding forth at the Cosmopolitan Theatre.

song-films lend themselves to camera work, to effective novelties and devices of the film. "The Three From the Filling Station" is an excellent example of this sort of film, with a good enough story, pleasant music and many touches that indicate the sensitive hand of the expert.

Three friends come home to find themselves "broke"; they open a filling-station together, and fall in love with one lady. She selects one to love, but he is faithful to his pals, must wed him by a trick. Nothing of consequence is here, but delightful Lillian Harvey and excellent acting by other Ufa stars through the escapades.

There are two very good shorts on the program; one showing "Dancing Wood" on its way from Rumanian forests to the mills; the other a picture of animals learning to be friends. Altogether, an evening decidedly above the average.

Stadium Announces Programs for Concerts

The first three programs for the 1931 season of Stadium Concerts under Wilhelm van Hoogstraten are as follows:

Tuesday, July 7: Overture to "The Flying Dutchman," Wagner; Don Juan, Strauss; Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor, Bach, transcribed for orchestra by Respighi, and Symphony No. 5 in C minor, Beethoven.

Wednesday, July 8: Symphony No. 4 in F minor, Tchaikovsky; Suite from "The Fire Bird," Stravinsky; Waltz "Tales from the Vienna Woods," Johann Strauss, and "Triana," Albeniz, orchestrated by Arbos.

Thursday, July 9: Symphony No. 3 in F major, Brahms; Prelude to "Lohengrin," Wagner; "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring," Debussy; Rhapsody "Espagne," Chabrier, and "1812" Overture, Tchaikovsky.

Mr. van Hoogstraten's three weeks will be attested by such events as the Hall Johnson Choir on July 12 and 13, the appearance of Anna Duncan on July 16 and 17, and the performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on July 23 and 24. Novelties of his period include Sibelius' First Symphony, the Goldmark Requiem for Orchestra, Brahms' Nachtmusik from his Symphony No. 7, and Daniel Gregory Mason's "Chanticleer" Overture. He will also play the "Romantic" Symphony No. 4 of Bruckner.

Fritz Reiner's programs also include many works of the beaten path of the Stadium repertoire, such as Kodaly's Dances of Marosszek, Strauss' Domestic Symphony and Interlude from "Intermezzo," Handelt's Overture "Neues vom Tage," De Falla's "El Amor Brujo," and Howard Hanson's "Romantic" Symphony No. 2, which the composer completed last year.

Beauty Contest Winner to Appear in New Musical
Clarice Bruce, who has sung with the St. Louis Grand Civic Opera, and is a St. Louis beauty contest winner, will appear in a new musical comedy due to reach Broadway shortly.

Carveth Wells, who headed the expedition to the Mountains of the Moon, and provides the running commentary to the film, "Hell Below Zero," now showing at the RKO Cameo Theatre, has been soldier, explorer, writer, naturalist, railroad builder, in turn.

The Mountains of the Moon, which are the theme of the picture, are situated in Central Equatorial Africa. Although they were within comparatively recent years, known to the ancients, yet, until their existence was disputed. It was said to be impossible for snow-capped mountains to exist on the Equator. Even when Stanley, in 1889, declared that he had seen them, the scientific world was incredulous. It was not until 1906 that all doubts were dispelled.

The mystery that has enveloped the Mountains of the Moon is attributed to the fact that they are only visible to the eye for a few hours every three or four months. The rest of the time they are shrouded in mist and clouds.

Mr. Wells undertook the journey to the mountains at the request of the Milwaukee Museum. The film he has brought back represent the first and only one taken in the Mountains of the Moon, and discloses many facts of this hitherto little known region.

Lou Holtz, Star of "You Said It," Prefers Summer Audiences to Winter Ones

It is generally conceded that theatrical audiences vary from night to night, a fact which often causes anxiety to the actors and bewilderment to the management. A gag which on Tuesday may have the audience howling with merriment, will fall on deaf ears on Thursday. This condition of affairs serves the good purpose, however, of keeping the principal of a company always on their toes and ever alert to playing to the mood of the spectators.

One of the keenest students of the reactions of his listeners is Lou Holtz, star of the musical comedy of college life, "You Said It" now in its sixth month at Chanin's Forty-sixth Street Theatre.

"The most difficult thing a comedian has to learn," said Mr. Holtz, "is to ascertain the mood of the audience before which he is playing. Despite all the hokum that has been written about the terrors of a first night there is nothing different from a comedian's standpoint in the opening night or the closing night, for every night is a first night, as the actor is facing an entirely new group of theatregoers at each performance."

