

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Hoover's Advance on Reparations—Two Untouched Problems—A Winter of Misery Ahead—Help the Miners—Magistrate Silbermann Out; Why Not Others?—Tammany at It Again

PROGRESS ON REPARATIONS

IN a world of perplexing problems I have for some months believed that the three most pressing for an American statesman—and I don't necessarily mean a Socialist statesman either—are to provide adequate unemployment relief, to clear up the German reparations situation, to recognize Russia and to stop the dangerous threat of embargo. If these things were successfully attended to they would of themselves help the general business depression, to a certain extent aid the farmers, and make it easier to push the campaign for intelligent and fundamental socialization.

Of these three things President Hoover at the eleventh and a half hour has made some real progress only on the second. The reported agreement with France on the year's moratorium on German reparations and inter-allied debts is good news. It is possible that the apparent arrest in the decline of prices here at home may be at least partly a result of Hoover's belated action to save Germany and the rest of the world from the consequences of imminent German collapse. It should, however, be made perfectly plain that a moratorium only postpones the basic question and, if it is not already too late, gives us time to work for a general wiping clean of the slate accompanied by general disarmament. Once more I repeat that whatever the United States loses in postponing or forgiving debts owed to our government should be repaid by an increase in income taxes on the class which holds private foreign securities on which there is no moratorium.

FACING OUR WORST WINTER

MR. HOOVER'S sudden assertion of intelligence with regard to Germany is not matched by any intelligence with regard to the unemployed. By all present signs America faces the worst peace time winter in her history. Nothing that Hoover and the present Congress could or would conceivably do would cure world depression and unemployment. But the hunger loan which we have repeatedly advocated would immensely better things. I am glad to see that 1,200 people of genuine influence have signed a petition to the President for a special session of Congress to provide this hunger loan. The principle is that as matters stand we must find an effective way to subsidize consumers.

THE MINERS' NEEDS

THIS is written just after the West Virginia Miners' Federation has declared a coal strike in the Kanawha region. I haven't heard from our League for Industrial Democracy Labor Chautauqua which started Sunday for educational work in the field. But without any special news I know the misery of the miners, the intolerable conditions against which they are striking, and their need for relief. That need of relief is shared by some Kentucky miners in whose behalf some Socialist comrades have written me. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief at 112 East 19th St., New York, is concentrating on the West Virginia struggle. We are also willing to transmit designated funds to reliable workers in Kentucky or to the Socialist Party Committee in the Pittsburgh territory. This struggle of the exploited miners concerns us all. The need of relief is desperate. He gives twice who gives quickly.

THE WORKERS' GIFT TO THE ASTORS

THIS 16 million dollar tax refund to the British Astors sticks in my crop. Paul Blanshard and I cabled Lord and Lady Astor asking if they did not want to contribute half their winnings to the relief of the New York unemployed who with their comrades, the other workers with hand and brain, created all this unemployment. The legal ground for the refund is that the Federal government should not have taxed a gift by Baron Astor to his children shortly before his death, said gift being almost wholly in New York real estate, as if it were an inheritance. Well, we ought to have a gift tax to cover the matter. Better yet, we ought to have a land tax that would take for the city the full rental value of the land since it is society and not the Astors which creates that value.

HOW MANY JUDGES WOULD REMAIN?

HERE in New York City one of our least desirable magistrates, one of the many on my list when I began my attack on the magistrates in 1929, Jesse Silbermann by name, has been removed for taking orders from a district leader. Good enough, but if this precedent is followed just how many magistrates, municipal court judges, to say nothing of some higher court judges, will there be left?

ANOTHER N. Y. BUS SCANDAL

HENRY ROSNER, our research secretary, has just shown me figures to show that the two bus companies stated by the Walker Administration to get the valuable bus franchises in Queens will make more than 100% on their investment the first year. The administration has better proposals before it on which it has not acted. Does Walker want another Equitable Bus scandal? In my opinion, if the Mayor had been in earnest about getting the right for the City to run its own bus lines to save these enormous profits he could have succeeded. But some of "the boys" might not have had such a good thing.

National Convention Of Teachers' Union Urges Job Insurance

CHICAGO—(FP)—Delegates to the American Federation of Teachers convention have adopted a resolution urging a nation-wide system of unemployment insurance. The resolution urged that Congress immediately appropriate \$100,000,000 to help establish state insurance funds. Another resolution asked that a fund of \$75,000,000 be voted for emergency unemployment relief and that the government launch a \$5,000,000,000 public improvements program. The unemployment relief resolutions were presented by A. J. Muste, director of Brookwood Labor College and a vice-president of the Federation.

The teachers also went on record in opposition to discrimination against married women and curtailing of expenditures for educational purposes.

Help the Kentucky Miners

Striking miners; hungry women; starving children; thousands destitute, foodless and clothesless; more than 30 leaders of the strikers in jail facing trumped-up murder charges. That is the situation in Harlan, Kentucky. The Socialist Relief Committee of Harlan County, Kentucky, implores the men and women sympathetic to the cause of labor and justice to give their utmost to aid the struggling miners of southeast Kentucky.

Union relief funds, never very large, have been completely used up. The generosity of local friends has reached its limit. There is no further help in sight from these sources.

We need help. A lot of help—and we need it badly. Funds, food, or clothing will be gratefully appreciated. All readers of The New Leader are urged to send something, no matter how small.

ALLEN KEEDY, Secretary, Socialist Relief Committee, Everts, Kentucky.

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Steel Bosses Prepare For Possible Strike

PITTSBURGH — (FP) — The steel bosses, alarmed by rumors of strikes, are preparing to crush them by force of arms if they take place.

The National Tube Co. of McKeesport has shipped in cots and ammunition.

The Edgar Thomson works of the Carnegie Steel Co., part of U. S. Steel, has built around the plant an 8-foot cement wall and exchanged ordinary steel barred doors for gates of plate steel.

The Westinghouse plant, employing the largest force of company police in Pennsylvania, has been mobilizing them for duty, it is reported.

Besides these plants strike rumors name the Jones & Laughlin Corp., and the Mesta Machine Shop, "the sweat shop of western Pennsylvania."

George Powers, secretary of the Metal Workers Industrial League, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, said that the league is not preparing to call strikes at the present time.

Year 1931 Setting Business Crash Record

The number of business failures, as reported by R. G. Dun & Co., for June, 1931, was smaller than for June, 1930, but the aggregate of failures for the first six months of 1931 was the largest on record for a half year.

The clue to business failures in recent months is the increasing size of the firms collapsing, according to economists. The first business to collapse under the panic straits were small ones. A great number of these went under during the first six months of 1930. Now larger firms are cracking under the strain. The average of liabilities involved in bankruptcies has steadily grown.

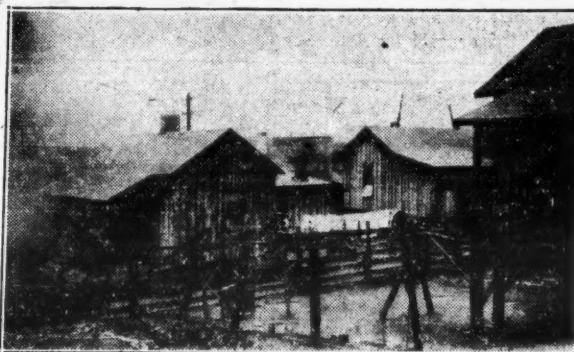
Scenes From The W. Virginia Battle Front



Wisconsin Socialists Win Legislative Fight For New 'Labor Code'

(By A New Leader Correspondent) MADISON, Wis.—Final enactment of the "labor code" proposed by Senator Thomas M. Duncan, Milwaukee Socialist, is celebrated throughout the state as "labor's greatest victory." The document governs litigation growing out of labor disputes and limits the jurisdiction of courts with reference to issuing injunctions.

Jubilant in labor circles because of this code was somewhat tempered for the Socialists by another development of the final session of the state legislature, when Governor Philip LaFollette appointed an interim committee to study unemployment insurance which did not contain the name of a single Socialist legislator.



(Above) One of the hundreds of miners' meetings that preceded the calling of the West Virginia strike. Katherine Pollak of New York, writer and organizer, addressing a group of coal miners. (Below) Homes of miners employed by the Sunday Creek Coal Company, Longacre, West Virginia. Note the clouds of smoke from nearby coke ovens.

A PROGRAM FOR UNEMPLOYED

Demands For Relief In States And Cities; Proposals To Be Put Forth By Farmers

HERE is a program of activity for unemployment councils. Three weeks ago the national executive committee of the Socialist Party called on the workers to band together in unemployment councils to agitate for a program for the relief and prevention of unemployment. The committee has worked out specific goals for which such unemployment councils should work.

The councils that may use this program as a basis for action should add to it anything important which local conditions may make possible and advisable. It is also suggested that the local councils enlist the aid of sympathetic legal authorities in their localities who could advise on the necessity for legal changes which the program may entail. In making public the program, the National Main Office of the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, and The New Leader, 7 East 15th street, urge that both agencies be kept informed of the formation of these groups and of its problems and activities as the work proceeds.

Suggested Program for Unemployment Councils

STATE ACTION

Determined pressure should be brought upon state legislatures that meet this fall. In states where no regular session is to be held demand should be made that the Governor call a special emergency session to consider the industrial crisis, unemployment, and relief for farmers.

As state funds are important in any program, a demand should be made for increase in inheritance taxes and increases in income taxes upon large incomes.

All lands held for speculation should be subject to purchase by the state and access to them should be given to those who are unemployed and are willing to occupy them as a temporary measure of relief. The terms of occupancy should be consistent with equity, and the distress of those who occupy the state lands.

A liberal old age pension act for those over 65 years old.

An unemployment insurance act. (Text of a model act will be supplied on request.)

Passage of an enabling act granting autonomy to cities in the matter of taking over all public utilities and other basic enterprises, the income from these to be available for any purposes related to unemployment relief.

Elimination of all contractors' profits in state public works; abolition of the contract system, all public work to be done by the state direct.

Extension of public improvements, such as building of roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, the workers to be paid the prevailing rate of wages in such occupations.

To spread employment over as many workers as possible the six hour day and five day week should prevail.

Free state employment agencies should be established. All anti-syndicalist, anti-boycott, and anti-picketing laws should be repealed and workers be encouraged to organize into trade and industrial unions.

Conservation and public development of all water power resources of the state and recapture from private companies of water power resources.

Extension of credit to cooperative enterprises of workers and farmers at cost.

MUNICIPAL ACTION

An extensive program of slum clearance and destruction of old houses and tenements, the city to engage in building modern and model homes. Elimination of contractors in such work, the homes to be rented at cost of the care of buildings and depreciation.

Building of municipal machine shops and elimination of private firms in private profits in the city's repair work.

Building of municipal plants for the manufacture and assembling of materials necessary to the upkeep and repair of municipal houses and other public works and services, private firms and private profits to be eliminated.

Bring pressure upon the legislature for the extension of that

measure of home rule to the city that may be necessary in some states to carry out the above measures, stressing the emergency that prompts the demand.

Extension of the principle of public ownership to all public utilities, union hours and wages to prevail in such public services, with recognition of organizations of the workers in the administrative departments of such enterprises. The city should issue bonds secured by the plants to be acquired or built, paying for the enterprises out of the profits of municipal operation. Such municipal profits, however, should not be employed to reduce the taxes of the wealthy.

Exemption from taxation of homes of workers who, because of unemployment, are in danger of losing them.

Exemption of household goods and furniture of workers from seizure for rent or other debts.

Creation of a city bureau for the relief of workers who face eviction for non-payment of rent due to illness or unemployment of the family breadwinner.

Prohibition of work by children under sixteen at any gainful occupation, including blacking shoes, selling papers, etc.

Abolition of all private unemployment agencies and establishment of a municipal labor and unemployment bureau, its services to be without cost to the unemployed.

Free meals, text books, clothing and medical care for children to avoid any absence from school for lack of these essentials.

Night lodgings to be provided for the unemployed of the city who have no permanent homes.

Use of idle land within the city, both public and private, which may in any way serve to relieve distress due to unemployment.

A free legal bureau to advise workers in need of legal service and the abolition of fines as an alternative to imprisonment.

School buildings and court houses to be open to the unemployed for meetings, lectures, entertainments and other affairs related to education, organization, and action on public issues and problems.

Erection of a Labor Temple by the municipality in each city, where none exists, as an educational center for the workers of the city.

THE FARMERS

A program for farmers is difficult because conditions vary so widely from area to area. In each area it is the farmers themselves who must provide the leading items. However, a few suggestions are offered that are likely to be adapted to all areas and all types of farming—wheat, corn, cotton, fruit, truck, and dairy.

Exemption from taxation and execution of dwellings, tools, farm animals, implements and improvements up to two thousand dollars.

Pressure on state government for more accurate assessment and collection of taxes of corporations which are notoriously favored by tax officials.

Elimination of private bankers by state extension of credit to farmers, the interest charge to pay only for cost of the service.

State insurance against diseases of animals, diseases of plants, insect pests, hail, flood, storm, fire, and crop failures, the cost to the farmer to be the lowest consistent with the cost of service.

State land or land acquired by the state through purchase or reclamation to be rented to landless farmers, the payment of such rent to cease when the total amount paid is equal to the value of the land, the tenant and his family acquiring the right of occupancy, the title remaining with the commonwealth.

Erection by the state of elevators and warehouses for the storage of farm products, the service being provided at cost to the farmers, or aiding cooperative societies of farmers to establish such services. Expansion of this program by state and municipal governments to include stockyards and other distributing agencies.

Encouragement of farmers' cooperative purchasing and marketing societies and credit agencies.

Establishment of municipal markets and elimination of middlemen's profits in the products of farmers consumed by citizens of the cities. Purchase direct by the city market authorities from the farmers and selling to consumers direct.

Pressure upon state legislature and Congress for such other measures as farmer organizations think are essential for their relief.

23,000 Miners Quit West Virginia Pits; Revolt In 3 States

Misery in the Coal Fields Stirs 60,000 Workers to Fight Against Inhuman Exploitation of Miners

IN all the history of the coal industry there have not been such revolting conditions as afflict it today. From Western Pennsylvania to Kentucky gaunt men of the mines stagger with the wolf-stare of hunger in their eyes. Men, women, and children go without meals.

Desolation broods over these centers of stark human misery. The industry is in chaos. The union is but a shadow of what it once was. A fatuous policy of drift has sacrificed the welfare of the miners and their families, but out of the depths arises a new determination on the part of the workers to fight and organize as they never fought and organized before.

Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky repeat their old history of struggles in the mining industry. While the jobless in Pittsburgh seek decayed fruit in garbage cans, while women and children of the miners in the outlying mine areas are in want of bread, miners are clubbed and pickets are shot. Homes of miners are searched without warrant by deputies and coal and iron police, protected in these raids by state police.

PROGRESSIVE PENNSYLVANIA AND W. VIRGINIA

A "progressive" executive, Governor Pinchot, permits these outrages to continue. He is too busy arranging his political fences to intervene in behalf of the clubbed, the wretched and the starving. Pinchot revoked the commissions of the coal and iron police on July 1st, they were sworn in as deputies by the sheriffs of Allegheny County, and state police stand by while the brutal work is being done.

A few hundred miles south and the West Virginia hell is reached, West Virginia that seceded from the Old Dominion because its citizens would not support a war for chattel slavery. Here a slavery exists that Negroes never knew. This sector of the mining struggle has witnessed a number of armed marches of miners in the past thirty years. State governments have come and gone yet in all this time a galling serfdom has continued, broken now and then by strikes and occasionally by armed marches over the hills against private mercenaries of the mine barons.

To our desk comes a printed folder of revolting conditions surrounding the lives of the West Virginia miners and their families. Rows of rickety barns are "homes" of human beings, accommodations not fit for cattle. Here is a miner and his family evicted on the hillside, his few pieces of household goods piled in a heap, nine children shelterless, one a baby in its mother's arms. It is one scene in a desolate region where heroic men try to build a protective union, where they fight to prevent further sinking into the abyss.

THE KENTUCKY SECTOR

One turns to the wage statements of the miners which reveal the shocking story of exploitation. Wages are as low as two and three dollars a day—when the miners work. But the feudal system of company "homes" and company stores tie them in a system of wage bondage more brutal than the routine maintained by overseers on the old slave plantations.