"One thing I have learned about audiences," continued Mr. Holtz, "is that the summer theatregoer is much more responsive and receptive than his brother of the winter time."

"The only explanation I can offer for this phenomenon is that in the summer there is more of a carnival spirit prevailing, as there are so many vacationists out to have a good time, who go to a show with the idea that they are going to enjoy it and do."

"Again in the summer there are so many other diversions that when a person goes to a show he really wants to see it and is far more appreciative of the efforts of the actors who are striving to entertain."

"The audience in the winter is more likely to be blasé and it is then we encounter the so-called sophisticates who wouldn't like a show even if it were good."

"By all means," he concluded, "give me the audience in the good old summer time in preference to that in the winter, and it seems that my preference will be satisfied this summer judging by the reception 'You Said It' is getting nightly at the Chanin Theatre."

"Sweepstakes," With Eddie Quillan, Holds Over at the Mayfair

A decided treat is in store for lovers of racetrack thrills—and spectacular riding! "Sweepstakes" an RKO Pathe production starring Eddie Quillan, now at the Mayfair Theatre is a fast moving romance with comedy and drama concerning the "sport of kings."

With an imposing cast headed by Eddie Quillan, James Gleason, Marion Nixon and Lew Cody, the screen attraction is said to be one of the most entertaining comedy-dramas of the year.

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. How the jockey ultimately lives down his disgrace to stage a remarkable come-back is said to make a most gratifying and interesting compelling story.

Eddie Quillan, the youthful RKO Pathe star, plays the role of the jockey and offers one of the finest performances of his career, it is reported. Marion Nixon, the sparkling brunette, is seen in a pleasing role as the pretty singer. The beautiful Crinoline gown she wears in several sequences will prove of unusual interest to the women.

One of the Reasons Why the "Third Little Show" Is a Big Hit

Wright Deere Winans, the producer of the "Vinegar Tree" has a new hit on his hands, in the "Third Little Show" at the Music Box Theatre. In it, the inimitable Beatrice Little scores heavily, and is assisted in her fun-making by Ernest Truex, Walter O'Keefe, and others.

New Ethel Waters Emerges in Lew Leslie's Classic "Rhapsody in Black"

The success of Lew Leslie's "Rhapsody in Black," the symphony of blue notes and black rhythm at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, has brought to the attention of discerning playgoers a new and rejuvenated Ethel Waters. Perhaps one of the best dispensers of blue and racy lyrics, Miss Waters has done an about face and emerges as a veritable Ethiopian Ruth Draper, a singer of adroit and expertly drawn character studies.

Like the average stage artist who has a trade mark to live up to, Miss Waters was loathe to forego the "hot" poems which in the past had won for her a secure niche in the theatrical hall of fame. Not that she didn't want to rise above the blue songs she sang with such joyous and utter abandon, but she felt audiences would receive her in no other mood. Lew Leslie, who knew the rare artistry that was Miss Waters, was inclined to feel different about the matter. He prepared a number of ideas for her and commissioned Mann Hollner and Albert Nichols to create the lyrics and melodies.

The job was completed on the day the cast of "Rhapsody in Black" was called for its first rehearsal. Miss Waters listened to the material and expressed elation over it.

Another Actor Gets His Chance

There is another actor to be added to the list of those who, confronted with an unexpected opportunity, have made good in a big way. His name is Albert Van Dekker and the part that he has been waiting for all his life which has finally come his way is that of Baron von Galgen, the improvident aristocrat turned thief who motivates the thrilling events of Vicki Baum's "Grand Hotel" at the National Theatre.

Four years ago last spring, one week after he graduated from college, Mr. Van Dekker, who had been the shining glory of his undergraduate dramatic society, went to work for Stuart Walker. Two months later he was in New York with a Theatre Guild job, playing

in "Marco Millions," and later in "Volpone." He suddenly found himself playing a leading role in the latter play, and when the Guild sent "Marco Millions," "Volpone" and "R. U. R." on the road next season, Mr. Van Dekker was a featured member of the company.

His next part was opposite Zita Johann in "Troyka," followed by an appearance as Lysistrata's husband in Gilbert Seides' successful modern version of the Greek classic. He left "Lysistrata" last spring to play leading roles with the Hampton Players in Southampton where he made a distinct impression on Herman Shumlin, who, when a new baron was needed for "Grand Hotel," wired his office to "get Van Dekker."

He is now a permanent fixture of the hit at the National and will continue with it through the summer and for next season.

"Diversion seekers who prefer good vocalizing, good music, excellent hooding and the artful Ethel Waters are sure to find it worth while." —Walter Winchell, Mirror

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"Love Letters" Idea with Jerry Coe, Billy Nelson and Irene Knight
Radio MAGILL SAM JAH KAUFMAN WEST

John Barrymore at the Hipp in "Svengali"; Adelaide Hall Heads Smart Vaude Bill

John Barrymore makes his Hippodrome debut this week in "Svengali," the evil hypnotist whose spell engulfs Trilby, the most famous beauty of Paris. In this weird mystery drama of George Du Maurier's immortal novel Marian Marsh, Donald Crisp, Carmel Myers and Bramwell Fletcher aid Barrymore in making this, one of his greatest screen masterpieces.

The eight act vaudeville bill boasts of Adelaide Hall, the crooning blackbird; Felovis, the master manipulator; Roy Rogers, the wandering comedian; Ray Sax, the young musician who plays anything; the Perry Twins and Eslyn Taria, stepping steppers; Vic Oliver with "Halfpint" Margot Crangle in a crazy quilt of fun; Archie and Gertie Falls, combining comeliness, agility and dexterity and George McKay with Greta Ardine presents "Railroad Cabaret" with the St. Claire Sisters, Miss Geraldine and Bob James.

"Smart Money" With Ed G. Robinson and James Cagney at the Winter Garden

"Smart Money" is living up to its name at the Winter Garden, where it is and has been playing to standing room only since its premiere last Thursday night.

Despite the hot weather over the week-end, the team of Edward G. Robinson and James Cagney, had grossed within a few hundred dollars of the all-time week-end record set by "The Dawn Patrol" and had surpassed the figures set by "The Office Wife," holder of the "place" position at the Garden.

With the additional impetus given to it by the praise of critics and audiences, "Smart Money" seems destined for a run of six to eight weeks.

"Chances," With Fairbanks, Jr., Stays On at the Hollywood; Also Opens at the Brooklyn Strand

"Chances," starring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., which is continuing to splendid business at the Hollywood Theatre, will open in addition at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre Thursday night, June 25.

The younger Fairbanks, in the role of the eager-for-love-and-war British artillery officer of A. Hamilton Gibbs famous novel; seems to have caught the popular fancy, and the film is causing widespread comment. Members of the United States military forces are numbered largely in each audience, due to the stirring and authentic battle scenes, one of the most memorable shots being a thrilling "sequence" of men, horses and guns dashing onward to destruction.

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Noted Explorer and Author



Carveth Wells, explorer and author, whose whimsical lecture on the comical things of nature have brought him wide renown is a fellow of the Royal Geographic Society and American Geographic Society and has travelled in many parts of the world. His Trip to the Mountains of the Moon is now at the RKO Cameo Theatre under the title of "Hell Below Zero." Mr. Wells also broadcasts every Sunday at two o'clock over WEAF.

"Goldie," With Spencer Tracey, Makes Bow at Fox B'klyn; Fanchon and Marco Big Revue

For its first showing anywhere, "Goldie," the latest Fox picture to co-feature Spencer Tracey and Warren Hymer, is being presented at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre all this week. The rest of the program is made up of Fanchon & Marco's "Love Letters" Idea on the stage, preceded by Bob West's organ fest and Sam Jack Kaufman's overture with an interlude of crooning by Eddie Magill.

In "Goldie," Spencer Tracey enacts a glib-talking, hard-fighting second mate, with Warren Hymer as his dumb pal.

Gene Towne and Paul Perez adapted "Goldie" and wrote the wise-cracking dialogue in a rollicking, boisterous manner reminiscent of the sea. The supporting cast includes such screen notables as Lina Banquette, Ivan Linow, Eleanor Hunt, Lillia Karmelly and scores of beautiful girls.

Depicting the romance of the mail service from the time of foot couriers and the Pony Express down to today's winged air mail, Fanchon & Marco's "Love Letters" Idea is a colorful stage extravaganza. Co-featured with Jerry Coe are Billy Nelson & Irene Knight, "Broadway's King and Queen of Comedy," while other artists in the Idea are Jeanne Devereaux, Jim French's Aeroplane Girls, George Ward, "The Fast Mail," Eugenia Reynolds & Mildred Stencil, "Close Harmony Beauties," and another group of the famous Sun-kist Beauties.