From the pitiful wage paid in company "money" are deducted items for rent, light, doctor, burial fund, insurance, smithing, powder and other items. Miners may work for years without receiving any currency. Prices charged at the company store range from a fourth to two-thirds higher than are charged at independent stores. It is a system of debt bondage similar to the system of old Mexico. When the father dies the children inherit his debts and are immediately caught in the same system of debt bondage.

Let us move over the border into Kentucky where another black hell of misery has swallowed up the men of the mines. Nearly thirty miners are held for alleged murder due to a raid by mine guards and sheriff's deputies. Another miner has been caged on the same charge although it is known that he was in Tennessee at the time of the clash. An I. W. W. organizer with as much right under American law to be on the scene as the sheriff himself is kidnapped, beaten and deported.

LAMONT INTERVENES FOR THE BOSSES

The Kentucky area of the struggle presents the same drab human horror of life for the miners that is found in the other states. The same privations for the miners and their families, the same perversion of the law for the mine barons, the same aspects of the class struggle to be found in this rotting and chaotic industry elsewhere. A ship that entered any American port with such shocking menaces to life and health would be quarantined, yet this dirty industrial sore festers while public authorities know no other resource than raids, deportations, clubs and jails for the victims.

Finally Secretary of Commerce Lamont proposes to do the heroic thing. He invited some fifteen of the big coal barons of Pennsylvania and West Virginia to meet him in conference on Thursday. No representatives of the unions in the industry are invited. The feudal chiefs who rule over their baronies and whose dominion is the scene of rags, starvation, clubs, disease and death will talk with the head of the department whose duty it is to nurse capitalist enterprise all over the world.

HUGE STRIKE ON IN WEST VIRGINIA

Some 23,000 miners walked out in the Kanawha district of West Virginia Monday. Over 20,000 are out in five western counties of Pennsylvania. In May 18,000 coal-diggers went on strike in Harlan County, Kentucky. Probably over 60,000 workers are fighting in sheer desperation against starvation and degradation. Considering the large families of the miners it is no exaggeration to say that 200,000 human beings, men, women

(Continued on Page Three)

Phila. Judge Gets Lashing From Daniel

Socialist Organizer Invites Stewart to Hear Himself Discussed—6 Seized in Strike

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA, July 26.—Daniel, six-foot organizer of the Socialist forces in Philadelphia, stood before the bar of "justice" in the person of Magistrate Stewart here last week and extended an invitation.
"What Sergeant Anderson quotes me saying about your unemployment relief 'racket' is only a fraction of what I've been saying," Daniel informed the august magistrate. "If you want to know what I really think about you, come down to Germantown avenue and Lehigh to night and I'll repeat it all for your benefit."
Magistrate Stewart sputtered in rage. He was in a quandary. Daniel and five others were before him because of their persistent effective picketing of the car-t weaving plant of Hardwick & Co. There was no case on which the Socialist and the union men could be held.
The worst Stewart could do was release Daniel on a bond of \$500 "to keep the peace." Daniel expressed doubt whether he could "keep the peace." But one of the union representatives supplied the bond anyway.
Magistrate Stewart did not avail himself of the opportunity to hear Daniel tell the people of his district what he thought of the magistrate's unemployment "relief" scheme. Daniel spoke, and in no uncertain terms.
Scabs Start Violence
Continued picketing has got the goat of the Hardwick & Co. company. The strike of 300 workers against wage cut and speed-up has been orderly. The persistence of the strikers finally caused the Hardwick-Magee outfit to hire well-known labor spy organizations to break up the strike. Trouble started as the private detectives got on the job.
For the past two weeks, some-one inside the plant has been throwing water at the pickets, and annoyed them in various ways repeatedly complained of to Sergeant Anderson of the 4th and York streets Police Station. Sergeant Anderson has been hostile to the strikers from the start. He didn't bother to investigate the complaint. Monday, missiles were thrown out of the mill windows at pickets. The cops paid no attention. Tuesday morning, while on the picket line, an iron weight was thrown out of the fourth floor window of the plant at a picket on the pavement below. Dominic Nicoloci, aged 52, suffered a concussion of the brain and was taken to the Episcopal Hospital. The police gathered up the evidence and did nothing.
Wednesday night the carpet workers, all members of the United Textile Workers of America, with a group of hosiery strikers, headed by Daniel, who has been assisting the strikers, attempted to put on a mass picket at the mill. Before they reached the mill, Sergeant Anderson rounded up half a dozen of the older strikers with Franz Daniels, and hauled them off to the lock-up. The vilest language was used towards the strikers by Sergeant Anderson and his crew. It was charged in police court today.
Magistrate Stewart, paying little attention to the strike question, attacked Daniel in court because of statements Sergeant Anderson reported Daniel made about Stewart at Socialist street corner meetings. Daniel had denounced Magistrate Stewart's privately administered "unemployment fund" collected from fines on parents of kids caught playing ball on Sunday and from the drunks rounded up in his court. Daniel pointed out that "charity" of this kind was a form of electioneering by the magistrates. He then made his invitation.
The magistrate thereupon held Daniel and a group of strikers under bail of \$300 to \$500 to keep the peace. As usual, the strikers made out to be the guilty ones although one of the strikers has been murdered assaulted and narrowly escaped death.

Chicago Bricklayers Get 5-Day Week Aug. 1

CHICAGO—(FP)—The Chicago Bricklayers have won the 5-day week as a means of relieving unemployment in the trade. The new week goes into effect August 1.
The bricklayers are the fifth major trade union group in Chicago to win the shorter working week.

Miners' Dividends

Accidents in the coal mines of the United States during the month of May caused the death of 105 men, according to Department of Commerce.

We want something more than a program; we want something of the nature of a gospel.—Ramsay MacDonald.

In morals, as in art, saying is nothing; doing is all.—Ramsay MacDonald.

Outline for Republican Platform, 1932

FARM RELIEF: This problem has been solved. It was due to a surplus of crops. The surplus of crops was due to a surplus of farmers. The surplus of farmers has been reduced by starvation and foreclosure.

PROSPERITY: Merchandise is cheaper today than it ever was. More goods can be bought for less money. Americans now have less money. Consequently they can buy more goods. This should raise the standard of living.

THE TARIFF: The Republican Party promised in 1928 that foreign goods would not compete with home products. Foreign goods are not being bought in the United States today. Neither are native goods.

BIRTH CONTROL: This is an academic question. Few can afford to get married now. Those who can, can't afford to feed babies. Babies can't live without food. (And if they weren't married, that's their tough luck.)

PROHIBITION: This is the greatest anti-trust measure ever framed. It has broken the big liquor combines; aided the small bootlegger. It is in line with the "rugged individualism" sponsored by Hoover's dry-stand. Bootleggers are rugged individuals. Anyway, they are rugged. And if you don't believe Hoover is dry, try to read one of his speeches.

THE AMERICAN HOME: It is now safe. No sane burglar would think of invading one.

THE NUDISTS: The Republican Party promised an automobile in every garage in 1928. It pledges a shirt in every clothes closet in 1932.

LEONARD BENNETHAN.

L. I. D. Labor Chautauqua Organized; Leaves for West Virginia Coal Fields

A "LABOR CHAUTAUQUA" sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy, left New York Sunday for the coal regions of West Virginia. Eighteen men and women made up the caravan of four automobiles.

Led by Mary Fox, Executive Secretary of the League, the L. I. D. Labor Chautauqua plans to give the coal miners and their families in the vicinity of Charleston an intensive six weeks' summer course in workers' education. The miners are most eager to see this experiment in education tried. C. F. Kenney, President of the West Virginia Miners Association, has welcomed the idea.

A variety of educational projects are planned. Lectures, plays, musicals, talks by competent physicians on health and child guidance are on the program. During the summer visiting lecturers will visit West Virginia to deliver special lectures and conduct classes. The caravan made stops this week at Allentown, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh.

Members of the Labor Chautauqua are: Josephine Colby,

teacher at Brookwood Labor College, graduate of University of California; Robert M. Cullum, graduate of Albion College, Michigan; Marion C. Freneyer, graduate of Wellesley College; Marion Hays, graduate of University of Michigan; Ralph H. Long, Captain of Bates College football team; Dr. Flora K. Rubinstein, practicing physician and pediatrician; Maurice Schneirov, lawyer of Pittsburgh; Andrew J. Steiger, Columbia and Union Theological Seminary; Marjorie Stocking, graduate of the University of Illinois and Y. W. C. A. Secretary; Hugh Tally, graduate of Brookwood Labor College; Victor Wolfson, graduate of University of Wisconsin; Dr. Ruth Fox, of the Pediatrics staff of the Fifth Avenue Hospital; Winifred Chappell, Methodist Federation for Social Service; Jean Benson, graduate of Syracuse University; Professor William L. Nunn, of the Department of Economics, New York University; and Mary Fox, graduate of Vassar College. The Rev. H. J. Hahn of Buffalo, New York, and a few others plan to come later.

Fifty Sail for Socialist Congress; Mrs. Klein, Prize-Winner, Among Them

A PARTY of more than 50 Socialists, most of them from New York City, sailed on the majestic of the White Star Line Wednesday for a "Socialist Tour of Europe" which will include a visit to the Vienna congress of the Socialist and Labor International.

Among those sailing were Al-gernon Lee and Dr. Louis Sadoff, members of the Socialist party delegation to the congress. Dr. Mathilda Lee also sailed.

Gertrude Weil Klein, winner of The New Leader circulation contest, was another of the voyagers. Mrs. Klein, as well as others sailing, were visited by scores of friends and Socialist comrades on the boat. Before attending the Socialist congress, Mrs. Klein will also sit in as a delegate to the international congress of Socialist women which will meet in the city of Vienna. Mrs. Klein asked The New Leader to convey her warm appreciation to members of the Amalgamated Clothing Work-

ers and others who helped her win first place in The New Leader contest.

The Socialist tour of Europe was arranged by the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

Orders Carfare Reduced

PORTLAND, Ore.—(FP)—An epoch-making decision that is a direct challenge to the misuse of the power combine in Oregon and that stands out in striking contrast with former orders of the public service commission, was handed down by Charles M. Thomas, lone public utility commissioner, in a stinging rebuke that directly charges the Portland Electric Power Co., operating the street railway system of the city, with mismanagement and an utter lack of foresight. The order reduces cash fares from 10c to 7c.

The company is also excoriated for reducing wages of the street car employees, which are termed too low now.

W. Va. Miners Join Revolt

(Continued from Page One)

and children, are fighting against tremendous odds. They need food, shoes, clothing, and funds.

What's to be done? The field is a large one but relief is already being organized. Pittsburgh Socialists are doing fine work in their section and the other sections are being helped. Our readers will note the address of the various relief organizations in this issue and to the extent that they can help they should do so.

But this work should be intensified. In every city where Socialists are organized they should form relief committees and gather funds, shoes and clothing. Get labor organizations associated with this work. Publish appeals in local papers for aid and arouse the conscience of the masses. Shock them into action.

A JOB FOR ALL WORKERS

There are also many thousands of labor organizations in the many cities where The New Leader is read. There are Socialist members of these unions. Many of these unions can contribute. Even if the union funds are not what they were a few years ago, whatever they are each union can spare something for this great emergency. A dollar will provide bread for many children. Fifty dollars will bring relief to hundreds.

More than a decade ago the cry was "give till it hurts." That cry was to fill the slaughter pits of Europe with bleeding flesh and broken bones. This plea is for life, not death; for relief, not destruction.

The whole working class of the nation and every other sympathetic human being should be reached with this plea to help the wretched and to relieve the starving.

It is your job. It is also ours. Take it up with determination and you will sleep better when you have done your bit.

Spanish Unions Are Recognized In Constitution

Element of Industrial Representation in Make-up of New Parliament

THE revolution in Spain has brought a constitution which definitely separates it from its militarist, junker and clerical past. It subordinates all persons and authorities to the civil power and abolishes the state religion, giving all other religious organizations the same status before the law. Freedom of conscience and worship is guaranteed "except when in disrespect of public morals."

Just as important is the recognition of the liberty of trade unions which at one stroke places Spanish trade unions ahead of the American unions. All citizens have the vote irrespective of sex and a more modern parliamentary system is established but with a unique form of industrial representation. The Senate will consist of 240 members, 60 elected by employers associations, 60 by agricultural, industrial and mining mineral groups, 60 by free associations of professors and 60 by universities and cultural and religious associations. The lower House appears to be constituted on the basis of territorial or district representation as in most other nations.

An article in the New York Times by a Madrid correspondent states that Spanish Socialists seek a pure Marxism based upon the interests of the working class and differing from the movement in Russia and England. The Socialist party maintains an excellent discipline which has enabled it to act in unison in the revolutionary crisis.

Barcelona has a syndicalist movement with anarchist tendencies which called a general strike for last Sunday throughout Spain which is opposed by the Socialist unions. The latter declare that it was called to embarrass the elections to Parliament. It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of the strike as reports are conflicting.

Socialists of Poland Frame Party Policies

POLISH Socialists laboring under difficult handicaps at the recent party Congress which met in Cracow, a report was adopted and sent to the International Congress. There were 255 delegates present. This was the first congress which fraternal delegates from other nations could not attend. The main business was the proper policy of the party in the face of the Pilsudski dictatorship and the economic situation of Poland. There was some difference of opinion.

Resistance to the dictatorship, militant action in favor of the constitution and parliament, unity of the democratic forces in Parliament and throughout the country, were the basic policies outlined in the political resolution. The Polish Socialist Party will also work in unity with the Socialist parties of the national minorities for these aims.

The economic resolution declares that the economic crisis can only be eliminated by abolishing the entire capitalist system and regards the immediate task of the working class to be the seizure and socialization of the means of production, the introduction of a planned economy, and a rational distribution of the social product. Another resolution opposes any intervention in Russia which would make Poland "an armed instrument of occidental capitalism."

The Central Committee of the Bund (Jewish Socialists) also adopted a program similar to the above but criticizing the Socialist Party on the ground of its "abstractly democratic slogans" and the Communists for their "fraternal warfare" which has "engaged the forces of labor." The Bund favors struggle for "political and social needs" of the masses and "seizure of power by labor in order to obtain a Socialist transformation of society."

Iglesias Warns Against False Independence

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Headquarters of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has received from San Juan a copy of a warning directed to the people of Porto Rico by Santiago Iglesias, Socialist leader in the territorial senate and president of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico.

Iglesias, looking confidently forward to a Socialist party sweep in the elections of next year, declares that this anti-American movement is a trick to divert the attention of the voters from economic misery for which the employers and their political partners have long been responsible. He recalls the killing of 22 trade unionists during strikes on the plantations, and the theft of elections in 20 municipalities by the present "patriot."

Left Wing Laborites Facing Discipline

The Labor Government of England continues its policy of placating the Liberals, a policy which has been outlined by The New Leader London correspondent as it has unfolded in the past year.

On Tuesday the Laborites were defeated in a standing committee of the House of Commons while some members were out enjoying tea. Conservative members were outside the committee room in the corridor when the Laborites slipped out for their tea. The Conservatives then carried a vote against the Government's bill to create consumers' councils.

On the same day it was reported that the differences between the Right and the Left in the Parliamentary Labor Party are coming to a head. Six Lefts are to be reported to a party committee for discipline. They had declined to withdraw an amendment for the rejection of the government bill to remedy defects in the unemployment insurance law.

Thursday brought the news that Sir Oswald Mosley and three other members of his "New Party" took seats on Opposition benches the day before. Formerly a member of the Left, Mosley, whose "New Party" was in part financed by big capitalists, has permitted his disagreement with the Labor Party to involve him in this capitalistic financing. "Home again," shouted Laborites as Mosley definitely returned to the enemy.

Swiss Socialists Define Policies On Soviet Russia

On June 6th the executive of the Swiss Socialists adopted against a minority of four votes a resolution on policy submitted by R. Grimm. It declares that the aim of the Socialist movement "is an international association including the entire proletariat of the world, capable of action in war as in peace, and inspired by the spirit of Socialism."

It favors a united international for common purposes and regards the Russian revolution as of great "historical importance," the five year plan as a mighty effort to realize a collective plan economy" but advises against final judgment of it because the evidence before the party "consists of favorably colored accounts in the organs of the Soviet Government or of distorted descriptions by the bourgeois opponents of the Soviet system." The party will form an opinion when "free and public examination of the results" is possible.