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NEW LEADER

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

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1931

Five Minutes to Twelve

FOR several months it has been evident that European capitalism has been drifting to a crisis with Germany as the center of the trouble. The robbers' peace of Versailles from its inception has been a peace of abomination but in addition to that it has been an unworkable arrangement. In a civilization like ours where the world is knit together into so many ties of intimate relationships it is absolutely impossible to transform one great nation into a slave and make it support others in addition to itself.

It is as though some quack were to try to place all the functionalities of the human body upon one organ on the theory that because all organs are diseased they will recover by making one do the work of the others. The result would be to overstrain one organ, gradually breaking it down, while the others fail to get the nourishment necessary to recovery. The whole human body thus becomes afflicted with decayed tissues and death becomes a possibility.

This is what has happened in the case of Germany. It is no secret that Germany has been reaching the end of its rope and that collapse impended. The situation had become so grave that abroad those on the inside were accustomed to say, "It is five minutes to twelve in Germany." If Germany sank into chaos she would certainly drag down other nations and out of the hysteria, madness and chaos, industry, transportation and finance would be so ruined that the job of recovery either on a capitalist or a Socialist basis would probably haffle human ingenuity.

Our thick-headed politicians in this country have ignored the situation since the Peace of Versailles but eventually they have had to face it. Harding, Coolidge and Hoover maintained an attitude of pious isolation. They have assumed that it was none of our affair although our banking usurers have been the vampires that have been supping on the blood taken from prostrate Germany. In recent weeks even Hoover has awakened to reality with the result that he has taken the initiative in proposing a suspension of "all payments on intergovernmental debts, reparations and relief debts, both principal and interest," for one year.

In other words, the terrific strain upon one nation is to be lifted for one year. The French nationalists appear to be the only political clique to oppose this proposal but as this is written it appears that they are coming around to the general point of view. If generally agreed to for one year in which there will be no more bleeding of the German masses, it will certainly be helpful to all concerned. The relief comes late but it is well to come even at this time rather than not at all.

We cannot abandon this theme without pointing out that Hoover and the politicians at Washington are now playing the old game of inaction regarding our unemployment problem that they played for a decade in relation to Europe. Hoover is still referring the problem of our suffering millions to the victims themselves, urging them to bear their sufferings as best they can and be sure that they do not lose their "character" while standing in the breadlines. Meanwhile the wretched millions sink as Germany sank.

Must we reach "five minutes to twelve" in this country before the smug Hoover realizes that pious words do not feed the hungry or clothe the naked? We wonder.

First Aid to Capital

Each jobless worker in this country was only an automobile, a bar of steel, or some other inert commodity possessed by capitalists looking for markets he would have the careful attention of the Federal Government. Being a live commodity he markets himself and if he does not find a buyer Hoover tells him to be a good American and starve without making a noise about it.

Mr. A. W. Childs, an official of the Department of Commerce, writes in the *United States Daily* of how one division of this department serves the automobile manufacturing class. "Its chief functions are to promote and develop the American automotive export trade," he writes. "During the calendar year 1929, 144,444 separate

and distinct services were rendered to automotive exporters by the division together with the domestic field offices. The bureau had 59 foreign offices in the capitals and leading commercial centers overseas and receives excellent cooperation from about 450 American Consulates as well. In addition, the Bureau maintains 79 distinct and co-operative offices in the industrial centers of the United States. In all, approximately 1,400 American Government representatives serve the Automotive Division and through it the automotive industry of the United States."

Now isn't that kind? Mr. Childs goes on to say that only in a few countries can the corporations maintain their own staffs so they depend on the benevolent aid of this bureau of the Federal Government.

We understand that Hoover is not worrying about the auto manufacturers losing their "character" and "rugged individualism" by this government care. We also understand that the capitalists thus cared for do not think it a dose. But Hoover's in his heaven and all's well with the class he serves.

The Miners' Struggle

CAPITALISM in the coal fields has brought a misery to tens of thousands of human beings even more acute than in the textile industry. Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia are sectors of the bloody strife. The anarchistic owners of the industry have made a worse mess of their management than any other ruling group in American industry. The industry is chaotic, markets are demoralized, and their business is poised on ragged and starving men, women, and children. It is the filthiest ulcer in American capitalism today.

Many of the veteran miners are themselves in part responsible for the situation. The union was once an inspiring progressive organization maintaining sympathetic and cooperative relations with the Socialist party in many important causes. The war had the same effect on them that it had upon other organized workers who had been progressive. They drifted into a conservatism that destroyed the old idealism and fighting spirit. In national convention they had voted for the nationalization of the industry and then permitted a conservative leadership to pigeon hole it.

A terrible price is being paid for their drift from the old progressive attitude. Other trade unions are also paying the price for a similar drift but the miners are paying the heaviest toll in starvation, slavery, evictions from company dog kennels, and death at the hands of company gunmen. The drift has also divided a once powerful union into a half-dozen groups more or less in conflict with each other.

However, the present situation is not all dark. Despite the measureless suffering they face they are fighting heroic battles in a number of fields against tremendous odds. They deserve and should receive all the aid which other unions and their friends can rush to them in this hour of trial.

IN A NUTSHELL

One of the favorite hymns of capitalism's prosperity chorus these days is "Throw Out the Life-Line."

Let no laggard say that the workers will not listen to the Socialist message today. Many of them have nothing else to do. Go to the masses!

Hoover never got the chicken out of the coop to say nothing of getting it into the pot.

Perhaps that is one reason why the President has not included any large mining area on his list for the delivery of consoling speeches.

The Socialist movement moves when you help it to move, not otherwise, and it will move civilization from the capitalist to the Socialist camp when we have enough on the job.

If there is any disease that the capitalist system isn't afflicted with please notify us as we are specialists in such ailments.

But cheer up. Next year you can have the Democratic label placed upon your depression if you are very particular.

After all, the worker who would give his vote for a mere chicken in the pot holds himself as cheap as the cheap politician who made the offer.

Experience declares that man is the only animal that devours his own kind, for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe and to the general prey of the rich on the poor.—Thomas Jefferson.

President Hoover thinks that a new device to cool homes and cheap enough to be placed in every home would be such a vast industry that it would bring prosperity. He wants us all to keep cool with Coolidge.

Militarism with all its bogus victories leads us nowhere. It is like the squirrel in the cage—the faster you go the more quickly you go nowhere.—J. H. Chapple.

Perhaps the millions of the jobless would endure their privations with more resignation if Al Smith had been elected President. At least many Democrats think so.

Sixty thousand infants die in England every year. If a similar number of lambs died a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into the reason.—Rhys L. Davis, M. P.

The Democratic Party is just burning up to win the election next year in order to reduce the number of the unemployed. Jobs for Democrats is the slogan.

A peace is of the nature of a conquest; For then both parties nobly are subdued, And neither party loser.

—Shakespeare.

As near as we can express it Capitalism is the hope of the world and Socialism is the hope of the world.

Where does the farmer get the honey? From the hive! Where does the magnate get the money? Man alive!

From you and me and all for us, The grime and sweat and thrall of us, That toil and mold and dig and delve and die!

—Franklin Kent Gifford.

If you do not like a Republican industrial panic please remember that the Democratic Party is always willing to give you one with a Democratic label if you prefer it.

The New Leader Mail Box

WOULD TEST RED FLAG LAW
Editor, The New Leader:

It seems to me and to many members of Branch Jamaica, at whose instructions I am writing this letter, that the "powers that be" in Local New York are passing up an excellent opportunity for publicity and practical accomplishments by their neglect to take advantage of the recent Supreme Court decision against a part of the California anti-red flag law for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of New York State's similar statute. In view of the action in Washington, it might be that the New York courts themselves would declare the law unconstitutional, but even if the case had to be carried to the United States Supreme Court, the cost would not be prohibitive, due to the fact that there would be nothing to be decided upon except the matter of constitutionality, with no disputes over the facts of the "crime" committed by some comrade who would volunteer to display the red flag as one of our street meetings together with the stars and stripes. Just because the police have chosen to overlook violations of this silly anti-red flag law of late is no guaranty against its being used against us or any other radical group any time the city or state authorities may care to do so. It's all very well to point out that Socialists don't worship the flag, which is true, but at the same time it must be remembered that the Socialist parties of the world haven't abandoned the red flag as their international emblem.

HOLLIS, N. Y. HARRY T. SMITH.

IN MEMORIAM
Editor, The New Leader:

At the last meeting of Local Nassau it was voted to have published in your forthcoming issue the following memorial in memory of our dear comrade, Dr. Anna Ingeman, which we trust you will do.

"We, members of the Socialist party, Local Nassau, and also members of the Nassau Forum, assembled in our new headquarters, No. 606 Bayview Avenue, Nassau, on the evening, June 12, 1931, express our tribute and great sorrow for our beloved comrade, teacher and lecturer, who passed away from us recently. With bowed heads and in our hearts, we salute the noble life she dedicated to the interests of the great working masses of the world, and our grateful souls follow always as an example to the memory of her unceasing fight against despotism to the last minute of her life."