At the same time the party stands "resolutely" with the Socialist International "in favor of the Russian revolution and the communal economy of Soviet Russia" but also condemns party members and any sections that propose "unification of the proletariat by an alliance with the Communist International." The statement affirms that unity is impossible so long as the C. I. engages in the policy of "splitting of the working class" and that unity can come only by "historical evolution and Socialist purification." It condemns members who form or join organizations outside the party "in favor of Soviet Russia" or in "open or secret complicity with Communist organizations."

It affirms this declaration "with the same decisiveness as it condemns membership of outside associations endeavoring to influence the policy of the Swiss Socialist party in the direction of an abandonment of the proletarian class struggle and of its objective, the Social Revolution."

Socialist Lawyers to Meet

An international conference of Socialist lawyers will be held in Vienna when the Labor and Socialist International meets in that city on July 25. The agenda for consideration at the lawyers' conference includes (1) The Right of Political Asylum; (2) The Rights of Political Prisoners; (3) Report on Activity and Election of Executive.

The executive includes Longuet of France, Renner of Austria, Modigliani of Italy, and Rosenfeld of Germany.

S. D. F. Celebrates Jubilee

The British Social Democratic Federation, founded by the late H. M. Hyndman in 1881, celebrated its jubilee year at its annual conference held June 27 and 28. The Secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International sent a message of greetings. Among the prominent founders of the Federation were also Eleanor Marx Aveling, daughter of Karl Marx; Belfort Bax, William Morris and Harry Quelch.

Belgians Refuse to Scab

A big textile strike at Roubaix in northern France in June was followed by a rumor circulated by the employers that Belgian workers in the frontier area would take the places of strikers. There are 43,000 textile workers in the Belgian area and the local trade union officer emphatically denied that they would provide strikebreakers. "Never," he said, "will we betray our French comrades who are fighting a battle in which we consider them in the right." The Christian (Catholic) trade union was less emphatic and awaited instructions from its headquarters in Ghent.

Stalin Amends Economics of Soviet Policy

Trotsky in New Attack on Dictator—Zionists Reveal New Persecution

WHAT is called "Stalin's New Economic Policy" was made known in cable dispatches last Sunday and it is summarized in the New York Times under six points as follows:

Readjustment of wages to make the scale commensurate with the type of labor performed; the halt of workers from shifting from one place to another to improve their living conditions.

Remedy of the growing labor shortage by attracting more peasants to industries as agriculture progresses toward mechanization.

Improvement of the organization of labor in industry in order to distribute the proper strength among factories and to end "irresponsible methods."

To have the working class develop its own "intelligentsia" of such skilled workers as engineers and technicians.

To change the policy toward specialists of the old order to attract more of them to industry. To increase the interior sources of industry and develop the piece-work system.

The following day dispatches from Moscow declared that the annual "purging" of the Communist Party is under way. This means an examination of all members and the expulsion of those who do not measure up to the "party line."

From his place in exile Leon Trotsky, writing to the Daily Courier in Cracow, Poland, renewed his war on Stalin by demanding the abolition of the latter's "bureaucratic dictatorship." He expressed the opinion that scarcely 5 per cent of Russia's millions were inspired by Socialist doctrines or applied them to their lives. At the same time he ridiculed the fears of Russian dumping expressed by conservatives outside of Russia, declaring that Russia provides only 1 1/2 per cent of the world's exports but he insisted on increasing the exports to avert an "inner economic crisis."

Trotsky is working on a history of the Russian Revolution. The Foreign Delegation of the Zionist-Socialist Party of the Soviet Union in number 3 of its bulletin for May, gives ten pages to a detailed account of new arrests and sentences of members by the OGPU. The bulletin is published in Tel-Aviv, Palestine.

Two Internationals Map Out Campaign For Disarmament

The Joint Disarmament Commission of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International met in Geneva June 21. Breit-scheidt of Germany and Deutsch of Austria, were prevented from attending because of the political situation in their countries.

The report will be considered by the Vienna International Socialist Congress on July 25. It recommends great workers' demonstrations in all countries during the meeting of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations; petitions from all countries to the governments and the conference; frontier demonstrations by Socialist workers; pressure in parliaments by Socialist members; press campaigns and distribution of literature; another joint conference of the two Internationals to make decisions when the Disarmament Conference meets.

A program will also be presented to this conference demanding a reduction in armaments leading to complete abolition, international control over the application of the Disarmament Conference, and other demands.

Charges \$30,000,000 Canadian Power Grant

OTTAWA—(FP)—A charge by Robert Gardiner, United Farmer leader, that the former MacKenzie King government adopted an order-in-council giving the Beauharnois Power Co. certain privileges under circumstances constituting an abuse of the rights of parliament, that the company was building a canal on the St. Lawrence river within the province of Quebec in contravention of the Canadian constitution and in such a manner as unjustly to deprive the people of Canada of a vast part of the national domain, is being investigated by a committee of the House of Commons.

Sen. W. L. McDougall, intimate friend of former Premier MacKenzie King, is charged with receiving for promotion services scarcely valued, according to the company's prospectus, at \$30,000,000 and a cash payment of \$750,000.

L. F. T. U. Moves Offices

The headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions have been moved from Amsterdam to Berlin and the new address is Kopenickerstr. 113, Berlin, S. 16. Newspaper and magazine editors are requested to note the change of address, especially the publications that receive the press correspondence of the International.

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Operators Saddle Losses Of Coal Industry On Miners

By Louis Stanley

III—Why the Mess

THE CHAOS that is coal has sprung from industrial progress. The competition of other forms of power and the economization in the use of fuel have diminished the consumption of coal. At the same time rationalization has made it possible to produce more than ever. Less coal required, but more coal possible has been the central problem of the coal industry in recent years. Confronted by these conflicting forces private enterprise has failed to come to grips with the fundamental difficulty. It has let out its spleen on the miners. Economic backwardness has gone hand in hand with technical advancement.

Rivals of Coal

Between 1918 and 1929 the energy derived from domestic oil in the United States increased by 183 per cent, from natural gas 158 per cent and from water power 130 per cent. In contrast the energy supplied by coal did not keep up with the growth in population and industry but instead sustained a loss of 10 per cent. Anthracite's share declined by 22 per cent, that of bituminous by 8. Of course, not all the oil is in direct competition with coal but between the direct and indirect rivalry coal has sustained heavy losses.

It must not be supposed that coal is in its doldrums. It is still the most important primary source of fuel and power. Energy may be reduced to the common denominator British thermal units. In 1929 coal accounted for 16,082 trillion B. T. U.'s as compared with 6,086 trillion for domestic oil, 2,009 trillion for natural gas and only 1,997 trillion for water power. Through the proportion of energy contributed by coal has declined from practically 100 per cent at the time of the Civil War to 72.7 in 1913, 72.3 in 1918 and 65.3 in 1929, it cannot yet be shamed by domestic oil's portion of 24.6 per cent and that of natural gas of a slight 8.2 per cent. Oil and gas still make up hardly more than a third of the country's primary sources of power, while water power can only claim credit for about 8 per cent of that amount. In relative terms coal can still be proud of its record but that is poor consolation. Coal has been

giving way to oil, natural gas and water power. How long this process will continue before an economical balance among the various sources of power is reached one cannot tell. Transformations are taking place in all the industries involved. In fact, the problem is one of energy, of fuel and power, not merely of coal or oil or gas or water. Under our haphazard method of conducting industry the various sources of energy fail to be related into an efficient coordinated national system. Private ownership and private profit make this impossible. The owners of our various fuel and power resources are striking out for themselves regardless of the effect upon others in related lines and, indeed, even upon themselves.

Anthracite calls for special attention because it is only within the last half decade that it has begun to mind the pinch of competition. Hard coal, it will be recalled, is chiefly used for domestic purposes. Partly as a result of the shortage in its supply created during the 1923-28 strike but more particularly due to special efforts made by sellers of competing fuel briquets, coke, oil, natural gas and soft coal. From 1924 to 1928 the production of fuel briquets in the United States increased from 580,470 to 947,423, their importation from 38 to 71,485, the domestic use of beehive coke from 2,812,771 to 6,254,382 net tons, the employment of oil in heating houses from 2,800,000 to 14,273,000 barrels and the domestic consumption of natural gas

from 285,152 to 320,877 million cubic feet. It is not known how much soft coal goes into domestic channels but it is estimated at 56,000,000 net tons per annum and may reach as high as 77,000,000. In recent years consumers have learned to replace anthracite by bituminous coal. The anthracite producers have organized to recover their market, but are meeting with the lusty resistance of their challengers.

Not only has coal suffered from rival forms of fuel and power but it has been severely injured by the fuel economy movement of the last two decades, particularly in the years since the World War. The drive to save the national sources of energy was given impetus by the White House conference on conservation called by President Roosevelt in 1908. The following year the International Railway Fuel Association was established and began its systematic encouragement of fuel economy on the railroads of the country. In 1910 the United States Bureau of Mines was created and inaugurated fuel testing on an adequate basis. The shortage in fuel supplies during the World War and the coal strikes in the post-war period stimulated experiments in economizing.

Fuel Economy

Part of the rationalizing process that has characterized recent industrial history has been the increasing efficiency in the utilization of fuel and power. In a typical year of industrial activity the railroads use up 23.7 per cent of the bituminous coal consumed in the United States, the coke ovens 17.4 per cent, the electric utilities 8.6, the steel works 4.5, general manufacturing 18.4 and miscellaneous 17.4 per cent. The largest single group of consumers, the railroads, has been making great gains in fuel economy. Through improvements in design, retirement of obsolete equipment, greater skill of employees, improved road

beds, double tracking and reduction of grades, the largest steam railroads in the country have cut down their consumption of coal per transportation unit. In 1919-20 the average number of pounds consumed per 1,000 gross ton-miles freight service was 170. In 1928 it had dropped to 127, indicating a saving of 25.3 per cent. Pounds per passenger-train-mile during the same period declined from 18.5 to 15.0 or a reduction of 18.9 per cent.

In the case of coke the largest saving has been effected by the persistent shifting of production from the beehive to the by-product ovens. Coke is the solid residue from the destructive distillation of coal. In the beehive oven the coke is accomplished by burning the coal with restricted air supply. In the by-product oven the coal is subjected to high temperature in closed retorts. The latter method saves all the valuable gaseous and liquid constituents of the coal and yields a higher percentage of coke. Between 1896 and 1900 by-product ovens produced only 3.2 per cent of the coke in the United States, by 1914 its share was 32.5, by 1919 56.9 and by 1928 91.5. As a result of this change coal utilized in the coke industry has been made to yield a larger percentage of coke than formerly. A quarter of a century ago 63 or 64 per cent was a typical yield. Since the war the figure has passed the 68 per cent mark. In addition there has been a larger yield of by-products per ton of coal charged. In 1915 each ton of coal produced 7.1 gallons of tar, in 1930 9.20; in 1915 20.1 pounds of ammonium sulphate or equivalent, in 1928 22.8; in 1915 1.5 gallons of light oil, in 1930 3.6; and in 1915 4.3 thousand cubic feet of surplus gas, in 1930 6.75. The latter was worth \$79,294,137. Important also is the saving in fuel resulting from the utilization of the by-product known as coke breeze. It consists of screenings too fine for metal-

lurgical or household use, about the size of steam sizes of anthracite. Eighty per cent of coke breeze is consumed by the coke producer, chiefly as boiler fuel. The rest is generally sold to nearby consumers. In 1928 the coke breeze recovered at coke plants amounted to 4,500,232 net tons and was worth \$9,694,937. It is estimated that in 1913 the heat values saved by the recovery of coke breeze, surplus gas, tar and light oil in the manufacture of beehive coke was the equivalent of 3.8 per cent of all the coal made into coke. In 1919 the percentage was 11.5 per cent and in 1928 as high as 22.6 per cent.

Electricity and Coal

The electric utilities constitute an important factor in coal consumption not only because of the amount that they purchase (8.6 per cent of the total), as we have seen, but also because their constant drive to economize fuel diminishes the demand for coal. They have resorted to all kinds of heat-saving devices, such as replacing reciprocating engines by turbines, developing mechanical stokers, utilizing pulverized fuel, are employing high steam pressures and temperatures. Moreover, the economic developments of the electric power industry have aided the fuel economy movement. This rapid expansion has automatically introduced up-to-date equipment, while the diversification of the load, the interconnection of systems and the increasing size of plants has resulted in a better use of available facilities. In 1919 steam electric power plants consumed 3.2 pounds of coal per kilowatt-hour, in 1928 1.76 or a diminution of 45.0 per cent.

The utilities are significant for another reason too. Private establishments in many lines have learned that they can save on their fuel bill by purchasing electricity directly from central power stations, which in turn economize. At the beginning of the century it

was seldom that a factory bought power from central electric plants (3 per cent in 1902); today one-half of the manufacturing establishments prefer to do so (49.3 per cent in 1927).

The iron and steel industry has been a direct beneficiary from the substitution of the by-product coke oven for the beehive oven. In 1913 2,433.3 pounds of coke was used to make a gross ton of pig iron and ferro-alloys, in 1919 2,310.2 and in 1928 2,088.5. If these figures were translated into terms of coal, we should find that in 1913 there was consumed 3,637.2 pounds of coal per gross ton of pig iron and ferro-alloys, in 1919 3,427.6 and in 1928 3,053.4.

Manufacturing in general has experienced economization in fuel. There is more careful selection of coal, engineering supervision, training of boilerroom personnel, installation of turbines and mechanical stokers and general improvements in plant equipment. Between 1923 and 1927 coal consumed in manufacturing declined from 229,706,753 to 216,442,337 net tons or 9.7 per cent. At the same time the rated capacity of steam engines and turbines increased slightly from 16,700,442 horsepower in 1923 to 16,923,931 in 1927. While part of the decrease in coal consumption is accounted for by a 7,000,000-ton decline in the iron and steel industry and an 8,000,000 drop in the case of coke plants, the additional decrease of 8,000,000 tons must be explained in the main by increased efficiency in the use of coal in other manufacturing establishments.

Rationalizing Mining

The substitution of rival sources of energy and the resort to fuel economy have reduced the demand for coal. Simultaneously the mining process has been rationalized, making possible greater production than before. The old style miner now being replaced by the machine miner is a handicraftsman. He undercuts the coal, makes



Law and Order in Pennsylvania

preparations for the blasting, sets aside the impurities and loads the coal. From the nature of his work he is known as a pick miner. Now his skill is being destroyed by mechanization. In the anthracite the process has been delayed because of geologic difficulties and the absence of economic pressure but in the bituminous it has been a feature of the industry for many years. While less than 2 per cent of hard coal was machine cut in 1929, by 1900 one-quarter of the soft coal output in this country was mined by undercutting machines, by 1913 one-half and by 1929 three-quarters (75.4 per cent). The output per machine in bituminous coal mining has in-

creased by half since pre-war days. Most coal comes from deep mines but there have been considerable gains in strip or surface mining. Because with this method of operation the coal is more accessible and power shovels are employed, the rationalization process in the industry has been advanced. At the present time only 3 or 4 per cent of both hard and soft coal is recovered from strip pits but the proportion is increasing.

The coal mining industry is now concentrating on pushing forward mechanization to follow up the advantages gained by mechanical undercutting. Progress has been very rapid, even if by 1929 only 7.1 per cent of the total output of deep-mined bituminous coal was loaded mechanically. In 1923 about two million net tons of soft coal was loaded by mobile machines, scrapers and derrickhoists and other self-loading conveyors. In 1928 the total was 14,559,000 and in 1929 it leaped to 19,291,000. If all forms of mechanical loading was included the increase from 1928 to 1929 would be from 21,559,000 to 37,862,000 net tons or 75.6 per cent in one year.

Hauling the coal out of the mines has also occupied the attention of operators. Everywhere one is impressed by the extent of mechanization of this process. At the largest mines the "punky coal cars" have been replaced by big ones, while huge electric locomotives pull their freight to the tipple or breaker. There are miners who hardly ever see the traditional mule in a coal mine. The only complete survey we have of mechanized haulage was made by the United States Bureau of Mines for bituminous coal for the year 1924. This census showed that at that time 12.0 per cent of the deep-mined production came from mines using animals only, 34.1 per cent from mines depending on locomotives alone and 53.9 per cent from mines employing both locomotives and animals. At least one electric locomotive was used in mines producing 85.6 per cent of the deep-mined output of soft coal in the United States. Since 1924 immense progress in mechanical hauling has been made.