LOCAL NASSAU, Socialist Party.

DISCOURAGED UNIONISTS
Editor, The New Leader:

A 20 per cent cut in wages has been handed to the employees of the Consolidated Machine Tool Corporation of America in Rochester. The office help received theirs at the beginning of this year. I have watched the local newspapers but nothing has been printed about this. I know of two other places (not machine shops) where a cut took effect some time ago. I thought it might be a good thing to write workers everywhere to send in reports of similar wage cuts.

I am not organized. Disillusionment made me quit the union. What is your opinion? Is it worth our while to join again or help build a new union and also a new Federation of Labor? I know scores of machinists who feel the same as I do, but advice is I believe necessary. I would appreciate it if some of your readers or personally, would discuss this question in your paper. To me it seems that it is just as impossible to remodel the A. F. of L. for its present use as it is for the Socialists to join one of the old parties with the aim to rebuild them and make them Socialist. I know full well what it means to start something new, but I know that those old warriors of a decade or more ago cannot be moved to get them back into the union. They are disappointed, disheartened, tired, have given up pretty near all their hope of bygone days.

And yet the present depression brings back some of their ideals and fire again. What about we do? What must we do? Where are the strong men that will inspire us again?

A MACHINIST.

Rochester, N. Y.

The steadily and discouragement mentioned above have been evident since the defeat of the steel strikers in 1919 and it seems to us that our correspondents give the answer to his own questions. He reports that veteran unionists who have been discouraged are now awakening. Why? The present depression brings back some of their ideals and fire again. That is the first essential of a growing unionism and it has been lacking for years. Take advantage of it. Join again. Do not wait for a "strong man." You are strong. Exert your strength. As for the type of organization that will depend upon circumstances in each locality. Put "ideals" and "fire" into the local organization. If one exists. If there is none organize one. The working class is more inclined to listen now and intelligent action is likely to get results. Try it.

Editor of The New Leader.

TO MISSISSIPPI SOCIALISTS
Editor, The New Leader:

Socialists of Mississippi should get in touch with W. C. Kennedy at Magnolia, and give him whatever financial assistance they may be able to render in his race for the very important office of county supervisor. In his district there are nine candidates competing for the Democratic primary nomination for this office. Comrade Kennedy is running as an independent in the November election. He is one of Mississippi's pioneer Socialists and has launched his campaign in an effort to revive interest in the party and set things going again. His election would cause no surprise among well informed circles since he is admittedly the best and most universally respected candidate before the people of his county.

H. B. ALLEN.

Magnolia, Miss.

AN EXPLANATION
Editor, The New Leader:

The June 20th issue contains what purports to be an article by an under the title "The Unreality of American Politics." I feel your readers will be interested to know that the contents of this article were broadcast over one of our leading radio stations in a symposium on "Political Parties and Principles in American History" in which George Gordon Battle represented the Democrats and former Attorney-General Albert Ottinger the Republicans. I feel that without this explanation the article loses much of its significance since I appreciate it contains nothing new or startling.

CHARLES SOLOMON.

Plain Words to the Readers Of The New Leader

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER belongs to its readers, the men and women of the Socialist movement. It is no free lance enterprise responsible to its private owners alone. A Socialist newspaper is responsible first and all the time to the Socialist movement which builds and maintains it. Conversely, a Socialist newspaper has a right to call on its readers to shoulder whatever tasks may confront it.

A Report, With Recommendations

The New Leader is a publication of the Socialist party—the outstanding Socialist journal of the nation. This then, is in the nature of a report, with recommendations, to the readers of The New Leader.

The New Leader was born during a period of apathy and decline in the Socialist movement. The ferocity of the war-time and post-war persecution had stunned the Socialist party. The battle to determine whether the party was to remain Socialist or turn Communist consumed what was left of its energy and resources.

The Socialist press was one of the first targets of the Wilsonian crusade for democracy. As the fruition of 25 years of sacrifice, the Socialist party in 1917 had come to boast of a press which included newspapers and journals of every variety. The total circulation ran into the millions. There were local weeklies in more than a score of cities featuring the progress and efforts of the respective local Socialist movements. There were party bulletins, theoretical journals, simple propaganda sheets, dailies in English and in foreign languages. At the menacing signs of a Mooney case a Ludlow massacre or a Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone outrage, the united Socialist press could set up a cry of protest and a call for action which roused the entire Socialist army to battle.

The war ended all this. Under the leadership of Burleson, Wilson's new freedom manifested itself in wholesale suppression of the Socialist press. Second class mailing privileges were denied, making distribution an impossibly high cost. Party editors were plastered with indictments and harassed by hysterical super-patriots. The party organizations, the mainstays of the party press, likewise felt the pressure of repression. One by one the Socialist newspapers gave up their dogged fight for existence. When *The New York Call* in 1923 was forced to end its glorious 16 years crusade for Socialism an epoch in the history of the American Socialist press was ended.

It was in this atmosphere that *The New Leader* was born. It was a brave undertaking. On all sides were the wreckage of party papers and magazines. Scarcely another Socialist paper existed in the country. Undaunted, the Socialists of New York City and vicinity launched *The New Leader*.

From the start it was obvious that *The New Leader* could not be the journalistic voice of a powerful Socialist movement whose membership had numbered 100,000 and whose followers over a million. It was not the task of *The New Leader* to supply

leadership to a flourishing movement. Rather was it recognized that for years *The New Leader* would have to dedicate itself to consolidating what remained of the wrecked movement, slowly aiding in the rebuilding of it to the time when the Socialist party could again enter the arena of the class struggle as the powerful political weapon of the workers' party. In this transition period, *The New Leader* found itself faced with difficulties which no Socialist paper had had to face since the pioneering days of the party at the opening of the century.

The New Leader, though founded and chiefly maintained by the New York Socialists, had to be a national organ, aiding to its limited ability promising developments in the movement from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Moreover, it had to satisfy the desire for a type of paper of the old *Appeal to Reason* whose death had left a void in the Socialist movement of the middle west and west. On the other hand, while the Socialist movement lagged, Socialist thought and discussion went on apace. *The New Leader* had therefore to make an effort to keep abreast of the theoretical development of the movement. The clash with Communism, the re-surge of "progressivism" in 1924 made it essential that *The New Leader* constantly iterate the theoretical basis of Socialism as distinct from Communism and mere liberalism.

The New Leader thus had to be a New York organ and a national organ, a crusading paper of elementary propaganda and a vehicle for the discussion of the academic phases of Socialist theory. Nor was that all. The Socialist movement has exercised profound influence on the arts, on literature and the stage. A section of the Socialist reading public demanded that their paper keep abreast of the developments in the world of books and the theatre. *The New Leader* tried its best to meet this demand. Finally, *The New Leader* had to act as a bulletin for routine news of the Socialist party and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

It was natural that such a hybrid paper could not completely meet the needs of such a many-sided following as the Socialist reading public. Occasional criticism was to be expected, criticism which the editors and publishers of *The New Leader* frequently anticipated before it was made. On the whole, nevertheless, *The New Leader* acquitted itself well. Today it remains one of few Socialist papers which has weathered the calm of apathy of the Harding-Coolidge regimes. It has succeeded in succoring the Socialist movement to a point where it has once again begun to function as a living, vital movement.

The signs are unmistakable. The workingclass of America

Wash. Headquarters Seen as Aid to Party

WASHINGTON.—(F.P.)—After a few years of hesitation, the Socialist Party's national executive committee has voted to move national headquarters from Chicago to Washington. Henceforth the Socialists may be counted upon to carry on a continuous campaign of criticism of capitalist government at the seat of the federal government. Since Washington is also the nerve center of American international relations, the Socialist Party will be brought into realistic contact with day by day. The American reading and radio public will soon begin to learn of world affairs from the Socialist viewpoint.

Paints Pollyanna Picture of Jobless America

Col. Arthur Woods, who left his job as official adviser to the president on unemployment and started touring Europe to collect data on the handling of the problem there, has given to the London Daily Herald, semi-official organ of the Labor government with a circulation of 1,200,000, a picture of unemployment in the United States which would make American readers gasp.

Col. Woods was quoted as follows:

"The new idea of American employers is for a company to keep every man it can. If some employees must be discharged, those who will be least hurt are picked out first."

"Those whom it is found absolutely necessary to discharge are helped in every way. They are granted loans, to be repaid only when they get back to work, and the firm will back their credit with local tradespeople."

Woods also painted a picture of unemployed who find their condition becoming chronic, and beg or borrow an old car in which they drive south to the "sunshine states" where they are at least no worse off and save the cost of heating.