There are other phases of the rationalization of mining that should be taken up in a complete description of the revolution that has been taking place in the industry: improved methods of preparing the coal for market, better planning of the lay-out of mines, efficient lighting and ventilating and adequate coordination of all functions. The anthracite region has just begun to witness an invasion of mechanical devices. With the wealthy corporations in the field and the need for lower costs and improved quality to maintain high profits and regain lost markets, we can expect great changes in the hard coal fields in the next few years. From 1926 to 1929 the average output per day of the anthracite miner increased from 2.09 net tons to 2.17. The bituminous miner long under the whip of rationalization reached the peak of his output in 1929 with 4.85 net tons per day as compared with 4.50 in 1926, 4.00 in 1920 and 2.98 in 1900.

Failure of Private Initiative
The striking thing about these technological changes in the coal industry is that they are proceeding haphazardly. Nobody is planning, nobody is regulating what is happening. In fact, many of the salient elements that must be controlled to remedy the situation are entirely out of the hands of the operators themselves. Industries like oil, gas, railroads, coke and iron and steel, which are intimately connected with coal travel on in their own care-free way. Machinery is introduced irrespective of the needs of the industry as a whole and, of course, of the miners. The workers and their families after all do not contribute to overhead costs as do idle physical equipment. Private enterprise coal has failed miserably to meet the demands of an efficient business administration.

Religious Faiths And Economic Divisions—A Reply To The Pope

By James Gaeal

III

WE may now turn to the economic considerations underlying this whole question which were mentioned in our introductory paragraphs. The interests of the working people of all faiths and beliefs are the same. As Lincoln said to a delegation of New York workmen in 1863, "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds." If we constantly keep in mind this principle of labor solidarity the working masses will not often go wrong.

Moreover, it is essential for practical purposes in the labor struggle for a better world. This becomes evident when we consider the industrial and political situation in two sections of the United States. The Southern States are Protestant and in Massachusetts, Catholics are so numerous that they control many cities. In that state and in the South the textile industry is an important enterprise affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of workmen and women. In many Massachusetts cities and in the South the Democratic party rules.

Now the history of the textile industry and of labor struggles in the two regions shows that the owners of the industry and Democratic office holders in the two regions act precisely the same towards the workers in labor struggles. Religious beliefs of owners and of politicians in office make no difference. A few examples will illustrate what is meant.

For several decades there have been some terrible labor struggles in the Massachusetts textile industry. The industry is largely owned by Protestant capitalists although Catholic capitalists have also invested in it. In many of the cities where the plants are located Catholic Democrats either rule or have a large measure of power. Large masses of the workers are also of the Catholic faith and they have frequently been on strike against intolerable conditions.

Religion and Strikes

Now in these textile labor struggles of Massachusetts we have had this remarkable thing occur over and over again. Catholic Democratic officials in office have terrorized and beaten Catholic strikers into submission to Protestant owners of the industry! Meetings of the union men have been suppressed, union men have been jailed without warrant, they have been brutally beaten by police and by hired mercenaries of the owners. Religious faith counted for nothing in these brutal struggles, the interests of the textile owners counted for everything. In other words, that antagonism between workers and owners which Plus mentions replaced every other consideration.

We may now shift our attention to the Southern States where Protestant Democrats rule and where the same industry has been disturbed by similar labor struggles. Here, too, we have seen the

ence in the attitude of Protestant Democratic office holders in these textile strikes. Not at all. Protestant Democratic officials in office have terrorized and beaten Protestant strikers into submission to Protestant owners of the industry! Religious faith counted for nothing. The brutalities in these Southern labor struggles are so recent and so vivid that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them.

But the South presents an even more glaring example. At Elizabethton, Tennessee, the great plants are owned by a German Catholic. The public officials in the city and county are Protestants. So are the workers. Some of those workers had been drafted to fight against the Germans in the World War. In the terrible strike at Elizabethton Protestant officials terrorized Protestant workers who were striking against terrible hardships imposed by a German Catholic owner!

If any workman or any person sympathetic with their cause thinks that religious faith is a re-

straining influence in such struggles anywhere they will find it impossible to reconcile this view with what actually occurs in industrial struggles. Moreover, this situation is not peculiar to the United States. One may find similar instances in the labor struggles in other countries. We may add that Leo's Encyclical of forty years ago does not appear to have exercised a humane influence upon capitalists and politicians of his faith in such struggles.

These considerations also apply to owners and politicians of other faiths. In the garment industry of New York, Chicago, and other cities the workers have been overwhelmingly Jewish and the owners are mainly of the same nationality. Despite the general oppression of the Jewish people in their homelands across the Atlantic, when they appeared in this country and divided into capitalists and owners in the garment industry the same struggles and brutalities have occurred in strikes.

There is another aspect of labor

struggles in the garment industry that should not be overlooked. Quite a number of the workers in and the owners of the industry call themselves "free-thinkers." Does this "free-thinking" of workers and owners alter the character of labor struggles in the industry? I have never found a garment worker who believes that it does. The brutalities are about the same in garment strikes that involve this type of worker and owner as will be found in the textile strikes of Massachusetts and the Southern States. Here again the matter of religious faith makes no difference in the labor struggle.

We may now turn to the most remarkable labor struggle we have ever had to illustrate our contention. It is a matter of record and so amazing that we shall quote our sources of information as this story unfolds.

In the New York World of August 3, 1929, there was a report of a strike of 396 grave diggers at Calvary Cemetery, Borough of Queens, New York City. My in-

formation is that these strikers were Catholics. The cemetery is under the jurisdiction of St. Patrick's Cathedral, a board of trustees of the church being in charge. The same issue announced that a general strike of 2,000 cemetery workers might be called by the local union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Meanwhile burial activities at Calvary Cemetery are paralyzed," reads The World story. "Bodies taken there are left lying on the grass around the large vault until the few men working can get them inside. . . . The vault will accommodate about 600 caskets, but is nearly full." A New York State mediation commissioner was endeavoring to mediate in the dispute.

On August 4 the New York Times reported that "The officials of the Calvary Cemetery Corporation have refused to submit to arbitration the demands of the 350 strikers, who are asking the reinstatement of three of their number, higher wages and no employ-

ment on Sundays or holidays without double pay, according to a statement issued from the cemetery's Manhattan office yesterday." (Note: The number of strikers varies in the news stories.) Eighteen superintendents of New York cemeteries signed the statement.

A day or two before this the Rev. Aloysius C. Dineen, managing director of Calvary Cemetery, had been quoted by the press as saying: "We plan to meet the public requirements to the best of our ability and we are perfectly willing to have an impartial board of arbitration that will act as a fact-finding commission." Thomas C. Cella, business manager of the Cemetery Workers Union, recalled this statement and asked why the Rev. Dineen had changed his mind.

Meanwhile 150 strikebreakers were at work, bodies were accumulating, and it would probably be necessary to bury some in temporary trenches. A heavy police guard was being maintained. The day before the strike leaders had

The Necessity For Permanent Poverty

By Yaffle

London.

I HAVE before me another theory proving the necessity of permanent poverty for the majority of the people.

It is based on the conclusions of two French economists, who have succeeded in proving that "the real cause of unemployment is the dole." Loud applause, and a voice: "I love the old song best."

The theory is introduced to a grateful England by Sir Josiah Stamp in two articles in the "Times." Sir Josiah is very anxious that the working man shall know his true position in the scheme of things.

The main argument is that wages must follow prices, otherwise everything goes wrong and the whole comic scheme slips a cog. It is proved by a chart with curves on it. These curves, which are based on statistics, show that whenever a fall in prices has not been accompanied by a fall in wages unemployment has resulted.

I may pause here to say that I, too, have been proving things by curves. I have found that the increase in unemployment for the month of June was accompanied by an increase in rainfall, thereby proving that the dole is the cause of the bad weather.

Now, the sequence of wages and prices would work all right if it were not for the dole. But for this sinful dole wages would have to come down with prices; the worker would have been forced to accept lower wages (i. e., "economically correct" wages), or starve. But having a dole to fall back upon, the worker has preferred to accept a dole which was not much lower than a wage and remain idle. And, speaking as one whose whole moral and spiritual orientation is definitely against sin, I can only say that he is a dirty dog.

The dole, therefore, "interferes with the free operation of economic forces." And that is one of the worst things a man can do. It is, if anything, worse than eating peas with a knife.

If you do not want unemployment you must let wages follow prices. This is called "letting wages find their own level." And a glance at the statistics shows that the working man's "economically correct" level is somewhere near the bottom of a dustbin.

The worker, therefore, has to choose between a dole and an "economic" wage. To some people it may seem like a choice between a bad egg and a wet Sunday; but those are people without moral

responsibility, who do not realize that work is the noblest function of man.

All this leads to another important and immutable law, proved by the curves: That "a definite wage level which cannot be exceeded exists in every country." Boldface kindly lent by the printer.

This correct wage, I read, depends on the supply of capital available for production. If the cost of labor is at all above the cost of mechanical production, machines will replace men, and unemployment will result.

The idea is that machines are only used when wages are above a certain level. To go above that level is "an impediment to the delicate mechanism of the labor market." You may say that to go below that level is an impediment to the delicate mechanism of the worker's stomach. But I—and Sir Josiah—would have you remember that man is made for the mechanism, not the mechanism for the man. The mechanism is the thing. What is man that thou art mindful of him? His days are as grass. Well, then, let him eat it that the mechanism of the labor market may prevail.

To let wages find their own level is "the only way to reduce to a minimum the suffering caused by unemployment." It will also reduce the wage to a minimum. It will not, of course, reduce the suffering caused by working on a lower wage; but every self-respecting worker would prefer the frying-pan to the fire.

There is no answering these curves. We can only draw, humbly, certain conclusions from them: that owing to unalterable economic laws working class spending power can never be raised above a low level. That although

science and machinery make the production of infinite wealth possible, the purchase of that wealth by the masses must remain limited. That this productive machinery cannot be used beyond the point where it is, to use the phrase before me, "financially productive." Therefore, that the whole purpose of modern productive mechanism is not to provide the necessities of life for the people, but to provide profits for the finance-capitalist.

The whole argument is beautifully logical and conclusive, based on the hypothesis that there is no possible source of purchasing power, but that provided by the price mechanism of the labor market. It is a beautiful and logical as the argument, based on the hypothesis that Scotland is South of England, that the nearest way to Glasgow is via Madrid. But you must have some hypothesis, or you would never have any theories at all.

It has been said that the brain supplies the argument but the heart and stomach provide the hypothesis. So it may be that the theory I have been expounding working men that they must go on being poor for ever, he was thrown into the canal to find his own level.

RELATION OF WAGES TO CAPITAL
The diagram shows a graph with 'WAGES' on the vertical axis and 'CAPITAL' on the horizontal axis. A curve rises steeply from the origin, then levels off and finally declines. A man in a top hat stands next to the graph, pointing at the curve.

THE WORKER MUST (a) FIND HIS OWN WAGE-LEVEL OR (b) HERE, IT FOUND FOR HIM.
The diagram shows two scenarios. (a) A man in a top hat stands next to a graph, pointing at a curve. (b) A man in a top hat stands next to a graph, pointing at a curve. A man in a top hat stands next to the graph, pointing at the curve.

Welcome to Our City

HERE they come—school teachers from Council Bluffs, all set for a six weeks' gorge of culture at Columbia University's mass production culture at Greenwich Village, mouth watering at the thought of Greenwich Village speaking; visiting firemen from Fresno; buyers from Boise—all of the hinterlands, pouring into this House Port of New York to boost the postcard and cut Scotch trade, to make us New Yorkers feel a bit superior, to run open-mouthed from the theatre district to Wall Street and back, and to go home without ever so much as once guessing what the truth is about this town of ours.

They say that visitors to Moscow see what the Soviet guides want them to see. Well, maybe that's so. But what do these annual summer pilgrims to Manhattan's shrines see? Broadway at night, the great ships at their docks along the Hudson, Riverside Drive, Grant's Tomb, the financial district, the Aquarium and St. Paul's and the night clubs. And very little else.

The real city, hidden away behind the tenement fronts and the little frame houses in Queens and the drab rooming houses on the Upper West Side, where the workers in the factories and shops, the offices and lofts live their matter-of-fact, unexciting, monotonous lives, of these the provincials see nothing at all. Their collective impression of a New Yorker must be that of a person who lives at high-tension frays, whisking every morning like the White Rabbit in Alice in Wonderland into dark and mysterious burrows, emerging for a brief sunlit moment to be whooped skyward to an office, there to indulge in a strange exercise called "paper-work", thence to return to jazz orgies in smoke-hung dance-halls while the staccato saxophones wall jungle threnodies.

"It's just like the stories in 'Liberty Magazine,'" a flushed, middle-aged lady visitor from Danville told me triumphantly. "I hadn't thought it was really true, all those quaint, crooked, little streets in the Village and the funny-looking Bohemians and the rest. Why I actually saw Harry Kemp walking around without his hat, the way he is always pictured and we were in one place that Mike Gold had led just ten minutes before we got there."

Inquiry developed that she had not seen Sinclair Lewis plain, but I took it that she has a mess of copy for her paper on "My Experiences Among the New York Literati."

All that they know about the hundreds on thousands of the men and women who make the wealth of the city by their daily toil, is that it is difficult to get through them on certain streets at the noon hour. From the bus tops they may catch a glimpse of pickets trudging their dreary way before struck shops, but all they have to say of them is that they are carrying queer advertising signs on their backs. And of course, there are always the bread-lines on the Bowery that are quite interesting.

But it isn't their fault. The showmen have long since sold the rest of the country on the idea that this is the glittering Babylon of America, where no one sweats or grunts or lifts or toils, or wonders where his next meal is coming from. Don't the tabs give a picture of a city of dancing legs, dapper gunmen, sky-hoisting divorcees in the very best manner first perfected by that simon-pure, blown-in-the-bottle Communist cartoonist Ryan Walker, who, since his yeoman's service on "The Graphic", now devotes his revolting energies to drawing pictures of Heywood Brown surrounded by gin bottles?

To be sure, it isn't always possible even for a tab to duck the fact that here and there throughout our merry Megalopolis there have been slight hints that everything was not well. But the tab head-liners take this in their stride and if they mention the depression they use the jargon of the ring-side, "Depression on the ropes", they announced the day after Hoover let the frogs down. The hurried tip-speller went away from that, with the vague idea that Kid Depression had been kay-od by Mauling Moratorium and that from now on we would all be hitting pretty. And if native New Yorkers lap up this sort of stuff who are we to kick because the out-of-towners gobble the apple-sauce?

We hope that if any of you readers of "The New Leader" who have enough in your jeans to get around our way, do make the trip, you will look a little below the phony surface of things. Down here at the Rand School, for example, at 7 E St Fifteenth Street, we can show you a bunch of real workers who speak your language and know what things are all about. Here you will find a bunch of Socialist kids hustling about to get clothes for the striking miners of West Virginia and the Pittsburgh district. Men hard at work on preparations for the coming Socialist municipal campaign which Norman Thomas will head with his accustomed glib lantry. Women working for unemployment relief. Good talk about matters affecting the workers hanging around the Rand School Bookstore. Girls addressing envelopes containing tickets for the big Socialist picnic at Ulmer Park on July 25th next. And yet everyone feeling that he is not doing well enough at a time when we could all work twenty-four hours a day and not begin to cover our Socialist assignments.

Don't get us wrong. We don't want to seem to brag about what is doing in New York Socialist circles. We know that in Philadelphia and Reading and around Pittsburgh in the coal-fields and out to Bill Busick's Los Angeles, Socialists are working as hard, if not harder than we are here. Our only point is that New York is not all jazz and gin, in spite of what you see in the movies and the papers, and that there are a few Manhattanites who are not blinded to realities by the fierce light that beats around Times Square.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

France, Belgium—Disarmament

DEFEAT OF BRIAND A BAD AUGURY FOR THE COMING CONFERENCE

By Emile Vandervelde

BRUSSELS (In June).

THE failure of Aristide Briand to be elected President of France was followed by a rumor to the effect that he might resign from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs and put himself at the head of a big drive for world peace and for European union, thus becoming the standard bearer in the French general elections of 1932 of the pacific tendencies of the mass of workers and peasants. But, whether from reasons of age (M. Briand was 69 years old on March 28), or because of the arguments of his conservative colleagues, he didn't quit and will stay at the Quai d'Orsay under the new conservative President M. Doumer, although no longer with his hands free to wage an inspiring campaign in the general interests of Europe.

This annoying defeat of M. Briand at Versailles accentuates the feeling of uneasiness weighing down Europe eight months before the Conference on Disarmament.

The Franco-Italian naval agreement announced by Arthur Henderson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the British Labor Government, seemed a happy sign. But it turned out that it was all a mistake. The relations between France and Italian Fascism remain strained. Mussolini is blowing the war trumpet again.

There is no doubt, on the other hand, that the "coup" of Vienna, the brusque announcement by MM. Curtius and Schober (German and Austrian Foreign Ministers,

respectively) of the Austro-German agreement, concluded in true secret diplomatic style, has been water on the mill wheels of the French 100 per-centers. Our comrades in Germany, being aware of this, deplore that this way of posing the question has further complicated the international situation, despite their sympathy for the "Anschluss" (Union of Austria).

There is no occasion for surprise that, under such conditions, the prospects of a serious reduction in armaments are fading and the demands for military appropriations are increasing on the eve of the Conference.

France continues to spend billions in constructing a formidable line of concrete forts the whole length of her eastern frontier against a Germany deprived by the Treaty of Versailles of the right to have heavy artillery, or fortifications along the Rhine.

Everybody, even tiny Belgium, seems to want to get into the game of spending hundreds of millions in rebuilding, in modernizing, their pre-war fortifications, right in the midst of the economic crisis.

The French and Belgian Socialists, of course, are agreed in opposing this policy. At our recent conventions, that of Tours, in France, and of Brussels, in Belgium, there was a powerful anti-militarist sentiment, not only against any increase in military expenditures, but also in favor of



Keep Him Unemployed

a spontaneous reduction of armaments, regardless of what may be decided upon by the Conference of 1932, so as to bring them down to the level imposed upon Germany. But, in Belgium as well

as in France, the bourgeois government headed by M. Jaspar fell, not because it demanded military appropriations, but because, in order to conciliate some more or less anti-militarist Flemish deputies supporting it, it had consented to cut them by 50,000,000 (about \$1,375,000). The Liberals who, in Belgium, form the "military party," and who hadn't been consulted, kicked over the traces. M. Jaspar, who wasn't any too popular anyway, had to resign. But now a new anti-Socialist coalition government, headed by M. Renken, has been organized which will insist upon the original appropriations proposed by M. Jaspar.

(On June 24 the Belgian Parliament voted the \$6,000,000 demanded for frontier fortifications over the heads of the Socialists and some other groups.)

I don't believe the new government will live long. The Socialist movement is coming to the front just now in Belgium as well as in France. It is generally admitted that the elections of 1932 in France are going to bring big gains for the Socialist Party. And in Belgium, too, it is expected that the government of M. Renken, entangled in the same difficulties as the Jaspar government, will last only a few months and that the general elections, not due until 1933, will be held by next Spring as the result of the dissolution of Parliament.

Now there is every reason to believe that if this happens the Socialists will register a material advance and, having become the largest party, may be called upon to accept the responsibilities of power, with some support from the democratic elements of the Right and Left. Anyway, "Qui vivra, verra."

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The American Negro Worker In The Class Struggle

A Tragic Tale Well Told

By Frank R. Crosswain

BEFORE the war Negro labor, in the main, constituted a reserve upon which employers freely drew during strikes and whenever a scarcity of white labor existed. As a consequence the Negro worker earned for himself the classic title of the American Scab. Also, because of his strike breaking activities organized labor directed toward him its covert hostility while the employers of labor treated him with unseemly contempt.

This was the pathetic picture which for nearly a half century the Negro worker cast upon the industrial screen of America; it was not wholly of his own making, however. White labor by denying the Negro worker practical participation in the trade union movement contributed much toward driving him into this position.

Catapulted out of his agrarian setting by the results of the war between the slave holding South and the rising industrial North, the Negro found himself deposited in the world of work without land, money or tools; and, far more tragic than the lack of these, he was without education. Thus he naturally drifted into the social swamps of personal service. He became the cook, the waiter, the bell-boy, the porter of America. The world war, however, rescued him from this harmful menial position and gave him his golden opportunity to enter industry through a door more honorable than scabbing.

Until the present terrifying period of depression, approximately one and one half of the accredited four million Negroes gainfully employed were engaged in the basic industries of the Nation. The sudden transfer of so large a group of hitherto despised and proscribed workers on to the higher realms of industry was bound to have repercussions in the social, economic, and psychic relationship of the Negro to the rest of the population. Race riots and lynching which in the past had been largely confined to the South began to occur in the industrial centers of the North and West where Negro workers had succeeded in invading the closely guarded sanctuaries of the skilled trades. East St. Louis and Chicago became open battle grounds upon which resisting white labor and the advancing black worker fought to keep the latter in his place."

To understand these, and many more vitally important socio-economic facts comprising the Negro problem is to read "The Black Worker" by Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, (Columbia University Press \$4.50). With the exception of two chapters, the authors have succeeded in producing a work that will long remain the most complete, authoritative, and scholarly book dealing with Negro labor in the United States. Unlike most writers who deal with this subject, the authors have given us not only a factual study, but they have subjected these facts to a keen, penetrating, and scholarly interpretation in the light of modern sociology and economics.

"The Negro As a Strike Breaker," "Industrialism and The Negro," and "Negro Labor Since The War". Each part is further divided into chapters where is carefully considered every imaginable phase of Negro relationship with white America. The book is well documented with a rich, extensive bibliography.

Strangely enough, it is in the latter part of the book where is treated such contemporary questions as "The New Negro," "Socialism," "Communism," and "The Pullman Porters" that the authors boldly abandon their admirable role as impartial historians and scholars, and thus permit their political prejudices and personal animus to conquer them. By so doing they have tarnished the otherwise golden luster of their remarkable achievement.

In connection with the chapter on "The Negro and Socialism" the authors appear more concerned with misrepresenting the Socialist Party than with presenting the facts. James O'neal, well known author, editor, and the recognized historian of the American Labor movement, who is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and intimately familiar with the period and events the authors discuss in the chapter, recently wrote: "The Socialist Party at its very origin approved the policy of labor solidarity." But the authors (Spero and Harris) state that "the party never got far beyond the resolution stage. In this they are mistaken." O'neal then informs the authors that in 1912 when Debs declared that the "Socialist Party had nothing special to offer the Negro," Debs was simply repeating what the Negro members of the Socialist Party were saying. In the convention of 1901 the delegates adopted a long resolution stating clearly the position of the Socialist Movement on the question of justice for the Negro. This resolution was adopted despite the objections of the three Negro delegates in that convention who insisted that Negroes had no desire to be singled out for special mention by their Party.

On Page 424 the authors literally bend backwards to pin a rose on the lapel of the Communist coat, when they ascribe to the Communist Party a peculiar sense of vision that enabled it to discern in Garveyism "the embodiment of the emotional unrest of the Negro proletariat militant, aggressive, and sympathetic with the world proletariat." Anyone who took an active part in the struggle between Garveyism and Socialism, as this reviewer did, in the days when Garveyism represented a real and mighty menace to the best interest of proletarian freedom, will be justified in asking whether the ignorance the authors manifest in this respect is designed or accidental. It was not the Communists they had not yet been spawned) who bore the brunt of the attack against Garveyism but Negro economic radicals organized in the Socialist Party. According to the authors if the Socialist Party declares for the solidarity of all workers, if it nominates a Negro for high office, if a Negro presides at its convention and sits on important committees

making party policies, such actions merely serve to show how disinterested and hostile to the Negro is the Socialist Party. But when the Communist Party takes similar actions it then becomes an acknowledgment that the Negro is "an important link" in a program of world proletarian revolution.

In their appraisal of the Pullman Porters the authors not only deliberately perverted the facts in the most important and significant industrial struggle ever waged by Negroes, but also placed themselves in the inexcusable position of attempting to destroy the character and reputation of a Negro whose years of activity and devotion to the labor movement has won for him the respect and confidence of workers of every race. It is not true as the authors state that "Frank Crosswain, an organizer who had been dropped, preferred charges of misuse of funds against Roy Lancaster, the Secretary-Treasurer." Nor is it true that "competent accountants found the charges baseless."

The charges against the Secretary-Treasurer of the Porters' Union were brought by Crosswain and endorsed by four of the six leaders of the Brotherhood while Crosswain was still an officer of the organization. No "competent accountant" sifted these charges and no committee exonerated the Secretary-Treasurer. The written decision of a few friends who heard some of the charges and who sought to correct the irregularities complained of, is now in the possession of this reviewer. Also in his possession are several letters exchanged by members of this committee. A perusal of these documents is sufficient to dispel the false and malicious statements on the question made by the authors. Moreover since the publication of the Black Worker, another of the six men (five out of six) who led the Porters' movement, as well as the entire Executive Committee, are convinced of the truth of the Crosswain charges. The recent Convention of the Porters' Union dismissed the Secretary-Treasurer for practically the same reason as contained in the Crosswain charges. And, furthermore, the membership is now requesting the return of Crosswain to the Union. In view of these facts, and in the interest also of their own reputation, as well as a decent regard for truth and fairness, the authors ought to take immediate steps to correct this particular chapter. The publishers of the book should insist upon a correction ere a well earned reputation in the publishing field is damaged.

OUR GODS ON TRIAL
By WILLIAM FLOYD
Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes
The last part in which Mr. Evolutionist demands a new religion is splendid. You have debunked the Bible with such grace and gentility and so without heat or hate that the book ought to become the classic of its kind.—Mary Ware Dennett.
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The Latest Chapbook

IN this "Chapbook" (The Literary Lams, by Joseph T. Shipley, University of Washington Bookstore, 5 cents), Dr. Shipley has attempted, by way of an extension of certain remarks on style in The Quest for Literature, to make intelligible the astonishing variety of literary schools that have arisen in late years, and, one supposes, to appraise them—a much-to-be-desired end. The plan he has followed is to give a rapid survey—"With Prayer to Ariadne"—of the maze of contemporary "isms" that have arisen out of the original orthodoxy of classicism, then to discuss the two historical deviations from classicism, namely, realism and romanticism, and finally to discuss their historical passage to and through symbolism into the other varieties—dada, expressionism, and the rest.

The plan is a good one, but unfortunately its carrying out is tepid and inadequate. As in The Quest for Literature, Dr. Shipley's method is to quote or paraphrase numberless definitions of the terms, allowing the contrasting and supplementing explanations and arguments, with little or no contributing insistence of his own, to throw light on the meaning and value of the theories discussed. But while the larger work deserved commendation for the erudition displayed, and had value as a reference work and compendium, the present essay is of little use to either writer or reader. The repeating of old contrasts, bon mots, and so on, is learned and urbane, but pointless. The definitions of the new movements are insufficient; the tendency, in mentioning any "ism," to mention perhaps two other isms in the same sentence, and half a dozen before the paragraph is ended, exasperates without informing the student. Scarcely any effort is made to show the derivation of the different movements, or their essential contributions to criticism or art. And—which is most astonishing in a writer of Dr. Shipley's connections—almost no hint of sociological criticism (which has a minor place in general criticism, but a significant one) appears in the discussion; and this, too, in face of the themes that have occupied the constructionists (whom, by some mistake,

Dr. Shipley fails to mention, unless he meant them when he spoke of "productionists") and the expressionists. In short, The Literary Lams is a disappointing effort in a good direction.

OAKLEY JOHNSON.

Stefan Zweig's "Amok"

FEW are the novels that survive a season. The best seller of today becomes the junked volume of tomorrow. In all probability, one of the exceptions will be "Amok," (Simon & Schuster, \$1.50). This novel, or more correctly, a long short story by Stefan Zweig, stands out from the drug and cigar store output of current fiction.

On board a steamer ploughing her way through tropic seas, a physician who for eight years had been stationed in a remote outpost of a fever-soaked section of the East Indies, unfolds his story to a fellow passenger. There comes to the physician a woman who offers him a huge sum to help her out of a difficulty that took place while her husband is on a trip to England. The attitude of the woman, her pride, her imperiousness, fascinate the doctor. The fee he proposes is not one that can be stated in terms of money. With a scornful laugh, the visitor leaves. Overcome with grief and remorse, the attempts of the doctor to seek her out with offers of assistance are met with rebuffs. Finally, after the bungling efforts of a Chinese woman had been enlisted, the physician is permitted to attend the dying woman.

Seldom has the art of telling a story been as highly developed as in "Amok." All the familiar laudatory terms used by reviewers and blurbsmiths would be permissible in describing this work that is a real contribution to the literature for grown-ups.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

The remedy for the evils of liberty is more liberty.—Macaulay.

THE SEX FACTOR in MARRIAGE

By Dr. Helena Wright, M.B., B.S.

THIS book contains very detailed information about the ways in which the physical intimacies of married life may be successfully and happily managed."

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The Chatterbox

There is too much worship of the exceptionally gifted person to suit me, for one. This "big-man madness" finds its root in the present system of things, and makes real progress to a better world so difficult.

Freud might say, the masses suffer from the disease of knowing themselves to be inferior. That is why they idealize in a Mussolini, a Napoleon, or a Lenin the qualities so apparently lacking in their own colorless lives. That is why they will rush en masse at a call, at the sound of a bugle, or the barely grasped paragraph of logic and appeal.

When Stalin finally decided to call in the bright minds, the technical experts, and the intellectuals to help the bewildered masses toward the sun, I was not at all thrilled by that decision. For all of the practical shrewdness that such a move entails for the moment, the eventual harm caused by it upon the awakening sense of power among the masses, is not pleasant to speculate upon.

If there was one thing in the whole Soviet business that stirred my Socialist soul mightily, it was the sight of the man with the hoe, and the lad with the hammer rising to a sense of their full importance in the scheme of life. True, they did not march with the measured tread of an army. They straggled, they blundered, they made mad noises, and strutted with laughable arrogance. True they earned the guffaws of intellectual buffoons, and critical pricks from learned and agile pens.

And just when it appeared that the abstract scientists, the expert technicians and the general run of professionals were becoming aware of their relative unimportance as individuals, save as they worked with and for the general welfare, they are lifted back upon a plane of superiority by the dictators of Sovietland.

I am not particularly happy about this circumstance. There is a double unfairness about it. It sets back the growth of mass superiority. And it places too great a burden upon the hitherto de-classed intellectuals.

Should the latter succeed in effecting great progress for the Five Year plan, (which is doubtful at this stage) the newly born babe of worker-power consciousness will grow rickety with doubt, indecision and fear of its own strength. The drive toward "big man" ideology will commence. It will be difficult to eradicate by any sort of propaganda, humans being what they are the world over.

And then we must remember, that the Five Year plan is but one little line in a tremendous blue print for final accomplishment. Should the learned lads fail to hasten things perceptibly, (and in the nature of what has already been done, undue haste would only complicate and retard the plan) the onus, the blame and the defeat could be easily shifted upon the really blameless experts and professionals.

If I were one of those genial Russian Social Democrats, I could easily agree that the calling in of these oppressed wise men by Stalin, is a subtle confession of failure, and an attempt to rig up a stuffed goat for defeat. But being what most good Socialists the world over are, a well-wisher for Soviet progress and success in its undertakings, I reason the whole situation out as above.

The Five Year plan is just as meaningless in time to me, as a ten o'clock appointment with an old school Russian intellect-gent. It is what is being planned to do, and what is really being done that counts.

Against the bloody crime of having butchered the old royal family, and the murder of the forty-eight learned "saboteurs", let emotion be stayed a moment while we weigh the crimes of the Romanoffs for ages against one hundred and forty million souls, and the relative unimportance of the welfare of four dozen individuals against a nation rising slowly to its feet. There is much for us who protested so vehemently against the latter outrage, to weigh and understand.

Revolutions have never been rose gardens and tea dances. The cross currents, catarracts and eddies that such events bring to the surface of a hitherto placid body of human affairs make helpless driftwood bits out of individual reason and feeling.

Fear has a devastating way with logic. And fear of the capitalist forces that encircle Russia has warped and hampered the judgment of her rulers. The masses know its poison-fog. The land walks on pointed tread. And from what I have read and learned since the red days of 1917, the intellectuals of Russia have done mighty little toward dispelling that pernicious pall.

None other than Trotsky, splendid organizer, excellent propagandist, and superb journalist that he be, has led the van in foisting his egoistic banner against the inferiorities. And with him hundreds of others, and against him thousands of small fry professors, professionals, em tional revolutionaries and the rest howling outside, or struggling silently within the union, all in a battle of the gods for power and privilege to direct the fear-laden, struggling masses.