The Scene Changes—A New Policy

is once again beginning to stir. The Socialist movement is beginning to resume its proper place as the political vanguard of the advanced workers. From Chicago, California, Pennsylvania, from the seemingly impenetrable conservative south, come weekly heartening reports of Socialist growth. Socialist journals are again springing up, some to stay for a short time, others building more firmly. Rochester, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, boast of fledgling Socialist papers. Attuned to the growing unrest, two privately owned radical papers are appealing to the workers west of the Mississippi. With all good will toward men and women who may try to work for Socialism through their own peculiar channels, independent of any organized Socialist movement, *The New Leader* feels it is reasonable to ask Socialists to build first their own, party-owned, party-controlled press. The Socialist party of Germany has more than 100 party-owned daily newspapers, and several hundred weeklies and monthlies. There is within the Socialist party, experience, editorial ability and business acumen to build a party press without trusting the party's journalistic voice to the chances of private ownership. There is no need to press this point further. First and foremost, Socialists must build the Socialist press. Yet the starting of private papers is another hopeful sign of the times.

Its task of holding together and slowly re-starting the Socialist movement on the road to activity partly accomplished, *The New Leader* must begin to think of its next and greater task. *The New Leader* must be developed, and immediately, into a fighting, crusading organ of Socialism whose every issue must strike like a hammer blow on behalf of the working class. Its appeal in the years to come must be sharper, more intense. The improved status of the party offers the opportunity for such a policy. The economic and political conditions of today make such a policy imperative. Unemployment, like a devastating natural catastrophe, has impoverished millions of homes. A third winter of suffering approaches. Already the miners are showing signs of a revolt which is certain to spread when the cold of winter adds a new burden to the workers' sorrow. The Socialist movement and *The New Leader* must act as the voice of the hungry workers.

While economically the outlook is dismal, politically the scene is confusing. Pinchots and Roosevelts threaten to confuse once again the aroused workers of the nation and lead them up the blind alley of liberalism, of tinkering with a broken-down industrial machine. The Socialist movement and *The New Leader* must give clarity and effectiveness to the political demands of the hungry workers. We must strive with might and main to steer them from the jungles of black reaction as well as from the marshes of liberalism.

This is a tremendous task *The New Leader* is setting for itself. Yet a Socialist movement which strives at the total reorganization of world capitalism into world Socialism should be ready for such tasks.

How can *The New Leader* begin such a role as we have outlined? The answer is an obvious one. *The New Leader* must achieve a circulation which will reach throughout the nation into the home of every enlightened member of the working class. It must be at once an exhilarating voice of encouragement to battle and a commanding voice of protest. Great obstacles are in the way. The impoverished workers in most cases cannot afford the yearly subscription price. Yet they must be reached. This is where the task of the readers of *The New Leader* begins. They must carry *The New Leader* to the workers.

The New Leader will begin immediately issuance of a series of special editions. Each edition will deal exhaustively, yet simply and convincingly with the great problems of the day, with the needs of the working class. These editions, by the hundred thousand, must be taken by the readers of *The New Leader*, by the members of the Socialist party, by the Socialist party branches and locals. They must be brought to the workers in their homes, at their places of work for the more fortunate ones who have some work, at their union meetings, and at the employment exchanges.

The New Leader will make two contributions to these special editions: 1) We will promise the most attractive and most effective barrage of Socialist propaganda the movement in this country has ever seen; and 2) Through the contributions of *New Leader* supporters we will reduce the price on bundle rates for *The New Leader* from \$3.50 per 100 copies to \$1.50 per 100. The rest will depend on *The New Leader* readers.

The first issue will deal with the curse of unemployment, with the shortcomings of a system which places 6,000,000 workers and their families on the rack of hunger and insecurity. This issue will appear August 1st. Details of its contents will appear from week to week. The important thing now is to roll up a tremendous advance order. Every reader should take a bundle. Every Socialist branch should take a larger one. This first special edition—THE HUNGER EDITION—will be a test of the success of the entire new policy.

Socialists! Workers! These are our plain words to you. It is a call for more and greater service to Socialism and the workers of America. What is your answer? Here are two blanks, one for individuals, the other for organizations. Write your answer by using these blanks.

THE NEW LEADER,
7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

Enclosed you will find \$3.00 for which you will send me { 200 } copies of the special HUNGER EDITION of *The New Leader* to be issued August 1st.

Name

Organization

Secretary

Address

Enclosed you will find \$30.00 for which you will send our organization { 2,000 } copies of the special HUNGER EDITION of *The New Leader*.

Organization

Secretary

Address

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