"Let the masses wait until we have settled our intellectual quarrels" . . . that has always been the sad slogan of the aristocrat and mind-gifted leaders. Stalin appears to embody the full inferiorities of the common folk. He is all that Trotsky characterized him to be . . . an ambitious inferior, un-gifted in the power of literary trickeries, and without a low brow.

But of such are we all, all of us who never rise to the top, who go on through the mechanical processes of living, ambitious inferiors who are afraid to even protest for the one thing we crystallize into an ambition, the right to work, live, and rest in a measure of peace and comfort.

The treason of the intellectuals in America prior to and after our entry into the war is on a par with that of the European. The treachery of the supermen to the masses from which they receive their sustenance and prestige is as odorous. The few who do give themselves utterly to the movements of freedom and peace for mankind are broken on the rack of persecution and overwork. Stalin has been sufficiently informed of that. The masses have been taught that. Small wonder then that for years these non-working classes were held in distrust and oppression. And with but a bit of thought we can really forgive much of their sins against the intellectuals.

The usual claim of the superior intellect for prestige and higher station of living is based upon the years of study in universities, the expense of such training, and the services rendered eventually to human progress. Ask any doctor, any money-hungry scientist, any fame starved professional. Too little credit is given to the chance that nature set his or her way for the unusual gifts bestowed, much too little to the masses that created the wealth that endowed the universities in which learning is bought, or for the comforts of practical living enjoyed through these processes, also created by the unlearned and unlearning masses. Or to the fact that when the acquiring of knowledge and training is ended, there still is the mass of common folks from whom they will earn their better living.

That is why, I for one, have mighty little worship for the superior folk who take prestige, comfort and luxury as their just reward, when all that they are or will become is based upon chance and the inferiorities they lord over so arrogantly.

S. A. DeWitt

Clarence Darrow Talks in Evolution Film at Cameo

STAGE

SCREEN

MUSIC

Holds Over at the RKO Cameo Theatre



Clarence Darrow and Dr. H. M. Parsley, professor of Zoology at Smith College, talking things over in "The Mystery of Life," drama of evolution, now in its second week at the Cameo Theatre.

Milton Aborn Plans to Continue Comic Opera Revivals Indefinitely

Milton Aborn's dream that New York should boast of a "Year Round" light and comic opera theatre, has taken on something more than ethereal form, for yesterday he concluded a deal with the Erlanger interests whereby his Gilbert and Sullivan season will not only run during the entire summer, but will extend throughout the whole winter, and there will be no idle period of his forces intervening.

The Gilbert and Sullivan series, like that of the Victor Herbert revivals at Johnson's two seasons back, has attracted such extraordinary patronage that Aborn's judgment would seem to be well founded. However, when the G. and S. gamut shall have been run, Mr. Aborn, for the Fall and Winter schedule, will turn to other of the imperishable scores, and the list is a long one. He plans revivals of such popular numbers as the Red Mill, Sweethearts, Naughty Marietta, and there will be given also such delightful though no-recently-heard operas as the Geisha, San Toy, Dolly Varden, Erminie, Madame Pompadour and so on. Mr. Aborn also lists, among others, Robin Hood, Merry Widow, Chocolate Soldier, Firefly, and the tuneful Bohemian Girl. He has in mind, for presentation about holiday time, a big production of Jack and the Beanstalk.

Helen Twelvethrees in 'A Woman of Experience' Begins Run at Mayfair

Helen Twelvethrees, starring in the new RKO-Pathe Picture "A Woman of Experience," now at the Mayfair, has often remarked that she has been very fortunate in the type of roles she has had to play. She developed a real fondness for the character, Frankie, in "Her Man," and for Millie in the picture of the same name.

The story briefly is this: Elsa finds herself in the centre of a political intrigue in Vienna. Under government orders she must pretend an attachment with a man she dislikes in order to obtain valuable information which he alone can impart. At the same time a young officer falls in love with her, and she with him. The conflict between her real love and her pretended love, linked up with her rather shady past, furnishes absorbing material for the picture.

The film was adapted from John Galsworthy's play, "The Registered Woman," Harry Joe Brown directed the picture.

What is taught unintelligently is learned unintelligently; the dull master makes the dull boy.—Austen Chamberlain.

Sam Jaffe



As he appears in "Grand Hotel" which Herman Shumlin is presenting at the National Theatre.

Clar. Darrow Discusses Evolution in "Mystery of Life" Popular Film Now at Cameo Theatre

Perhaps no other picture in film history has taken so long a time to edit, or required such exhaustive research as Universal's "The Mystery of Life," now in its second week at the RKO Cameo Theatre. This work was conducted by W. W. Young, film editor for Classic Productions, Inc., a company specially formed to produce this picture.

Having previously gathered a vast amount of film on the general subject of evolution, which is the basic theme of the picture, in April 1930, Mr. Young obtained Clarence Darrow's consent to do the talking. He had known Mr. Darrow for many years and felt, as did everyone else connected with the enterprise, that on account of his world-wide fame in connection with the Tennessee evolution trial, he was the logical choice for expounding the theory on the screen.

For the task of getting additional nature scenes and data from all parts of the world, Dr. H. M. Parsley, professor of zoology at Smith College and well-known author, was called in at the request of Mr. Darrow, who expressed confidence on his sound judgment which would reflect his own ideas on the subject.

After that came the final cutting and editing, and it was considerably more than a year after Mr. Darrow first became interested that the picture was ready for recording in the sound studio, Mr. Darrow and Dr. Parsley doing the talking.

"The Mystery of Life" will remain at the Cameo indefinitely.

Players to Share Entire Profits of "Shoot the Works"

Heywood Brown and Milton Raison, producers of "Shoot the Works," cooperative revue scheduled to open at the George M. Cohan Theatre during the week of July 20th, wish to make the following public announcement of the purposes and arrangements of their undertaking:

"While there have been other cooperative ventures in the theatre, 'Shoot the Works' is the first genuine and above-board attempt to provide work for the actors. There will be no profit in this show; that is, all of the money taken in above the running expenses will be divided equally among two classes of players—first, the principals, and second, the members of the chorus.

"The members of the chorus are guaranteed \$35 a week for two weeks, but will be paid \$50 a week if the production is successful. All of the contributed songs and sketches are royalty free for the first two weeks of the engagement, after which time the authors will receive a nominal royalty somewhat below their usual percentage.

"The George M. Cohan Theatre, in which 'Shoot the Works' will be played, has been given to the show by very generous terms by Mrs. Joe Leblang.

"As for the show itself, the dances are being staged by John Boyle and the skits directed by Ted Hammerstein. Tom Johnson, author of 'I'll Say She Is,' and Nunnally Johnson, famous humorist, are providing extra dialogue. George Kaufman and Max Gordon will give the finishing touches to the production.

"Sketches have been contributed by H. I. Phillips, Nunnally Johnson, Heywood Brown, Edward J. MacNamara, Frank Sullivan, Sig Herzig, Howard Dietz and Corey Ford, George Kaufman, Robert Benchley, E. B. White, Dorothy Parker, Newman Levy, Tom Johnson, John V. A. Weaver and Lawrence Schwab.

"Songs are being written by Nat Lief and Mac Cleary, Dorothy Fields and James McHugh, Walter O'Keefe and Bobby Dolan, Ira and George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Nat Mattlin, Richard Rogers and Lorenz Hart, Phil Charig, Deems Taylor, Seymour Robinson, William Berkson, Bernard Maltin, Richard Meyer, Joseph Meyer, Leo Robbins, Bert Kalmar and Harry Ruby, Fain and Kahl, Peter Tinturin, Herman Hupfeld and Henry Souvaine.

"The following are appearing in the show: Inez Courtney, Jane Alden, Nan Blackstone, Joan Lowell, Barbara Hatch, Lee Brody, Katherine Carrington, Evelyn Rue, Florence O'Denishaw, Agnes Riley, Margaret Campbell, Edward J. MacNamara, Bobby Jarvis, Milton Douglas, Percy Helton, Arthur Hartley, Al Golde, John Clarke, Bartlett Simmons, Heywood Brown, Harry Herschfeld.

MUSIC

Levinson Stadium, Amst. Av. & 128 St.
STADIUM CONCERTS
PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
VAN HOOGSTRAATEN, Conductor
EVERY NIGHT at 8:30
PRICES: 50c, \$1.00 (Circle 7-7178)

In "The Night Angel" at the Hipp



Nancy Carroll's newest, "The Night Angel," can now be seen at the Hipp. In this Edmund Goulding production, as co-star with Nancy, is Frederic March. On the stage is a light summer comedy program that makes for fine hot weather entertainment.

"Die Lustigen Weiber Von Wien," Now at Little Carnegie, Is Newest Viennese Film Operetta By Same Crew That Gave Us "Two Hearts"

An important and interesting opening of last week was that which took place on Thursday at the Little Carnegie Playhouse where Leo Brecher presented the latest work of Geza von Bolvary, a Viennese film operetta entitled "Die lustigen Weiber von Wien" or "The Merry Wives of Vienna."

Herr von Bolvary, you may recall, is the Teutonic megaphonist who showed American producers in his "Two Hearts in Waltz Time" that a musical film could be both artistic and highly successful at a time when those gentlemen had concluded it couldn't be done.

Is "Merry Wives" another "Two Hearts"? Well, here is the word of Mr. C. Hooper Trask, Berlin correspondent of the N. Y. Times: "A very cheering product of the German screen is the latest production of Geza von Bolvary, the director of 'Zwei Herzen im Dreiviertel Takt' to which you were so good-humored in New York. It had its premiere at the Ufa Palast, Berlin. This is a very considerable advance over the previous work, both technically and photographically. It catches the unadulterated aroma of Vienna in the year of 1875. Here in Europe we detect violently tired of Viennese charm as it is artificially cranked up in banal little films and operettas. But there is the spirit of the city with its transparent gaiety and its heart-warming 'Gemuetlichkeit' (translate that if you can) is transfigured with an agile rapier point. The roccoco interiors wind their curlicues around our hearts, the slow-paced street scenes of Old Vienna give us for a moment the feeling that we would like to make a bonfire of all horseless carriages.

"Around and about it all are swinging waltzes from the quill of Robert Stolz, who did so nicely by 'Zwei Herzen.' Willy Forst is at his agile best as Augustin, and he is surrounded by ten delectable girls who would make even Hollywood pale with envy. And the delightful Viennese dialect drips pleasantly from the lips of the whole cast and especially from those of Paul Horbiger, who squeezes the last ripple of humor from the role of the father."

So evidently Little Carnegie, pioneer sponsor of so many unusual films, has again scored in securing this newest German importation. Whether or not "Merry Wives" will repeat the phenomenal career of "Two Hearts" is something that only time will tell. But that patrons of the diminutive playhouse on 57th street are in for a good time, may fairly be taken for granted.

First Negro All-Talking Film Is Now Finished

New York's colony of colored actors are agog over the completion and private showing of the first all-talking motion picture made by the race for presentation to both white and Negro audiences. The film, which has been in work at Fort Lee for months, is the product not only of colored artists but of a Negro producer, Oscar Micheaux. It is a dramatic subject, "The Exile," and among the cast were four representative artists from the Pulitzer Prize play, "The Green Pastures," Charles H. Moore, who plays the old Sunday School teacher, Mr. Deshee, in the Marc Connelly drama, is cast as the father; Stanleigh Morrell, familiar as Noah's son, Ham, is the lead; Lou Vernon, who has played Cain, has the role of a district attorney in the film, and George Randel, the wicked Pharaoh of "The Green Pastures," is a dashing rancher. "The Exile" will have its premiere in Chicago.

Ah! when shall all men's good Be each man's rule, and universal peace Lie like a shaft of light across the land? —Tennyson.

Who on the golden rule shall dare insist, Behold in him the modern Socialist.

BROOKLYN

FOX
"The BLACK CAMEL"
with WARNER OLAND
SAM JACK KAUFMAN
Master of Ceremonies
EDDIE MAGILL
Brooklyn's Favorite
BOB WEST
The Joy Boy of the Organ
FANCHON & MARCO'S
Spectacular News
GORGEOUS SUNSET REUNITES
Mystic Enigma HADJI ALI
GAYLENE, Premiere Dances

ERLANGER'S
Theat. W. 44 St.
Theat. W. 44 St.
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"The Black Camel" Fine Mystery at Fox Brooklyn-Big Stage Show Completes Bill

Mystery and beauty are exemplified in both stage and screen fare this week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre, with the latest Charlie Chan thriller, "The Black Camel" on the silver sheet and Fanchon and Marco's "Moroccan" Idea gracing the stage.

In "The Black Camel," Warner Oland is seen once again as the bland Chinese detective whose whimsical oriental proverbs are as much to the point as his deft solutions in crime. This picture was filmed in Hawaii where the story opens with a Hollywood beauty murdered in a pavilion of her urous estate at Waikiki Beach. Heading the cast with Oland, are Bela Lugosi as the sinister fortune teller, Sally Eilers and Robert Young as the romantic juveniles, and Dorothy Revier, Victor Varnoni and William Post.

Alluring dancing girls, hypnotists, sorcerers, and magic fakirs combine their arts in Fanchon and Marco's "Moroccan" Idea on the Fox stage. Seen in this show are Hadji Ali, "Mystic Enigma" with Gaylene, "Premiere Danseuse," Ali Hassan's Blue Streaks, James Gaylord, Sherry Louise, Gayl, Bert and Daro, Ferdna, Eva Nightingale, and the Sunlight Beauties.

An organ fest led by Bob West, music supplied by Sam Jack Kaufman's band, a crooning solo by Eddie Magill, and the Fox Movie-tone News complete the program.

"Hush Money" With Joan Bennett at Roxy

"Hush Money," the story of a girl stalked by her past, holds the screen at the Roxy this week. It is not a gangster film, although its early sequences concern themselves with the "con man" type of racketeering. Joan Bennett, Owen Moore and Hardie Albright play the leads.

The narrative has to do with a young girl, who, because of her inexperience in judging human nature, falls prey to a fascinating but unscrupulous man. After paying the penalty for an innocent share in her companion's crimes, the girl quits to go straight, only to be confronted by a blackmailing persecution that threatens to ruin her life for all time.

Joan Bennett is the girl. Owen Moore, often seen in more sympathetic parts, becomes a menace, and Hardie Albright progressing rapidly as a juvenile lead, provides the third side to the triangle. The picture was directed for Fox by Sidney Lanfield.

"Women Men Marry" and "Ubangi" at the Beacon

"Women Men Marry" will be the attraction at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th st., beginning today. The cast is headed by Kenneth Harlan, Natalie Moorehead, Sally Blane and Randolph Scott. Charles Hutchison directed from an original story by John Francis Natteford.

As an extra added attraction, "Ubangi," amazing drama of the Congo jungles, has been booked into the Beacon beginning today.

ROXY

7th AVENUE and 50th STREET
"HUSH MONEY"
Fox Movietone drama with
JOAN BENNETT
Hardie Albright, Owen Moore,
Myrna Loy
—ON THE STAGE—
Third International Revue
FRANCE
A glorious spectacle portraying historical highlights and commemorating the French independence day.
A vivacious pageant of color and music with the entire Roxy ensemble of 350 including Patricia Bowman, Beatrice Belkin, Harold Kravitt.

"Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour" at Warner Theatre

Sherlock Holmes, world's greatest detective, steps from the pages of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's celebrated novels to the screen of the Warner Theatre today, when "Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour" has its American premiere at that theatre.

This picture, said by reports from London to be a fascinatingly thrilling detective drama, was produced at the Twickenham Studios in England by Julius Hagen for distribution throughout the United Kingdom by Warner Bros. Pictures Ltd. It is based upon "The Final Problem" and "The Empty House," by Conan Doyle.

Gang War on Broadway! "ENEMIES of the LAW" with MARY NOLAN LOU TELLEGEN JOHNNY WALKER N. Y. & Bklyn. STRANDS

A Fool for Luck—and a Sap for BLONDES!
EDWARD G.
ROBINSON
"Smart Money" with JAMES CAGNEY
WINTER GARDEN
BROADWAY & 50th STREET
Continuously-Popular Prices
Smoking in Balcony

The Producer of "The Third Little Show"



Dwight Deere Wiman has another hit on his hands in "The Third Little Show" at the Music Box.

"Smart Money" With Ed. G. Robinson and Jas. Cagney, Big Hit At Winter Garden

Entering its third week at the Winter Garden Theatre, "Smart Money," with its double-draw of Edward G. Robinson and James Cagney, is stepping along at a remarkable box-office pace and seems set for at least two or three weeks more. The extreme heat has hurt "Smart Money" hardly at all. An interesting commentary on the appeal of pictures of the type of "Smart Money" is the report that sixty percent of the audiences at the Winter Garden are women.

Maxine Lewis Joins Olsen Club in Hollywood

Maxine Lewis, musical comedy favorite, and who was last seen in New York in Earl Carroll's "Varieties," is now making appearances at George Olsen's Club in Hollywood, California. Miss Lewis is also doubling at two motion picture studios. She will return to New York the early part of August to start rehearsals in the new Ed. Wynn show.

At the Fox Brooklyn



Warner Oland, as he appears in "The Black Camel," the latest Charlie Chan Thriller to reach the screen. The new Fanchon and Marco Stage revue combines mystery and beauty.

Big Summer Show at "Hipp"—Nancy Carroll And Fred March on Film—Fine Stage Bill

Ideal summer entertainment is being served at the Hippodrome this week in the form of a vaudeville show liberally studded with pretty girls and funmakers—and Nancy Carroll with Frederic March in "The Night Angel" their newest screen romance.

On the stage are Sid Wills and Joan Davis, eccentric comedienne and boy friend; Wally Vernon and laugh producing company; Alfred Latell accompanied by Sylvan Dell continue the fun; Roy and Romero with their lovely Racketeers; Joe Melino and Dolly Davis in "Two Pints of Comedy," Jack Major, radio and record favorite from Kentucky; Laing Brothers with Bernice Jarrot, a peppy blend of music and dancing and June Purkins presenting masterpieces in art and strength.

The Picture It Took a Million Years to Make

The Mystery of Life

A DRAMA OF EVOLUTION
With
CLARENCE DARROW
SEE! The Birth of the Earth... a human... the end of the world...
K O CAMEO 42nd St. 2nd WEEK
10 A. M. to 1 P. M. 35c

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

4TH WEEK The Sensation of Europe!! The Rage of Paris and Berlin

TANKSTELLE

An ERICH POMMER Operetta
"Peals of merriment set off by witty jokes... 'Darling, my heart sends you greetings' will ring for a long time in the ears of listeners."—N. Y. TIMES.
UFA COSMOPOLITAN Theatre, Columbus Circle Cont. 12:30 to 11:30 P.M.
POPULAR PRICES

CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
MARIO DAVIES
in
FIVE AND TEN
with LESLIE HOWARD
Richard Bennett, Irene Rich, Kent Douglas, Mary Duncan
Capitol's Big Stage Show
FRED KEATING, CALIFORNIA COLLEGIANS, Chester Hale Cutler, Bun-chuk, Orch.—Heard Metrotone News

"A Free Soul" becomes an outstanding screen melodrama. I feel certain you will enjoy a visit to the Astor.

NORMA SHEARER in "A FREE SOUL"
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Production
ASTOR B'way & 43rd St. Twice Daily, 2:30 and 8:30
3 times Sat. Sun. & Holidays, 2-6-8:30
ALL SEATS RESERVED

Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Socialist Activities in Many States

Mooney "Hearse" in Michigan — Connecticut Executive in Session

Indiana
A group of Polish workers in East Chicago have organized themselves into an American branch of the Socialist party. Mrs. G. Laskowski, 5014 Homerlee avenue, is secretary.

Kansas
Miss Magill, state secretary, on his way to and on his return from a job in the harvest fields, he will put in his time and best efforts towards organization work.

Michigan
THREE RIVERS. Comrade Byrd Kelo will be the principal speaker at a Mooney protest meeting to be held by Local Three Rivers on July 28. He will have along the famous "California Justice is Dead" banner.

Detroit. Detroit Branch No. 1 and Lincoln Park Branch will hold a joint picnic at Rouge Park, Detroit, on Saturday, July 18. There will be a full program of sports beginning at 10 a. m. with a picnic lunch at 1 p. m. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited.

Jugo-Slav Federation
PENNSYLVANIA. Eight charter members have organized a branch at Verona. Comrade Tony Krasewich, 413 Penn street, is secretary.

OHIO. Charles Pogorelec, secretary of the Jugo-Slav Federation, reports that final organization of a new branch at Salem will be completed within a week or two.

Kentucky
EVARTS. The Socialists here and in Harlan are working with might and main to help the miners who are facing trials for murder. The main job is raising funds for relief. It is planned to start party locals as the relief is handed out. The first about 500 copies of The New Leader recently distributed here were eaten up avidly by the miners. W. H. Mahan is the Socialist organizer here.

Connecticut
One of the best attended state executive committee meetings was held on Sunday, June 28, in South Meriden, over 50 being present. After the meeting adjourned, Local Meriden served a most delicious lunch to all present. Short talks were given by Comrades McLevy and a few remarks were made by Martin Rhodin. The next meeting will be held at the Sleeping Giant Park in Hamden on Sunday, July 26. Local Hamden will play host to the S. E. C.

Final arrangements are completed for the state convention on Sunday, July 12, at 11 a. m. in the main hall of the Connecticut State Fairgrounds, West Haven. Many important matters are to come before the convention and there will be very interesting reports from the delegates from all over the state. The legislative committee will have an interesting

report, as will the state organizer, now located in Stamford, will give his report. The state secretary will tell of the healthy condition of the state office.

California
LA HABRA. Local La Habra has been holding good hall and street meetings. Former national secretary, William H. Henry, recently spoke to a crowded hall. William Busick of Los Angeles, also spoke three times. M. Duty, founder of the local, is one of the branch's moving spirits.

New Jersey
STATE COMMITTEE. The state committee will meet Sunday, July 12, at 2:30 p. m., at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark. County Organizer Rosencrans reports the open air meeting at Newark, about 800 attended. One hundred new members were added. Speakers for July 12 will be Max DeLoach, Louis F. Budenz, Henry Jager, Frank Manning, Green and Genova. Comrades are urged to sell picnic tickets and rent for chairs, one to Dr. Geller, 1823 Springfield avenue, Newark. Norman Thomas and Mrs. Mooney, mother of Tom, are to speak.

Florida
J. J. Patton of Pensacola, has been chosen by the membership as national committee man. He joined Local Pasadena, Calif., in 1929 and in 1930 was a member of the state executive committee, serving for a number of years. He has also lived in Idaho, Oregon, Arizona, and Utah and was active in the movement in these states.

Pennsylvania
PHILADELPHIA MEETINGS. Monday, July 13—County central committee meeting, 8:30 p. m., Room 309, Labor Institute.
Tuesday, July 14—Street meeting, 52nd and Sanson streets.
Wednesday, July 15—County central meeting, Broad and South streets, North Philadelphia branch meeting, 8 p. m., 2748 North Germantown avenue.

Thursday, July 16—Street meeting, Front and Allegheny streets. Seventh Ward Study Group meeting, 8 p. m., 413 South Carlisle street. Dr. Jesse H. Holmes will speak.
Friday, July 17—Street meeting, Kensington and Allegheny streets.
Saturday, July 18—Street meeting, McPherson Square.

New York State
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE met at Peoples House, New York City, July 2, Morris Berman, County Organizer, presided. Present were: Morris Berman, County Organizer, and Mrs. W. J. Miller, constituting a quorum for the transaction of business. Berman presided. Several additional members-at-large were added. The time of was principally devoted to the consideration of conditions in Nassau County. The committee voted to grant charters to two locals or branches in the county, subject to the approval of the state executive committee. The two groups to be granted charters are at Valley Stream and Inwood. Members of the former Local Nassau County will be permitted to determine which of the two branches they desire to affiliate with.

Local Rockland County will meet on Sunday afternoon at the home of Frank P. Schwalm, Red Hill road, New City. There will be a discussion of the question: "Evolution vs. Revolution in American Industrial and Social Order."

Robert A. Hoffman, secretary of Local Buffalo, was a visitor to New York last week. Hoffman attended the L. I. D. conference at Camp Tamiment.

Communist Daily Prints a Typical Falsehood; A Socialist Meeting and a Communist Version

The Communist Daily recently carried a story of a branch meeting of the Brownsville branch of Brooklyn, better known as the 23rd A. D. It would be silly to discuss point by point the lies stated in their paper but those members of our branch who were present at our meeting and who have read the account in the Communist Daily, have come to the conclusion that if every story in that sheet is as perverted and as disgustingly false as this one is, that this paper should be boycotted by all members of the working class. The following is an account of what took place.

Towards the end of the meeting, two miners and a local Communist leader entered our hall and demanded credentials from the I. L. D. for the Ohio permitting them to accept funds. The floor was given the miners immediately without any hesitation and the membership was thrilled by the appeal made. After their speech, Comrade Jack Altman arose and told them that we were with their strike to the very end and would help them in every way possible to secure victory, despite the leadership of the Communists.

Altman explained to the miners that the I. L. D. in the past had collected funds and had failed to make a proper accounting and have used this money to destroy Socialist meetings and organizations. A collection was taken up and the miners were informed that the money and clothes gathered will be sent to the Socialist Relief Committee known as the Miners' Relief Fund, Jane Tait, Treasurer, Room 613, Lyceum Building, 611 Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. The miners were very much pleased and convinced by our attitude and thanked us for our work in their behalf.

This is the version of the Daily Worker: "One Socialist brazenly stated that because the strike is led by Communists no relief would be sent to the starving and hunger-swollen miners. The stories of suffering, misery and privation among the miners on one hand the tales of terror, chicanery and betrayal on the other, affected the misled rank and file members to such an extent that many came across with dollar bills for a collection from the floor. But the fascist chairman overruled the motion for a collection."

Even the historian takes great liberties with facts.—Sir J. Reynolds.

FREE YOUTH
Address: FREE YOUTH, 7 East 15th St., New York City

WHEN these lines appear several hundred young Socialists will be attending. Next week we will have one of the participants tell you how much you've missed. A souvenir journal will be issued on this occasion.

READING, PA. A committee of five was elected to entertain the out-of-towners at the jamboree and to make them feel at home. These summer evenings our home is sporting bathing suits and testing the new waters. Before long we will be able to announce the organization of a junior circle. All we need is a few more youngsters between the ages of 13 and 16.

ALLENTOWN, PA. We will have a sizeable delegation at the jamboree. Reserve enough room for our crowd for we may be accompanied by a bus load of the old timers.

RACINE, WIS. The next door neighbor of Milwaukee comes through every week with a new batch of proposals. Never a week goes by without a few application cards. With we had many more circles to keep our office staff on the job making out membership cards.

CALIFORNIA. Mighty encouraging news comes to us from the other side of the Rockies. Secretary Goldberg of the Los Angeles circles writes of the doings of the half-dozen groups that he and his fellow members, Rush and Sheanin, have organized. Listen to his complaint: "The only hindrance to the league here is that there are only seven days to the week, with ten days instead of seven to the week. This might be able to keep up with all that we're set out to do. With your office immediately."

Sports Events Will Feature Picnic in N. Y.

Winners to Receive "Norman Thomas Cups" — Volunteers Needed to Man Committees

An elaborate program of activities will be enjoyed by upwards of 25,000 Socialists and sympathizers in the entire movement at the annual New York Socialist picnic scheduled for Saturday, July 25, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn. Among the many features announced are an all-star soccer game. The famous Hakoah team will be matched against the Prague F. C. The game will have an added interest, as the winning team will be presented with a "Norman Thomas" cup. Other sport features will include a baseball game between the Yipsels and the Young Circle League (the Workmen's Circle youth organization) who will likewise play for an additional "Norman Thomas" cup.

Continuous dancing from 2 p. m. to the early morning hours will be provided by two large orchestras. An open air moving picture show in the open air, a concert with some first class artists, and a series of interesting amusements and advertisements, which will round out an enjoyable day for all.

Advance ticket sales are mounting daily, and have already exceeded last year's total advance sales, according to a statement issued by the arrangements committee. A record crowd will undoubtedly turn out on this occasion, which will be most gratifying to Norman Thomas who will deliver the main address during the short speaking program.

All organizers, secretaries and active workers of all the party branches are called to attend a meeting on Saturday, July 18, at the party office, where proper organization of the picnic will be perfected. The meeting is called for 2 p. m. and everyone is urged to come on time.

City Central Committee. A meeting of the city central committee was held July 1, Harry Krizler was chairman. Louis Schaffer, chairman of the committee on labor, reported plans for group meetings of the former Local Nassau County will be permitted to determine which of the two branches they desire to affiliate with.

Local Rockland County will meet on Sunday afternoon at the home of Frank P. Schwalm, Red Hill road, New City. There will be a discussion of the question: "Evolution vs. Revolution in American Industrial and Social Order."

Robert A. Hoffman, secretary of Local Buffalo, was a visitor to New York last week. Hoffman attended the L. I. D. conference at Camp Tamiment.

Communist Daily Prints a Typical Falsehood; A Socialist Meeting and a Communist Version

The Communist Daily recently carried a story of a branch meeting of the Brownsville branch of Brooklyn, better known as the 23rd A. D. It would be silly to discuss point by point the lies stated in their paper but those members of our branch who were present at our meeting and who have read the account in the Communist Daily, have come to the conclusion that if every story in that sheet is as perverted and as disgustingly false as this one is, that this paper should be boycotted by all members of the working class. The following is an account of what took place.

Towards the end of the meeting, two miners and a local Communist leader entered our hall and demanded credentials from the I. L. D. for the Ohio permitting them to accept funds. The floor was given the miners immediately without any hesitation and the membership was thrilled by the appeal made. After their speech, Comrade Jack Altman arose and told them that we were with their strike to the very end and would help them in every way possible to secure victory, despite the leadership of the Communists.

Altman explained to the miners that the I. L. D. in the past had collected funds and had failed to make a proper accounting and have used this money to destroy Socialist meetings and organizations. A collection was taken up and the miners were informed that the money and clothes gathered will be sent to the Socialist Relief Committee known as the Miners' Relief Fund, Jane Tait, Treasurer, Room 613, Lyceum Building, 611 Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. The miners were very much pleased and convinced by our attitude and thanked us for our work in their behalf.

This is the version of the Daily Worker: "One Socialist brazenly stated that because the strike is led by Communists no relief would be sent to the starving and hunger-swollen miners. The stories of suffering, misery and privation among the miners on one hand the tales of terror, chicanery and betrayal on the other, affected the misled rank and file members to such an extent that many came across with dollar bills for a collection from the floor. But the fascist chairman overruled the motion for a collection."

Even the historian takes great liberties with facts.—Sir J. Reynolds.

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lem and inspire the whole labor army with the duty of bringing some relief before sheer madness drives them into hysterical actions.

Yet here is Matthew Woll in the name of the Civic Federation appointing Weyerhaeuser of the lumber trust on a committee of one hundred to fight Communism. Not only is Weyerhaeuser a master of something like a padrone system in his lumber camps and mills, but he also obtained his enormous holdings in a manner characteristic of the pirate age nine decades ago. The Gould millions accumulated by the same method in that age are represented in Mrs. Shepard. Peter J. Brady, Tammany noble and "labor" man, is also on the roll of honor. Secretary of Labor Doak identifies the Hoover Administration with this crusade as honorary vice-president.

With the anti-union Weyerhaeuser in this coalition we have a situation that could not occur in the labor movement of any other nation. Communism has certainly injured the trade unions wherever it obtained a foothold but one can oppose it without becoming fools. If these "labor" men were to put in one-half of the time and energy they give to this crusade to the real job that faces them they would earn the gratitude of the starvelings who look to them now in vain.

Exalted Ideas

ANOTHER solution of the industrial panic is at hand and it comes from no less a personage than the retiring Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks. His Grand Exaltedness assures us that "The genius of our citizenship still lives" and that "our country is still safe. Its resources are still illimitable. Its large territory is still largely unscratched."

Now there is comfort and assurance for every man in the breadline and every farmer receiving his bowl of soup. The industrial panic did not destroy our industrial resources or contract our territory to one-half or one-fourth its size. Let us be thankful for that. It might have happened but it didn't, take it from His Grand Exalted Highness.

But there is another consolation. "The courage that carried our frontiers across the Appalachians, over the prairies, ever westward, will bring us out of this depression. . . . Tomorrow we will laugh at the fears of today."

Said with the insight of an Exalted Ruler. We only pause to recall that the courage that inspired pioneers to clear the continent in their march westward was followed by successful gamblers, thieves and adventurers, often in alliance with the law. They reaped the fruits of the pioneers' sacrifices and hardships, accumulated millions, while the sons and grandsons of those pioneers are now in want of elementary physical needs.

What is now needed is the courage of these sons and grandsons to organize for the abolition of capitalism that has reduced them to a jobless existence and beggary. When they do that they will be the exalted rulers of the nation and masters of their own lives.

IN A NUTSHELL

The time has come to reorganize, rebuild, and renew our labor press, and give it greater power than it ever had before to fight the battles of the workers against the crushing and corrupting power of capitalist imperialism which now rules with ruthless sway and strides in iron-shod boots over the prostrate liberties of the people.—Eugene V. Debs.

The one thing now needed above all others is the education of the people, especially the working class. They must be reached with the right kind of literature. They must be taught the necessity of supporting the Socialist press, the only press they can rely upon to tell the truth and fight their battles.—Eugene V. Debs.

I want to develop the instinct which will make a man say No to war without knowing the facts, which indeed he can never know however much he may try.—Arthur Ponsonby. Except a struggle forced upon the workers to avert servitude. Not to fight then would be stupidity.

The great thing in this world is not so much where we stand as in what direction we are moving.—Oliver Wendell Holmes. Let's be sure we are moving towards Socialism, not middle class "liberalism." We need not agree to think alike, but all alike to think.—Charles Francis Potter.

World capitalism is like the man who has just awakened from a prolonged souse. It does not know what has happened or where it is going. It is in need of a Socialist sexton to bury it in the cemetery of history.

Hunger ought to be considered a crime.—Anastole France. He who controls your bread controls your ballot.—Daniel Webster.

Whether the Hoover program for Germany is accepted or not Europe still rests upon a volcano. If it bursts this will effect us here and this situation imposes an additional obligation upon American Socialists to do their utmost to carry out the program of the National Executive Committee. Has your local taken action yet?

The first question to be proposed by a rational being is not what is profitable, but what is right. We can never see the right clearly and fully but by making it our first concern.—William Ellery Channing.

The capitalist system is a system for capital although as a system it cannot be capitalized now before intelligent workers.

We seek justice and fight injustice. We seek free labor and fight wage slavery. We seek peace and order and combat the murder of people, the class war, and social anarchy.—William Liebknecht.

Those mountain climbers in the Himalayas who ascended to the clouds know how it feels to be an American politician who had boasted of the virtues of the capitalist system of production.

The trade of governing has been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind.—Tom Paine.

Hoover Tries To Double-Cross The Farmers

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.

VICE-PRESIDENT CURTIS and Sen. Jim. Watson, G. O. P. floor leader in the Senate, went over the head of President Hoover, July 6, by appealing to the Federal Farm Board to give to the distressed farmers a definite promise that the 250,000,000 bushels of the 1930 crop now held by the Grain Stabilization Corporation at government expense will be kept off the market until the 1931 crop is disposed of. Chairman Stone of the Farm Board had publicly declared that his scheme of selling 5,000,000 bushels a month of the stored grain—but only when it would not break the market—was in accord with Hoover's views. Hoover had not challenged this statement. Curtis and Watson had to intervene, if the Republican party as a whole was not to be branded by the farmers as their enemy.

Curtis and Watson knew, when they made this gesture, that no action taken by the Farm Board would make a difference of more than a few cents in the price of wheat this year. Already there had come word of a price of 28 cents a bushel, paid to farmers for good wheat, at country elevators in Colorado. Twenty-eight cents a bushel did not pay more than half the cost of growing and harvesting this grain, and yet that was all that the farmers could get. They were met at the grain elevators by collection agents for the farm implement firms, who demanded that the money be handed over immediately to satisfy the farmers' debts. Farmers were in despair, since the little money they received was not even sufficient to buy food and clothing for their families for the coming winter. These conditions were being reported to the big politicians in every state in the grain belt, with predictions that worse would follow.

One possible reason why the White House is not willing to break with the farm Board is that the Board has been used during the past year to do a great deal of Hoover politics. John Simpson of Oklahoma, president of the National Farmers' Union, is credited with having made a careful study of the distribution of loans to farm cooperatives, by representatives of the Farm Board, and to have discovered political strings attached to the loans.

For example, it is reported that millions of dollars of federal funds, lent out to more or less defunct cooperative organizations of farmers and livestock growers, carried with them a signed promise from the heads of these cooperatives that they would support the policies of the Hoover administration as well as those of the Farm Board. From this pledge to an organized effort within the farm organizations to defeat for office the more outspoken critics of the Farm Board and the Hoover administration, on the ground that one must not quarrel with his generous banker, was but a step. Some of the loans were not needed, but were urged upon cooperative officers and were then used as an effective though silent threat against too loud protest.

To the extent that Hoover politics was attempted in this crude fashion—the more crude because the funds lent were voted by Congress for a wholly different purpose—the effort will prove a boomerang. Destitute farmers will talk about Hoover, but not favorably. They will compare his readiness in coming to the aid of the subsidized steamship companies when they could not pay what they owed the Treasury, with his failure to relieve them of impossible obligations this year.

Some of these bankrupt, half-starved farmers will get into politics again, as they got into politics in the Nonpartisan League in the Northwest some 15 years ago, and as their fathers went into the Farmers' Alliance and Populist Party and Socialist Party movements between 1890 and 1912. Curtis and Watson remember these movements, and as professional standpat politicians they know that 28-cent wheat may produce a big crop of political radicals in the farm belt in 1932. Such a revolt would probably be reflected in a huge gain in the Socialist vote and a considerable leftward swing in the Progressive Republican group.

Curtis and Watson are out asking the Farm Board to prevent this political upheaval.

Mayor Swoboda Gives 'Vacation for Socialism'

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

RACINE.—Mayor William J. Swoboda has placed an order for literature with the state office of the Socialist Party. He is about to leave for a two weeks' vacation in Larabee, Iowa, and he is going to pass out leaflets on the way. Knowledge of his trip has gone ahead of him, and he has been asked to speak informally several places on the way.

The man without a purpose is like a ship without a rudder: a wail, a wailing, a wailing. Have a purpose in life.—Castile.

A New Tammany Scandal: Queens Busses

Two Franchises Planned by Walker Regime Would Net Operators 112% Profit Annually

By Henry J. Rosner

THE New York City administration is selling out the public interest again—this time to Queens bus operators.

The Board of Estimate in secret session June 17 voted to divide Queens into two bus areas, thus awarding the franchise for the north side to the North Shore Bus Company, and for the south side to the Jamaica Bus Company. A public hearing will be held July 10.

Both companies propose to pay the city 5 per cent of gross revenues. That is ridiculously small. The favored companies stand to take 112 per cent in profits.

If a bus operator is able to obtain a franchise, he needs relatively small capital to go into business. The bus manufacturer will sell him buses with a \$2,500 down payment and a four-year credit on the remaining \$7,500 of the purchase price plus 6 per cent interest. The two Queens companies propose to invest \$1,008,000. Careful analysis shows they would receive a net profit of \$1,130,594 in a single year.

The Nevins-Queens Bus Corporation, which has been operating buses in Brooklyn and Queens for over six years, has made a much better proposition to the city. It offers to pay the city, in addition to the 5 per cent gross of the revenues, one-half of the net profits annually derived from the operation of these routes after a 6 per cent return had been paid on the capital stock. This would net the city an additional \$535,000 yearly—an increase of 200 per cent over what the city will obtain under the present policy.

Obviously, such an important public service as bus transportation involving the use of the public streets ought to be performed by the city itself. That is particularly true in view of the tremendous profits at present. The city operates public utilities only when they lose money. Witness the city taking over the ferry boats when they were no longer profitable because of the competition of free public bridges. This is just another illustration of government under capitalism serving private business. The tremendous profits which would be eliminated under public ownership could be passed on to labor by an increase in wages or to the rider by a lower fare or improved service.

At the present time the city lacks power, under its charter, to own and operate buses. It has applied to the State Legislature for such power which has been denied. It has never made a vigorous fight however. The city ought to make a determined battle for this right. Pending favorable action by the Legislature it ought to demand a much larger share of the profits.

Any franchise granted should contain a clause giving the city the right to terminate the franchise at will through purchase of the company's equipment at actual investment less depreciation. Machinery should be set up to supervise investment, so that the time

of recapture litigation will be avoided and the city will not be called upon to pay an excessive price.

The people in Queens favor continuance of the status quo. Some twenty-five routes are now being run by ten operators. They believe that these companies should be given franchises to operate their respective routes. Socialists cannot accept this position. Unified borough-wide operation by a single operator is to be much preferred to parceling out the routes. In the first place, there is the economy of large-scale operation. Under a proper profit sharing arrangement such as we have suggested above the city would benefit from such economy. In the second place, municipal operation can be effected much more readily if the city only has one operator to deal with.

Labor employed on existing bus routes is very poorly paid considering the profits to owners. Drivers receive approximately 65 cents an hour. The union scale is at least 20 cents higher. Justice requires that these drivers receive a minimum of 85 cents an hour. An operating expense of 22 cents a mile is conservative and 3 cents higher than the 19 cents estimate of Mr. A. Joseph Hoffman, transportation engineer and consultant to many bus companies, and who is, therefore, in an excellent position to know the facts. This 3 cents difference allows for anticipated increases in the price level over the prevailing low level, as well as higher wages for bus employees.

Assuming that Mr. Hoffman's figures are 100 per cent correct, the 3 cents should be able to take care of a 15 per cent increase in the price level. It is extremely doubtful whether there will be such a great increase in prices for many, many years to come, if ever. A 5 per cent increase in prices is much more likely. This would leave them 2 cents per bus mile under the financial set-up presented above which could go to labor. Since the average bus in Queens travels about ten miles an hour it would make possible a 20-cent increase per hour in wages to bus drivers without in the least disturbing the estimates made above.

Should price conditions change to such an extent as to render impossible an increase in wages on a 22-cent operating expense, the raise could come out of profits with ease. A 20-cent increase per hour would cost \$260,000 per annum, which would leave an annual profit of \$870,000 on an investment of \$1,008,000. That assumes that an increase in population will not take care of this added expense. Since Queens is the fastest growing borough in New York City, it is probable that the additional expense will be taken care of in this way. Higher labor standards should be made mandatory in the franchise contract. The city has never shown the slightest interest in improving working conditions for bus employees.

Why consideration is given Tam-

many for the proposed franchises is difficult to explain. Some light may be shed upon the reason for granting the franchises to the North Shore Bus Company if the Halleran family, the most important member of which is John J. Halleran, Commissioner of Public Works in the Queens Borough administration, will disclose what rental it is to receive for a large garage located at Farrington and 35th avenues, Flushing, which has been empty for several months. According to reports, this garage is being held for the North Shore Bus Co. until such time as it will be needed by the expansion of its activities through the receipt of the franchise. There is now on file in the Federal Court of the Eastern District a complaint by James J. O'Brien, a contractor, against the Twin-Boro Corporation. The plaintiff charges that the Twin-Boro Corporation had originally contracted with him to build the Farrington avenue garage and that it had subsequently broken the contract. The twelfth count in the complaint states that "pending the preparation of the plan the defendant herein through the president and treasurer entered into negotiations with one Joseph Rauschwerger, president of the North Shore Bus Company, who contemplated leasing the said garage when completed for a term of years."

The selection of the Jamaica Bus Company is even more mysterious. It has operated only one bus line in Queens. It may be argued that it is deserving of a monopoly on the South shore because it is willing to motorize its three street car lines, thereby giving up a permanent franchise. The most it should reasonably expect is a franchise for its three trolley routes. Mr. Park A. Rowley, vice president of the Bank of Manhattan, is secretary of the Jamaica Bus Company. He is reported to be a crony of Mayor Walker. The Mayor has a reputation for looking after his friends.

One of the most amazing features in the entire situation is the incompetence, which may be deliberate with which the N. Y. C. Board of Transportation has advised the Board of Estimate of this problem. In its seventh report it failed completely to make a cost analysis of the type outlined above. Clearly, the Board of Estimate cannot act intelligently in determining a fair rate of compensation to the city unless it has some notion of the anticipated profits to be derived from bus operation. The Board of Transportation, and that means the Chairman of the Board, John H. Delaney, the Mayor's pet, have recommended 5 per cent of gross revenues. We have seen how outrageously small that rate of return is. An explanation should be forthcoming from Mr. Delaney.

The Socialist Party will be represented at all public hearings on this question and will vigorously fight for the rights of the public and of labor.

A Couple Of Trials

By William M. Feigenbaum

TWO trials have been held recently in New York City. One of them resulted in conviction; the other in acquittal.

Three officers of the bank of United States are in jail. Harry Stein, accused of the murder of Vivian Gordon, was acquitted—as everybody who was watching the case knew he would be.

There is another trial coming—but the date has not been set. In fact, it is pretty certain that the people who were so eager to try the officials of the Bank of United States are not so anxious to have a trial of the officers who plundered the depositors of the City Trust company.

The body of murdered Vivian Gordon was found shortly after she offered to tell what she knew about framing innocent girls. Possibly Vivian wasn't so very innocent herself, but women in hot ancient and historic profession know many things that the rest of us would like to know. How some of them operate so openly, for example, while others are being framed by members of the Vice Squad. And ever so many things.

The trail was getting pretty hot and there was considerable impatience over the fact that the didn't seem to be any arrests sight. And—as Heywood Brown said—you can't lead a rope off the neck of a dead woman.

A lot of people began to wonder if this wasn't just another Rothstein case, to be bungled up and then dropped.

When the Police Commissioner announced that the case had been "solved" it seemed a little thin to a lot of people. Mayor Walker lent his grinning presence to the occasion, and he sat with Mulrooney, the Cop, as the cameramen snapped their lenses and the hand-out was passed to the reporters that the Police Department (not in such good odor at the moment) had settled that whole business.

There wasn't anything political in the murder—just another murder. Everything was solved. Mulrooney said so and Walker agreed that it was a great piece of police work . . . something like the capture of Francis ("Two-Gun") Crowley.

The police having completely solved the crime and brought the proved murderer to justice, the trial was held . . . and as they say hereabouts these days, So what? Vivian Gordon is still dead. Is that all that is going to happen about it?

The City Trust Company was to have been examined in November, 1928, by members of the staff of that noble Tammany office-holder, Frank H. Warder, now temporarily and lamentably in Sing Sing. But for reasons now well known, the bank examiners were told by their chief to lay off.

Three months later Francesco M. Ferrari died, and the bank collapsed. That was two and one-half years ago. Outside of Warder, who was tried for permitting a banker to influence his functions as State Superintendent of Banks, not one man has been tried, much less indicted for that colossal swindle.

Two years after the City Trust collapsed the Bank of United States closed its doors. Today three of its officials are in jail—but not one member of the staff of the City Trust Company has been indicted.

There is a difference between the cases of the two banks. The Bank of United States was just enough badly mismanaged. The City Trust Company was operated by Mr. Ferrari as a plain swindle. It was in no sense a legitimate banking business.

If Mr. Marcus and the two Singers deserve the jail sentence they won, the City Trust Company officials deserve far worse for their Chief, Mr. Ferrari, took the money of depositors with no apparent intention of returning it.

There is, however, a difference. Mr. Kresel was doing certain things rather uncomfortable for Tammany Hall, and Mr. Kresel was an official of the Bank of United States. The celebrity and zeal with which Mr. Max D. Steuer of Tammany Hall withdrew his wife's \$65,000 from the bank, (after the doors closed) and then sailed into the attack upon the Singers, Marcus and Kresel stood in marked contrast with the action in the case of the City Trust.

There were no Kresels upon the board of the City Trust, no men exposing the violence for which Tammany Hall is responsible.

Instead, the Board of that bank was made up very largely of Tammany Hall district leaders. There is no action there—there are no indictments. Neither Mr. Steuer nor Mr. Untermyer (temporarily of Tammany Hall) is weeping salt tears over the plight of the victims of that swindle.

The working class will observe that gentlemen of eminence and influence know their place in the structure of Tammany rule.

An election is coming in November in which people may either register en masse in the past—or pile up a vote of such magnitude, send so many Socialists to Albany and the City Hall that in sheer self-defense the political racketeers who have misruled our city will have to do something if only to keep out of jail themselves.

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